JOSEPHUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

RALPH MARCUS, Ph.D.

PROFESSOR OF HELLENISTIC CULTURE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

IN NINE VOLUMES

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, BOOKS IX-XI



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TO SECURDO S SECURITIONS

PREFATORY NOTE

In this volume, with Book XI, we reach the second half of *Antiquities* which, as Dr. Thackeray stated in the Introduction to Volume IV, was anciently bisected (or divided into pentads) in the Mss. The authorities on which the text of *Ant.* xi.-xx. is based are as follows.

P Codex Palatinus bibl. Vat. nr. 14, cent. ix or x; it contains Ant. xi.-xvii. and Vita.

F Codex Laurentianus plut. 69, cod. 20, cent. xiv; it contains Ant. i.-xv. (cited as L in the first half of Ant.).

L Codex Leidensis F 13, cent. xi or xii; it contains Ant. xi.-xv.

A Codex bibl. Ambrosianae F 128, cent. xi; it contains Ant. xi.-xx. and Vita (with lacunae).

M Codex Medicaeus bibl. Laurentianae plut.
69, cod. 10, cent. xv; it contains Ant. i.-xx.
and Vita (the text of Ant. i.-x., dating from cent. xiv, was not used by Niese).

V Codex Vaticanus gr. nr. 147, cent. xiv; it contains Ant. iii.-xv. (originally i.-xv.; there

are also lacunae in xiii.-xv.).

W Codex Vaticanus gr. nr. 984, dated 1354 A.D.; it contains Ant. xi.-xx. (also B.J. and an epitome of Ant. i.-x.).

PREFATORY NOTE

E Epitome (see Introduction to Volume IV).

Lat. Latin version (see Introduction to Volume IV).

Zon. Zonaras's Chronicle (see Introduction to Volume IV).

Exc. Excerpta Peiresciana et Ursiniana (see Introduction to Volume IV).

The Greek Mss. may be grouped into two families: one is made up of PFV, the other of AMW; Lagrees now with one group, now with the other. As in the case of the MSS. of Ant. i.-x., so here the two modern editors, Niese and Naber, differ concerning the relative merits of P and A, the two best representatives of each group, Niese preferring P to A (except where P agrees with AMW against FV), and Naber preferring A to P. But here, as in Ant. i.-x., the Loeb text is based upon a careful and independent study of the Ms. evidence, with the result that it does not agree entirely with either Niese's or Naber's. On occasion a reading has been taken from the Latin or the Epitome or the editio princeps; or an emendation has been adopted (my own are very few). It may be noted that Niese has discovered a subdivision in the group AMW; in Ant. xi.-xv. he finds two sub-groups, A1W and A corr. M; in Ant. xvi.-xx. he finds three subgroups, A1 and MW and A corr.

The present volume completes Josephus's paraphrase of Scripture (in its Greek version), and relates the history of the Jews under the later kings of Israel and Judah, during the exile and under the kings of Persia. The post-biblical sources for the end of the period of Persian rule are briefly dealt with in Appendices B and C. A comprehensive discussion of Josephus's viii

PREFATORY NOTE

sources for the history of the Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman period will be found in an appendix to the

last volume of this series.

In concluding this prefatory note I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Mrs. Thackeray who has generously permitted me to make continued use of her husband's rough draft of a translation of the later books of Antiquities. In several passages I have adopted a felicitous rendering made by Dr. Thackeray; and while the responsibility for the present translation is mine alone, and its shortcomings chargeable solely to me, I cannot refrain from again acknowledging my debt to Dr. Thackeray's previous labours on Josephus.

It is a matter of regret to me that the editors of the Loeb Classical Library will not permit me to thank them adequately for their careful and helpful criticism of my manuscript. I make this brief acknowledgement in the hope that it will not be deleted as was a similar one originally appearing in the Preface to

Volume V.

RALPH MARCUS

April 15, 1937

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE EXPLANATORY NOTES AND APPENDICES

= Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der ARAW Wissenschaften.

= Albright, W. F., various articles in BASOR. Albright

= Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old AP Testament ed: R. Charles, 2 vols, 1913.

= Authorized Version of Scripture. A.V.

= Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental BASOR. Research.

CAH= Cambridge Ancient History.

Chamonard = Chamonard, J., translator of Ant. xi.-xv. in Œuvres Complètes de Flavius Josèphe ed. T. Reinach, vol. iii., 1904.

= Niese, B., Geschichte der griechischen und GGMS makedonischen Staaten, 3 vols. 1893-1899.

= Ginzberg, L., Legends of the Jews. 6 vols. Ginzberg 1913-1928.

= Hebrew Union College Annual.

= Hudson, J., translator of Josephus in Fl. Hudson Josephi Opera Omnia ed. Hudson-Havercamp. 2 vols. 1726.

= Journal of Biblical Literature. JRLJRS -

= Journal of Roman Studies.

= Lucianic recension of Septuagint. Luc. PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund.

Rappaport = Rappaport, S., Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus. 1930.

= Reinach, T., editor of Œuvres Complètes de Reinach Flavius Josèphe.

RR= Revue Biblique.

= Revue des Études Juives. REJ

Weill = Weill. J., translator of Ant. i.-x. in Œuvres Complètes etc., vol. i. 1900, vol. ii., 1926.

LIST OF JOSEPHUS' WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

VOLUME

- I. THE LIFE. AGAINST APION
- II. THE JEWISH WAR, Books I-III
- III. THE JEWISH WAR, Books IV-VII
- IV. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books I-IV
 - V. Jewish Antiquities, Books V-VIII
- VI. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books IX-XI
- VII. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books XII-XIV
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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

BIBAION O

(i. 1) Ἰωσαφάτω δὲ τῶ βασιλεῖ παραγενομένω είς Ίεροσόλυμα άπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς "Αχαβον τὸν τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν βασιλέα, ἢν "Αδάδω1 τῷ Σύρων βασιλεῖ πολεμοῦντι παρασχών ἦν ὡς προειρήκαμεν, Ίηοῦς ὁ προφήτης συντυχών ήτιατο της προς "Αχαβον συμμαχίας ἄνθρωπον ἀσεβη καὶ πονηρόν τον γάρ θεον άηδως μεν έπὶ τούτω διατεθηναι, ρύσασθαι μέντοι καίπερ ήμαρτηκότα διά την ιδίαν αὐτοῦ φύσιν οὖσαν ἀγαθήν, ἔλεγεν, ἐκ 2 τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπ' εὐχαριστίας καὶ θυσίας ὁ βασιλεύς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὴν χώραν ὥρμησεν περιερχόμενος ἐν κύκλω πασαν όσης αὐτὸς ἐπῆρχε² τὸν λαὸν ἐκδιδάσκειν τά τε νόμιμα τὰ διὰ Μωυσέος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δοθέντα 3 καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ δικαστάς αποδείξας εν εκάστη πόλει των βασιλευομένων ύπ' αὐτοῦ παρεκελεύσατο μηδενὸς οὕτως ώς τοῦ δικαίου προνοουμένους κρίνειν τοις όχλοις μήτε δώρων

¹ ex Lat. edd.: "Αδερι, 'Αδδέρει codd. hic et infra.
² ὑπῆρχε MS: ὑπῆρχε κύριος RO: ἦρχε ed. pr.

Bibl. Ben-hadad, cf. Ant. viii. 363 note.
 Ant. viii. 400 ff.

WISH ANTIQUITII

BOOK IX

(i. 1) Now when King Josaphat returned to Jeru-Jehoshasalem after having made an alliance with Achab, the phat's king of the Israelites, and furnished him help in the 2 Chron. war with Adados, the Syrian king, as we have previously related, the prophet Jeus e met him and found fault with him for making an alliance with an impious and wicked man like Achab. For, he said, God was displeased at this act but would, nevertheless, despite his having sinned, deliver him from his enemies because of his own good character.d And thereupon the king betook himself to giving thanks and offering sacrifices to God. And after this he set out to make a circuit of all the country which he governed, to teach the people thoroughly both the laws given by God through Moses and the piety to be shown Him. And, after appointing judges in each city of the territory ruled by him, he urged them not to take thought for anything so much as for justice in judging the multitude, without regard to gifts or the rank of those

Bibl. Jehu, cf. Ant. viii. 299 note.

Bibl. "in that thou hast taken away the groves ('ashērôth) from the land and hast prepared thine heart to seek God." -. This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

¹ Scripture specifies "from Beer-sheba to mount Ephraim."

μήτε ἀξιώματος τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῆ διὰ πλοὺτον ἢ

διά γένος είναι δοκούντων, βραβεύειν δὲ ἄπασι τό ἴσον, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι καὶ τῶν κρύφα πραττομένων 4 ἔκαστον ὁ θεὸς βλέπει. ταῦτα διδάξας κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστην τῶν δύο φυλῶν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, κατέστησε δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κριτὰς ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Ληουιτῶν καὶ τῶν τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ πλήθους φερομένων, παραινέσας ἐπιμελεῖς καὶ 5 δικαίας ποιεῖσθαι πάσας τὰς κρίσεις ἄν δὲ περὶ μειζόνων διαφορὰν ἔχοντες τῶν ὁμοφύλων τινὲς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς αὐτοὺς πέμψωσι πόλεων, τούτοις δὲ μετὰ πλείονος σπουδῆς ἀποφαίνεσθαι δικαίως περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων μάλιστα γὰρ τὰς ἐν ταύτη τῆ πόλει κρίσεις, ἐν ἢ τόν τε ναὸν είναι τοῦ θεοῦ συμβέβηκε καὶ δίαιταν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔχει, προσῆκε¹ 6 σπουδαίας είναι καὶ δικαιοτάτας. ἄρχοντας δ' αὐτῶν ἀποδείκνυσιν 'Αμασίαν' τὸν ἱερέα καὶ Ζαβαδίαν, ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἑκατέρους. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διέτασσε τὰ πράγματα.

7 (2) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐστράτευον ἐπ' αὐτὸν Μωαβῖται καὶ ᾿Αμμανῖται, συμπαραλαβόντες καὶ ᾿Αράβων μεγάλην μοῖραν, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύονται πρὸς ὙΕγγάδη³ πόλει κειμένη πρὸς τῆ ᾿Ασφαλτιτίδι λίμνη τριακοσίους ἀπεχούση σταδίους τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων γεννᾶται δ' ἐν αὐτῆ φοίνιξ ὁ

1 προσήκει MSP: προσήκειν Lat. (vid.).

² 'Aµapíav ex Lxx conj. Hudson.

³ Niese: Έπαδαι RO: Έγαδαι MS: Ἰτάδα P: Gaddi Lat.: Ἐγγαδδὶ Naber cum Hudson.

^b Bibl. Amariah ('Amaryāhû), LXX 'Αμαρίας.

^a The reference to the importance of Jerusalem is an unscriptural detail.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 3-7

who were held to be superior by reason of wealth or birth; but to deal equal justice to all in the knowledge that God sees everything that is done even in secret. After giving these instructions in every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem, in which place also he appointed judges from among the priests and Levites and those holding the chief places among the people, and exhorted them to decide all cases with care and justice; and if any of their fellow-citizens, having differences about matters of great importance, should send to them from other cities, they were to take very great pains to render them a just decision concerning these matters, for it was proper that in the city in which was the temple of God and where the king had his residence, judgement should be given with special care and with the utmost justice.a Then as their officers he appointed Amasias, b the priest, and Zabadias, both from the tribe of Judah. In this fashion, then, did the king order affairs.

(2) At this same time there marched against him Jehoshathe Moabites and Ammanites, who had taken along pares for a large division of Arabs, and they encamped at war against Engade, a city situated on Lake Asphaltis, three etc. hundred stades distant from Jerusalem. In this city 2 Chron. xx. 1.

Bibl. Zebadiah (Zebadyāhú), LXX Ζαβδείας.

d According to Scripture, only Zebadiah was of the tribe of Judah. Amariah was presumably of the tribe of Levi.

Heb. "(others) of the Ammonites," LXX ἐκ τῶν Μειναίων, Luc. $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \nu \hat{\omega} \hat{\nu} \Sigma \eta \epsilon \hat{\nu}$. The following verses in Scripture (cf. vs. 10) show that the Edomites (= Seir in Luc.) are meant. Jewish commentators suggest that the second oc-currence of "Ammonites" here is a transposition of "Maonites," who are mentioned together with Arabs in 2 Chron. xxvi. 7.

! Emended text; bibl. En-gedi, cf. Ant. vi. 282 note.

8 κάλλιστος καὶ ὁποβάλσαμον. ἀκούσας δ' Ἰωσάφατος ὅτι τὴν λίμνην διαβάντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐμβεβλήκασιν ήδη είς την βασιλευομένην ύπ' αὐτοῦ χώραν, δείσας είς έκκλησίαν συνάγει τὸν δημον τῶν 'Ίεροσολυμιτῶν είς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ στὰς κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ναοῦ ηὕχετο καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὸν θεον παρασχείν αὐτῶ δύναμιν καὶ ἰσχύν, ὥστε 9 τιμωρήσασθαι τούς επιστρατεύσαντας και γάρ τοῦτο δεηθήναι τοὺς τὸ ἱερὸν κατασκευασαμένους αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ὑπερμάχηται τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καὶ τούς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τολμήσαντας ἐλθεῖν ἀμύνηται, οι τὴν ύπ' αὐτοῦ δοθεῖσαν γῆν εἰς κατοίκησινὶ ἀφελέσθαι πάρεισιν αὐτούς. ταῦτ' εὐχόμενος ἐδάκρυε καὶ σύμπαν δὲ τὸ πληθος γυναιξὶν ἄμα καὶ τέκνοις 10 ίκέτευεν. 'Ιαζίηλος' δέ τις προφήτης παρελθών είς μέσην την εκκλησίαν ανεβόησε, τῶ τε πλήθει λέγων καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὸν θεὸν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν εὐχῶν, καὶ πολεμήσειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι. προσέταξε δὲ τῆ ἐπιούση τὴν στρατιὰν έξελάσαντα 11 τοις πολεμίοις ύπανταν εύρήσειν γάρ αὐτούς ἐπὶ της μεταξύ Ίεροσολύμων καὶ Ἐγγάδης ἀναβάσεως λεγομένης δ' 'Εξοχης' καὶ μη συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς, στάντας δὲ μόνον δρᾶν πῶς αὐτοῖς μάχεται τὸ θεῖον.

1 κατάσχεσιν MSP.

3 λεγομένης δ' Έξοχης cod. Vat. ap. Hudson: λεγομένη δ'

έξοχη codd.

b Josephus omits the proclamation of a fast (vs. 3).

c Variant "possession."

² ἰκέτευεν. Ἰαζίηλος ed. pr.: ἰκέτευεν ἰναζίηλος MSPE: ἰκέτευε τὸν θεὸν ἴνα ὑπερμαχήση αὐτοῖς Ζηίλος RO: suplicabant, quo facto quidam Iazel Lat.

^a The note about the trees is an addition to Scripture; cf. Ant. viii. 174 note b.

d Unscriptural detail, perhaps based on the phrase (vs. 12)

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 8-11

are grown the finest palm-trees and opobalsamum.a Now when Josaphat heard that the enemy had crossed the lake and had already invaded the country ruled by him, he was afraid and called together the people of Jerusalem to meet in the temple, and standing before the sanctuary he began to pray b and call upon God to grant him power and strength to punish those who had marched against him; for, he said, this had been the prayer of those who had built His temple, that He should protect this city and should repel those who dared to come against the temple and were now there to take away from them the land He had given them for a habitation.c Having made this prayer, he began to weep,d and the entire multitude, together with their wives and children, made supplication. But a certain prophet, Jazielos, came into the midst of the assembly and, addressing both the people and the king, cried out that God had hearkened to their prayers and promised that He would fight against their foes. prophet also instructed him to lead out his army on the morrow to meet the enemy, saying that he would find them on the ascent between Jerusalem and Engade, called Prominence (Exoche) ; they were not, he added, to engage the enemy, but only to stand still g and see how the Deity would fight "our eyes are upon thee," as if it meant "we implore Thee with tears."

· Bibl. Jahaziel (Yaḥazî'ēl), ιxx 'Οζειήλ, Luc. 'Ιεζιήλ.

Scripture adds that he was a Levite.

⁹ So Heb. and Luc. (στητε); LXX has σύνετε "look on."

^{&#}x27; Bibl. "they shall come up by the ascent (A.V. "cliff") of Ziz (Sis, LXX 'Aσaε, v.l. 'Aσσis) and you shall find them at the end of the brook before the wilderness of Jeruel." Josephus's εξοχή is apparently derived from Luc.'s rendering of "ascent."

τοῦ δὲ προφήτου ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ πληθος πεσόντες ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ηὐχαρίστουν τε τῷ θεῷ καὶ προσεκύνουν, οἱ δὲ Ληουῖται τοῖς ὀργάνοις διετέλουν ὑμνοῦντες.

12 (3) "Αμα δ' ήμέρα προελθών ό βασιλεύς είς την ἔρημον τὴν ὑποκάτω Θεκώας πόλεως ἔλεγε πρός τὸ πληθος ώς δεῖ πιστεύειν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου είρημένοις καὶ μὴ παρατάσσεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς είς μάχην, προστησαμένους δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς μετὰ τῶν σαλπίγγων καὶ Ληουίτας μετὰ τῶν ὑμνούντων1

εὐχαριστεῖν ὡς ἦδη ῥυσαμένῳ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν 13 παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ἦρεσε δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως γνώμη, καὶ ἄπερ συνεβούλευσε ταῦτ' ἔπραττον. ό δε θεος είς φόβον ενέβαλε και ταραχήν τους 'Αμμανίτας· οί δὲ δόξαντες ἀλλήλους πολεμίους ἀπέκτεινον, ὡς ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης στρατιᾶς ἀνα-14 σωθῆναι μηδένα. 'Ίωσάφατος δὲ ἀποβλέψας εἰς

την φάραγγα, εν ή συνέβαινεν εστρατοπεδευκέναι τούς πολεμίους, καὶ πλήρη νεκρων ιδών, ήσθη μέν ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας, ὅτι μηδὲ πονήσασιν αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν νίκην ἔδωκεν, ἐπέτρεψε δὲ τῆ στρατιᾶ διαρπάσαι τὴν παρεμβολὴν

15 τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ σκυλεῦσαι τοὺς νεκρούς. καὶ οί μεν επί τρεις ήμερας σκυλεύοντες εκαμον τοσοῦτον ήν τὸ τῶν ἀνηρημένων πληθος· τῆ τετάρτη δὲ συναθροισθεὶς πας ὁ λαὸς εἴς τινα κοῖλον καὶ φαραγγώδη τόπον, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν εὐλόγησαν, ἀφ' οῦ καὶ προσηγορίαν ἔσχεν ό τόπος κοιλάς εὐλογίας.

1 Ληουίτας μετά των ύμνούντων Αηουίτων RO.

⁴ Bibl. " with a loud voice (or " sound ") on high."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 11-15

against them. When the prophet had said these things, the king and the multitude, falling upon their faces, gave thanks to God and did obeisance to Him. while the Levites continued praising God with their instruments.a

(3) As soon as it was day the king went out into Jehoshathe wilderness below the city of Thekoa b and told victory the people that they must have faith in what the over the prophet had said, and not draw themselves up for 2 Chron. battle, but place at their head the priests with their xx. 20. trumpets and the Levites with the singers, and give thanks to God as if He had already delivered our country from the enemy. The king's plan met with their approval, and they did just as he had counselled them. Then God sent fear and confusion into the midst of the Ammanites, and they, mistaking one another for the enemy, killed (their own men), so that out of so great an army not one escaped alive. And when Josaphat looked out over the valley in which the enemy had encamped and saw it full of corpses, he rejoiced at the wonderful way in which God had helped (his side) and that, with no effort on their part, He had by Himself given them the victory; then he gave his army leave to plunder the camp of the enemy and strip the dead bodies. And so for three days they stripped them until they were weary, so great was the number of the slain. But on the fourth day all the people were gathered in a certain hollow place like a valley, and blessed the power of God and His assistance, from which circumstance the place received the name of "Valley of Blessing." c

^b Bibl. Tekoah (Teqô'a), LXX Θεκῶε; cf. Ant. viii. 246.

Josephus uses the same word as the LXX to render Heb. b'rakah " blessing."

16 (4) Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναγαγών τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ βασιλευς είς Ίεροσόλυμα τρέπεται πρός εθωχίας καὶ θυσίας έπι πολλάς ήμέρας. μετά μέντοι γε τήν των πολεμίων αὐτοῦ διαφθορὰν ἀκουσθεῖσαν τοῖς άλλοφύλοις ἔθνεσι πάντες οὖτοι κατεπλάγησαν αὐτόν, ως φανερως αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν συμμαχοῦντος. καὶ Ἰωσάφατος μὲν ἔκτοτε μετὰ λαμπρᾶς δόξης ἐπί τε δικαιοσύνη καὶ τῆ πρὸς τὸ

17 θεῖον εὐσεβεία διῆγεν ἢν δὲ φίλος καὶ τῷ τοῦ ᾿Αχάβου παιδὶ βασιλεύοντι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, πρὸς ον κοινωνήσας έπι κατασκευή νεων είς τε Πόντον πλεουσῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐμπόρια διήμαρτε τοῦ κτήματος ὑπὸ γὰρ μεγέθους ἀπώλετο τὰ σκάφη καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκέτι περὶ ναῦς ἐφιλοτιμήσατο. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα 'Ιωσάφατον ουτως είχεν.

18 (ii. 1) 'Ο δ' 'Αχάβου παις 'Οχοζίας έβασίλευε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ἐν Σαμαρεία ποιούμενος τὴν δίαιταν, πονηρὸς ῶν καὶ πάντα ὅμοιος τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἀμφοτέροις καὶ Ἱεροβοάμω τῷ πρώτῳ παρανομή-

19 σαντι καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἀπατᾶν ἀρξαμένω. τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν έτος ήδη δεύτερον έχοντος ό τῶν Μωαβιτων ἀφίσταται βασιλεύς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς φόρους, ους εμπροσθεν ετέλει τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ᾿Αχάβω, χορηγων επαύσατο. συνέβη δε τον 'Οχοζίαν κατα-

1 Niese: vyŵv codd.

a Ahaziah, see below, § 18. b 2 Chron. "to make ships to go to Tarshish, and they made the ships in Ezion-geber"; 1 Kings xxii. 48" Jeho-shaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold, but they went not, for they were wrecked at Ezion-geber."
Possibly Josephus connects (or confuses) Tarshish with bibl. Tiras (Gen. x. 2), which in Ant. i. 127 is identified with

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 16-19

(4) From there the king led his army back to Jehosha-Jerusalem, where he gave himself up to feasting and his alliance offering sacrifice for many days. Moreover, when with Ahab. 2 Chron. the news of his destruction of the enemy came to the xx, 27, ears of the foreign nations, they were struck with terror of him, as though it were clear that God would henceforth fight on his side. And so from that time on Josaphat enjoyed splendid fame because of his righteousness and his piety toward the Deity. And he was also friendly with Achab's son, a who ruled over the Israelites, and joined with him in building ships to sail to Pontus and the trading-stations of Thrace,b but he suffered the loss of his property, for the vessels were destroyed because of their great size; and for this reason he was no longer keen about ships. Such, then, was the state of affairs under Josaphat, the king of Jerusalem.

(ii. 1) Now Achab's son Ochozias d reigned over Ahab's son the Israelites, having his residence in Samaria; he Ahaziah (Ochozias) was a wicked man and in all respects like both his and Elijah. parents and like Jeroboam, who was the first to trans-xxii.51(uxx gress the laws and who began the leading astray of Heb. 52). the people. But after he had been reigning for two 2 Kings i. 1 years, the king of the Moabites revolted from him and ceased to pay the tribute which he had formerly been paying to his father Achab. Now it happened Thrace, while in the same passage Tarshish is identified with

Tarsus in Cilicia, as also in Ant, ix. 208.

According to Scripture (2 Chron.), Jehoshaphat's ships were wrecked by God as a punishment for his alliance with Ahaziah.

d Bibl. Ahaziah, cf. Ant. viii. 420 note.

' Scripture does not indicate in what year of Ahaziah's reign (which lasted only two years) the Moabites revolted. It dates the revolt "after the death of Ahab," presumably at the beginning of Ahaziah's reign.

βαίνοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους τῆς οἰκίας κατενεχθῆναι καὶ νοσήσαντα πέμψαι πρὸς τὸν 'Ακκάρων θεὸν Μυΐαν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ² θεῷ, πυνθάνεσθαι 20 περί της σωτηρίας. φανείς δε ό των Έβραίων θεὸς Ἡλία τῷ προφήτη προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ἀγγέλοις ὑπαντήσαντι πυνθάνεσθαι αὐτών εἰ θεὸν ὁ Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς ἴδιον οὐκ ἔχει, ὅτι πέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἀλλότριον ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν περὶ της σωτηρίας έρησομένους, κελευσαί τε αὐτους ύποστρέψαι καὶ φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅτι μὴ δια-21 φεύξεται την νόσον. τοῦ δὲ Ἡλία ποιήσαντος ᾶ προσέταξεν ό θεός, ακούσαντες οι άγγελοι τα παρ' αὐτοῦ παραχρημα ὑπέστρεψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. θαυμάζοντος δε τὸ τάχος τῆς ἐπανόδου καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπερωτήσαντος ἔφασαν ἀπαντῆσαί τινα αὐτοῖς ἄνθρωπον καὶ κωλῦσαι μὲν προσωτέρω χωρείν, " αναστρέψαντας δέ σοι λέγειν έξ εντολής τοῦ Ἰσραηλιτῶν θεοῦ, ὅτι κάκιον ἔξει ἡ νόσος." 22 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως σημαίνειν αὐτῷ τὸν ταῦτ' εἰρηκότα κελεύσαντος, ἄνθρωπον ἔλεγον δασὺν καὶ ζώνην περιειλημμένον δερματίνην. συνείς δε έκ τούτων 'Ηλίαν είναι τὸν σημαινόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων πέμψας έπ' αὐτὸν ταξίαρχον καὶ πεντήκοντα 23 όπλίτας ἀχθηναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. εύρων δὲ τὸν 'Ηλίαν ὁ πεμφθεὶς ταξίαρχος ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ

¹ M Lat.: τὴν rell.
³ πρὸς ROE.

M Lat.: τῆ rell.
 πρὸς αὐτὸν (αὐτὸν P²) MSP.

^a Josephus uses the same word as the LXX to render the latter part of the Heb. Baal-Zebub, traditionally supposed to mean "Fly-God."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 19-23

that Ochozias, while descending from the roof of his house, fell down, and, becoming ill, sent to the Fly-God (Muia) a of Akkaron b—this was the god's name -to inquire about his chances of recovery. But the God of the Hebrews appeared to the prophet Elijah c and bade him go to meet the messengers sent (by the king) and inquire of them whether the people of Israel did not have their own God, that their king sent to this foreign god to ask about his chances of recovery; and to command them to return and tell the king that he would not recover from his illness. So Elijah did as God had ordered, and, when the messengers heard his words, they at once returned to the king. And he wondered at the speediness of their return, and, when he inquired the reason, they told him that a certain man had met them and prevented them from going farther, bidding them 'return and tell you by the command of the God of Israel that your illness will grow worse." d Then, when the king bade them describe to him the man who had said this, they told him it was a hairy man girt with a girdle of leather. From these words the king understood that the man described by the messengers was Elijah, and sent an officer after him with fifty soldiers, ordering that he be brought to him. And, when the officer who had been sent found Elijah sitting on the top of a hill, he ordered him to

b Bibl. Ekron, cf. Ant. v. 87.

d Bibl. "thou shalt surely die."

According to Scripture, it was an angel of the Lord who spoke to Elijah. Josephus generally avoids mentioning angels as intermediaries between God and the prophets; cf. A. Schlatter, "Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josefus" (Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, 2. Reihe, 26 Band), 1932, pp. 55 ff.

όρους καθεζόμενον, καταβάντα ήκειν εκέλευε πρός τον βασιλέα: κελεύειν γὰρ τοῦτ' εκείνον εἰ δὲ μὴ θελήσειεν, ἄκοντα βιάσεσθαι. ό δὲ εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πείρα τοῦ προφήτης ἀληθὴς ὑπάρχειν εὔξεσθαι² πῦρ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ πεσὸν ἀπολέσαι τούς τε στρατιώτας καὶ αὐτόν, εὔχεται, καὶ πρηστὴρ κατενεχθείς διαφθείρει τόν τε ταξίαρχον καὶ τοὺς σὺν 24 αὐτῷ. τῆς δὲ ἀπωλείας τῆς τούτων δηλωθείσης τῷ βασιλεῖ παροξυνθεὶς ἄλλον πέμπει ταξίαρχον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡλίαν σὺν ὁπλίταις τοσούτοις, ὅσοις καὶ τον πρότερον συναπέστειλεν. απειλήσαντος δέ καὶ τούτου τῷ προφήτη βία λαβόντα ἄξειν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ κατέλθοι βουλόμενος, εὐξαμένου κατ' αὐτοῦ³ πῦρ διεχρήσατο καθώς και τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ταξίαρχον. 25 πυνθανόμενος δε και τὰ περί τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεύς τρίτον εξέπεμψεν. δ δε φρόνιμος ῶν καὶ λίαν έπιεικής τὸ ήθος, έλθων έπὶ τὸν τόπον οῦ συνέβαινεν είναι τον 'Ηλίαν, φιλοφρόνως προσείπεν αὐτόν γινώσκειν δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι μὴ βουλόμενος βασιλικώ δέ διακονών προστάγματι παρείη πρός αὐτόν, καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες οὐχ ἑκόντες άλλὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἦλθον ἐλεῆσαι τοιγαροῦν αὐτὸν ηξίου τούς τε σὺν αὐτῷ παρόντας όπλίτας, καὶ καταβάντα ἔπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. 26 ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν δεξιότητα τῶν λόγων καὶ τὸ ἀστεῖον τοῦ ήθους ὁ Ἡλίας καταβὰς ἡκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα προεφή-

Dindorf: βιάσασθαι codd. E.
 Dindorf: εὖξασθαι codd. E.
 κατ' αὐτοῦ] καὶ τοῦτον Ε.
 δὲ add. Boysen.

^a These threats of the king's officers are unscriptural details.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 23-26

come down and go to the king, saying that he had so ordered, and, if he refused, he would force him to go against his will.a But Elijah said to him that to prove whether he was a true prophet he would pray for fire to fall from heaven and destroy both his soldiers and himself; and, when he prayed, a whirlwind of fire came down and consumed both the officer and those with him. When the destruction of these men was reported to the king, he became very angry and sent against Elijah another officer with the same number of soldiers as he had sent with the first one. And when this one also threatened the prophet that he would seize him by force and take him away if he did not come down willingly, a Elijah prayed against him, and a fire destroyed him as it had the officer before him. When the king learned also of this man's fate, he sent out a third, but he, being a prudent man and of a very mild disposition, b when he came to the place where Elijah was, addressed him in a friendly way; he said that Elijah knew that it was not of his own will but in obedience to the king's command that he had come to him, and that those who had been sent before him had come not willingly but for this same reason. He begged him, therefore, to have pity on him and on the soldiers who were with him, and to come down and accompany him to the king. So Elijah, approving of his words and the courtesy of his manner, came down a and followed him; and, when he came before the king,

b This characterization is an addition to Scripture.

The officer's explanation of his predecessors' motives is

unscriptural.

d Josephus omits the scriptural reference to the angel of the Lord who instructed Elijah to accompany the officer; cf. note on § 20 above.

τευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐδήλου λέγειν '' ἐπειδὴ κατέγνως μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς οὐκ ὅντος θεοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς νόσου οὐ τάληθὲς προειπεῖν δυναμένου, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ᾿Ακκαρωνιτῶν ἔπεμπες, παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πυνθανόμενος ποταπὸν¹ ἔσται σοι τῆς νόσου τέλος, γίνωσκε

ότι τεθνήξη.

27 (2) Καί ὅ μὲν ὀλίγου σφόδρα χρόνου διελθόντος, καθώς προεῖπεν 'Ηλίας, ἀπέθανε, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς 'Ιώραμος · ἄπαις γὰρ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ 'Ιώραμος οὖτος τῷ πατρὶ 'Αχάβῳ τὴν πονηρίαν παραπλήσιος γενόμενος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δώδεκα, πάση παρανομία χρησάμενος καὶ ἀσεβεία πρὸς τὸν θεόν · παρεὶς γὰρ τοῦτον θρησκεύειν, τοὺς ξενικοὺς ἐσέβετο · ἦν δὲ 28 τάλλα δραστήριος. κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν

28 τάλλα δραστήριος. κατ εκεινού δε του καιρου 'Ηλίας εξ ἀνθρώπων ήφανίσθη, καὶ οὐδεὶς εγνω μέχρι τῆς σήμερου αὐτοῦ τὴυ τελευτήν μαθητὴν δὲ Ἐλισσαῖου κατέλιπευ, ὡς καὶ πρότερου εδηλώσαμευ. περὶ μέντοι γε 'Ηλία καὶ 'Ενώχου τοῦ γενομένου πρὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγέγραπται βίβλοις ὅτι γεγόνασιν ἀφανεῖς, θάνατου

δ' αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς οίδεν.

29 (iii. 1) Παραλαβών δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰώραμος ἐπὶ τὸν Μωαβιτῶν ἔγνω στρατεύειν βασιλέα Μεισὰν² ὅνομα· τοῦ γὰρ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, καθὼς προείπαμεν, ἔτυχεν ἀποστάς, φόρους τελῶν ἸΑχάβω τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ μυριάδας εἴκοσι προβάτων σὺν τοῖς

^b Scripture, however, says that he "wrought evil . . . but

^a Gr. Jōramos; bibl. Jehoram (Y^ehôrām), LXX Ἰωράμ. In Scripture the name is sometimes found in the contracted form Joram.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 26-29

he prophesied to him and revealed that God had said, "Because you have scorned me as though I were not God and were not able to foretell the truth concerning your illness, but have sent to the god of Akkaron to inquire of him what the end of this illness will be,

know that you shall die."

(2) A very short time thereafter, as Elijah had Jehoram foretold, the king died and was succeeded in the (Joram) of kingdom by his brother Joram, of for he had died child- 2 Kings i. 17. less. Now this Joram, who was very like his father 2 Kings iii. 1. Achab in wickedness, reigned twelve years, showing every form of lawlessness and impiety toward God, for he neglected His service and worshipped strange gods b; he was also a man of bold action in other respects. Now about that time Elijah disappeared 2 Kings ii. 1. from among men, and to this day no one knows his end.º He left behind him a disciple Elisha, as we have already related.d However, concerning Elijah and Enoch, who lived before the Flood, it is written in the sacred books that they became invisible, and no one knows of their death.

(iii. 1) When Joram took over the throne, he de-Jehoram's cided to march against the Moabite king named with Jeho-Meisa, for, as we have said before, he had revolted shaphat against from Joram's brother after paying tribute to his Moab. father Achab amounting to two hundred thousand 2 Kings

not like his father and mother, for he removed the image of Baal that his father had made."

Josephus, in accordance with his rationalizing tendency, passes over the miraculous ascension of Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 1 ff.

 d Ant. viii. 352 ff.
 c Cf. Ant. i. 79 (Gen. v. 24).
 f Bibl. Mesha (Mêša'), LXX Μωσά. The biblical account of Mesha has been supplemented by the famous Moabite Stone, discovered in 1868, which is written in a language almost identical with biblical Hebrew.

· § 19.

30 πόκοις. συναθροίσας οὖν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἔπεμψε¹ πρὸς Ἰωσάφατον παρακαλῶν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρί, συμ-μαχῆσαι πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς Μωαβίτας ἐκφέρειν μέλλοντι αποστάντας αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας. οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς βοηθήσειν ὑπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν 'Ιδουμαίων βασιλέα συναναγκάσειν ὄντα ὑφ' έαυτὸν 31 συστρατεύσασθαι. 'Ιώραμος δὲ τοιούτων αὐτῷ τῶν

παρά 'Ιωσαφάτου περί της συμμαχίας κομισθέντων αναλαβών αύτοῦ τὴν στρατιαν ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ξενισθείς λαμπρώς ύπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τών [Εροσολυμιτών, δόξαν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου τῆς 'Ιδουμαίας ποιήσασθαι την πορείαν' επί τους πολεμίους, οὐ γὰρ προσδοκήσειν αὐτοὺς ταύτη ποιήσεσθαι την έφοδον, ώρμησαν οί τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἐκ τῶν 'Ιεροσολύμων, ο τε τούτων αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ τῶν

32 Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας. καὶ κυκλεύ-σαντες έπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν εἰς ἀπορίαν ὕδατος τοῖς τε κτήνεσι καὶ τῆ στρατιᾶ περιέστησαν πλανηθέντων τὰς όδους αὐτοῖς τῶν ἡγουμένων, ὡς ἀγωνιᾶν μέν ἄπαντας, μάλιστα δέ τὸν Ἰώραμον καὶ ύπὸ λύπης ἐκβοῆσαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν, τί κακὸν αὶτιασάμενος ἀγάγοι τοὺς τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἀμαχητὶ

33 παραδώσων αὐτοὺς τῷ Μωαβιτῶν βασιλεῖ; παρ-εθάρρυνε δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰωσάφατος δίκαιος ὢν καὶ πέμψαντα είς τὸ στρατόπεδον εκέλευσε γνώναι εί

² όδοιπορίαν MSP. 1 + kai MSPE Lat.

ταύτη ποιήσεσθαι Niese: ταύτην ποιήσασθαι codd.
 τῶν Ἰσρ.] τῆς Σαμαρείας MSP.
 κυκλώσαντες MSP.

⁶ παραδώσων αὐτούς ex cod. Vat. Hudson: παραδώσοντας έαυτους (αὐτους M) ROM: παραδώσοντ' αὐτους S: παραδώσον αὐτοὺς Ρ.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 30-33

sheep a with their wool. And so, collecting his own force, he sent to Josaphat, asking him, since he had from the first been his father's friend, to be his ally in the war which he was about to wage on the Moabites who had revolted from his rule. Then Josaphat not only promised himself to assist him but also to compel the Idumaean king, who was under his authority, to join in the campaign.^b And Joram, after receiving such assurances of assistance from Josaphat, took his army and came to Jerusalem and was splendidly entertained by the king of Jerusalem e; it was then decided by them to make their advance upon the enemy through the wilderness of Idumaea, for these would not expect them to attack by this road. So the three kings set out from Jerusalem, namely the king of that city, the king of the Israelites and the king of Idumaea. And, after taking a circuitous route for seven days, they found themselves without sufficient water for their beasts and soldiers, because their guides had lost the way d; and so they were all in torment, Joram most of all, and in his distress he cried out to God, asking what bad deed He charged them with that He had led out the three kings to deliver them without a fight into the hands of the Moabite king. But Josaphat, who was a righteous man, comforted him and told him to send to the camp

^a Bibl. 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams.

d The detail about the guides is unscriptural.

^b The reference to the compulsion of the Edomite king is an addition to Scripture which says merely that Jehoshaphat advised Jehoram to go through Edom and that the Edomite king accompanied them on the campaign. See also below, § 97 note.

c Scripture does not mention the reception of Jehoram at Jerusalem.

τις αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης συνελήλυθεν, '' ἴνα δι' αὐτοῦ μάθωμεν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, τί ποιητέον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν.'' οἰκέτου δέ τινος τῶν Ἰωράμου φήσαντος ἰδεῖν αὐτόθι τὸν ἸΗλία μαθητὴν Ἐλισσαῖον Σαφάτου παῖδα, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπίασιν οἱ τρεῖς

34 βασιλεῖς Ἰωσαφάτου παραινέσαντος ἐλθόντες δ' ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ προφήτου (ἔτυχε δ' ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς κατεσκηνωκώς) ἐπηρώτων τὸ μέλλον ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Ἰώραμος. τοῦ δὲ μὴ διοχλεῖν¹ αὐτῷ φράσαντος ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς βαδίζειν προφήτας, εἶναι γὰρ ἐκείνους ἀληθεῖς, ἐδεῖτο προφητεύειν καὶ

35 σώζειν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ ομόσας τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἂν ἀποκριθῆναι αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ διὰ Ἰωσάφατον ὅσιον ὄντα καὶ δίκαιον, ἀχθέντος ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ψάλλειν εἰδότος (ἐπεζήτησε γὰρ αὐτός) πρὸς τὸν ψαλμὸν² ἔνθεος γενόμενος προσέταξε τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐν

36 τῷ χειμάρρῳ πολλοὖς ὀρύξαι βόθρους· '' οὔτε γὰρ νέφους οὔτε πνεύματος γενομένου οὔτε ὑετοῦ καταρραγέντος ὄψεσθε³ πλήρη τὸν ποταμὸν ὕδατος, ὡς ἂν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια διασωθῆναι ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποτοῦ. ἔσται δὲ ὑμῖν οὐ τοῦτο μόνον παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρατήσετε τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ καλλίστας καὶ ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις λήψεσθε τῶν Μωαβιτῶν, καὶ δένδρα μὲν αὐτῶν ῆμερα κόψετε, τὴν δὲ χώραν δηώσετε, πηγὰς δὲ καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐμφράξετε.''

η (2) Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ προφήτου τῆ ἐπιούση

¹ διενοχλεῖν SP.
2 ψάλλοντα MSPE Lat. fort. recte.
3 ὅψεσθαι RSPE.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 33-37

to find out whether any prophet of God had come along with them, " in order that through him we may learn from God what we must do." And, when one The allied of Joram's servants said that he had seen there kings con-Elijah's disciple Elisha, the son of Saphates, the three 2 Kings kings, at Josaphat's urging went to him. When they came to the prophet's tent-he had, as it happened, pitched his tent outside the camp a-they inquired what would befall the army, Joram in particular asking this. And, when he told him not to trouble him but to go to the prophets of his father and mother, for they, he said, were true prophets, the king begged him to prophesy and save them. Then he swore before God that he would not answer him if it were not for the sake of Josaphat who was a holy and righteous man, and, when there had been brought to him a man who could play the harp—the prophet himself had asked for him-he became divinely inspired at the playing of the harp and ordered the kings to dig many pits in the bed of the stream.^b "For," he said, "though there will be neither cloud nor wind nor downpour of rain, you shall see the stream full of water, so that both your army and your beasts of burden will be saved by drinking. Nor will this be the only thing you shall receive from God, but you shall also conquer your enemies and take the fairest and strongest cities of the Moabites, cut down their fruit-bearing trees, lay waste their country and stop up their springs and rivers."

(2) So spoke the prophet, and, on the following day

^a Unscriptural detail.

b Josephus uses the same word as the LXX to ender Heb. nahal (A.V. "valley"); cf. Ant. vi. 135 note.

JOSEPHUS

πρίν ήλιον άνασχείν ό χειμάρρους πολύς έρρύη, σφοδρως γάρ ἀπό τριων ήμερων όδοῦ ἐν τῆ Ἰδουμαία τον θεον δσαι συνέπεσεν, ώστε εύρειν την 38 στρατιὰν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ποτὸν ἄφθονον. ὡς δ' ἤκουσαν οἱ Μωαβῖται τοὺς τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βαδίζοντας καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ποιουμένους τὴν ἔφοδον, ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν εὐθὺς συλλέξας στρατιὰν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων¹ βάλλεσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἵνα αὐτοὺς μὴ λάθωσιν εἰς τὴν χώραν 39 ἐμβαλόντες οἱ πολέμιοι. θεασάμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ανατολήν τοῦ ήλίου τὸ ἐν τῷ χειμάρρω ὕδωρ, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ μακρὰν ἦν τῆς Μωαβίτιδος, αἴματι τὴν χροὰν ὅμοιον, τότε γὰρ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν αὐγὴν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐρυθραίνεται, ψευδῆ δόξαν περὶ τῶν πολε-μίων ἐλάμβανον ὡς ἀπεκτονότων* ἑαυτοὺς διὰ δίψος 40 καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ αξμα αὐτοῖς ρέοντος. τοῦτο τοίνυν οὕτως ἔχειν ὑπολαβόντες ἠξίωσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πάντες ἐξορμήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ ἐτοίμην ὡφέλειαν ηλθον είς τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν στρατόπεδον ὡς ἀπολωλότων. καὶ διαψεύδεται μεν αὐτοῖς ή ελπὶς αὕτη, περιστάντων δε των πολεμίων οι μεν αὐτων κατεκόπησαν οί δε διεσπάρησαν είς την ίδιαν χώραν 41 φεύγοντες. εμβαλόντες δε είς την Μωαβιτών οί βασιλείς τάς τε πόλεις κατεστρέψαντο³ τὰς ἐν αὐτῆ καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν διήρπασαν καὶ ἡφάνισαν πληροθντες των έκ των χειμάρρων λίθων καὶ τὰ

Niese: ὀρῶν codd.
 ἀπεκτονηκότων MSP fort, recte.
 κατεσκάψαντο M.

^a Bibl. "in the morning when the minhah (A.V. " meat offering ") was offered."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 37-41

before the sun rose, the a stream flowed with much Deceived by water, for it came about that in this region of Idu-a natural maea, which was three days' journey away, God had enon, the Moabites sent a heavy rain, so that the army and the beasts are defeated of burden found an abundance of water to drink. b 2 Kings iii, 20. But, when the Moabites heard that the three kings were marching against them and making their advance through the wilderness, their king at once collected an army and ordered them to pitch camp on the frontier o in order that the enemy might not invade their country unperceived. But, when at sunrise they saw that the water in the stream, which was not, indeed, far from Moabite territory, was the colour of blood-for just at this time the water looks especially red in the rays of the sunthey received a false impression concerning the enemy, supposing that they had slain one another because of thirst, and that the river was running with their blood. And so, imagining this to be the case, they asked their king to send them out to plunder the enemy, and, all rushing out as if upon booty that waited to be seized, they came to the camp of the supposedly dead enemies. And then their hopes proved false, for the enemy surrounded them, and some of them were cut down, while others were dispersed and fled to their own country. But the kings invaded the Moabites' land, demolished the cities in it, ravaged their fields and covered them over by filling them with stones from the streams,d

b The last part of the sentence ("for it came about," etc.) is an addition to Scripture. Rabbinic tradition gives a similar explanation of the filling of the pits.

Text amended in agreement with Scripture; MSS. " mountains."

^d Scripture does not specify where the stones were obtained.

κάλλιστα τῶν δένδρων ἔκοψαν καὶ τὰς πηγὰς ενέφραξαν των δδάτων και τὰ τείχη καθείλον έως 42 έδάφους. δ δε βασιλεύς των Μωαβιτών συνδιωκόμενος τῆ πολιορκία καὶ τὴν πόλιν όρῶν κινδυ-νεύουσαν αίρεθῆναι κατὰ κράτος, ὥρμησε μεθ' έπτακοσίων έξελθων διά τοῦ των πολεμίων έξιππάσασθαι στρατοπέδου, καθ' δ μέρος αὐτοὺς² ένόμιζεν τὰς φυλακὰς ἀνεῖσθαι. καὶ πειραθεὶς οὐκ ήδυνήθη φυγείν επιτυγχάνει γάρ επιμελώς φρου-

43 ρουμένω τῶ τόπω. ὑποστρέψας δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν έργον απογνώσεως και δεινής ανάγκης διεπράξατο των υίων τον πρεσβύτατον, δς μετ' αὐτον βασιλεύειν ήμελλεν, αναγαγών έπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ώστε απασι φανερον γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ιερούργησεν είς όλοκαύτωσιν τῶ θεῶ. θεασάμενοι δ' αὐτὸν οί βασιλείς κατώκτειραν της ανάγκης και παθόντες ανθρώπινόν τι καὶ έλεεινον διέλυσαν την πολιορκίαν

44 καὶ εκαστος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνέστρεψεν. Ἰωσάφατος δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ μετ' είρηνης διαγαγών, ολίγον επιβιώσας χρόνον μετά τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην ἀπέθανε, ζήσας μὲν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, βασιλεύσας δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. ταφῆς δ' ἔτυχε μεγαλοπρεποῦς ἐν Ίεροσολύμοις καὶ γὰρ ἦν μιμητής τῶν Δαυίδου ξονων.

1 εξέκοψαν MSP. ² αὐτοῦ (post ἐνόμιζεν RO) ROSP: αὐτοῖς Naber. 3 S2: Tov viov rell. E Lat. 4 Ε: πρεσβύτερον codd.

a So the LXX (ξως τοῦ καταλιπεῖν τοὺς λίθους τοῦ τοίχου) renders the Heb. of vs. 25 which reads " until they left stones only in Kir Haraseth," evidently taking the Moabite Kir (qir = "city") as Heb. qir = "wall," and Haraseth (haraseth) as if from the root hrs "destroy"; the Targum renders 24

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, 1X. 41-44

cut down the best of their trees, stopped up their The king springs of water and razed their walls to the ground.^a sacrifices But the Moabite king, being hard pressed by the siege has eliest and seeing the city ^b in danger of being taken by storm, ² Kings callied out with sallied out with seven hundred men to ride through iii. 26. the enemy's camp at a place where he thought the guards would let them get through.c And he made the attempt, but was unable to escape, for he happened on a place that was carefully guarded. Then he returned to the city and performed an act of despair and terrible necessity. His eldest son, who was to reign after him, he led up on to the wall, so that he was visible to all his enemies, and consecrated him as a whole burnt-offering to his god. And, when the kings saw him, they felt pity for him in his necessity, and, being moved by a feeling of humanity and compassion,d they raised the siege and returned, each to his home. So Josaphat came to Jerusalem and Death of dwelt in peace, but lived on only a little while after phat that campaign, dying at the age of sixty years, for ² Chron. twenty-five of which he had reigned. And he re- ² Chron. ceived a magnificent burial in Jerusalem, for he had, xx. 31. indeed, been emulous of the acts of David.

similarly. Kir Haraseth (also called Kir of Moab) is the modern Kerak, about 12 miles E, of the southern end of the Dead Sea.

b Kir Haraseth is meant; it is not mentioned at this point (vs. 26) in Scripture, which says that the king of Moab "saw that the battle was too sore for him."

Bibl. "to break through to the king of Edom."

d This reference to the kings' compassion is based on the LXX which renders by μετάμελος "repentance" the Heb. qeseph "anger" (A.V. "indignation") in vs. 27, "and there was great anger upon Israel," which probably refers to the anger of the Moabite god and implies a subsequent defeat of the Israelites.

45 (iv. 1) Κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ παίδας ἱκανούς, διάδοχον δ' ἀπέδειξε τὸν πρεσβύτατον¹ Ἰώραμον· ταὐτὸ γὰρ εἶχεν ὄνομα τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς² ἀδελφῷ, βασιλεύοντι

είχεν ὄνομα τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς² ἀδελφῷ, βασιλεύοντι 46 δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, Ἰλχάβου³ παιδί. παραγενόμενος δ' ἐκ τῆς Μωαβίτιδος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς Σαμάρειαν εἶχε σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον, οὖ τὰς πράξεις βούλομαι διελθεῖν, λαμπραὶ γάρ εἰσι καὶ ἱστορίας ἄξιαι, καθὼς ἐν ταῖς

ίεραις βίβλοις ἐπεγνώκαμεν.

47 (2) Προσελθούσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ φασι τὴν 'Ωβεδίου τοῦ 'Αχάβου οἰκονόμου γυναίκα εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ πῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς τοὺς προφήτας περιέσωσεν, ὑπὸ τῆς 'Αχάβου γυναικὸς 'Ιεζαβέλας ἀναιρουμένους έκατὸν γὰρ ἔλεγεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δανεισαμένου τραφῆναι κεκρυμμένους καὶ μετὰ τὴν τἀνδρὸς τελευτὴν ἄγεσθαι νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν αὐτήν τε καὶ τέκνα πρὸς δουλείαν, παρεκάλει τε διὰ ταύτην τὴν εὐεργεσίαν' τὰνδρὸς ἐλεῆσαί τε καὶ

48 παρασχεῖν τινα βοήθειαν. πυθομένω δ' αὐτῷ τί ἔχει⁵ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔφη, ἔλαιον δὲ βραχὺ λίαν ἐν κεραμίω. ὁ δὲ προφήτης ἀπελθοῦσαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀγγεῖα χρήσασθαι πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν

¹ πρεσβύτερον MSP: seniorem Lat.
 ² μητρὸς MSPE Lat. Zonaras.
 ³ ᾿Αχάβου δὲ ROM.

4 Ernesti: ¿pyaoíav codd.

5 έχοι MSP.

Bibl. Jehoram (Yehôrām), LXX Ἰωράμ.

^c Jehoram of Israel.

b The variant "mother's" is in disagreement with Scripture.

^d Bibl. "a certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets." The Targum and rabbinic tradition also identify the woman as the wife of Obadiah (on whom *cf. Ant.* viii

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 45-48

(iv. 1) Now he left behind a good number of sons, Jehosha. but as his successor he had named the eldest, Joram, a phat is succeeded who thus had the same name as his wife's b brother, by Jehoram, the ruler of the Israelites and the son of Achab. And, when the king of the Israelites came from Moab to Samaria, he had with him the prophet Elisha, whose acts I wish to relate—for they are glorious and worthy of record—as we discover them in the sacred books.

(2) It is said that there came to him the wife of Elisha and Obedias, the steward of Achab, saying that he was jar of oil. not ignorant of how her husband had saved the lives 2 Kings iv. 1. of the prophets who were to have been slain by Achab's wife Jezabela, for, she said, a hundred of them had been fed by him with money he had borrowed e and had been kept in hiding; now, after her husband's death, both she and her children f were being taken away into slavery by her creditors, and she besought him, because of this good deed 9 of her husband, to pity her and give her some assistance. When he inquired what she had in the house, she replied that there was nothing but a very little oil in a jar. But the prophet bade her go and borrow from her neighbours many empty vessels and

329 ff.). The identification is probably based on the similarity of the woman's statement to Elisha (2 Kings iv. 1), "thou knowest that thy servant did fear the Lord" to Obadiah's statement to Elijah (1 Kings xviii. 12), "but I. thy servant, fear the Lord from my youth."

Rabbinic tradition also adds the unscriptural detail that

Obadiah borrowed the money to feed the prophets. 1 Scripture does not include the woman herself,

g Emended text; Mss. "action."

h "Oil in a jar" agrees with the Luc. text; Heb. and Lxx "oil with which to anoint myself." A.V., taking 'āsûk "anoint" as a noun, also has "pot of oil."

γειτόνων κενά, καὶ τὰς θύρας ἀποκλείσασαν τοῦ δωματίου μεταχεῖν¹ εἰς ἄπαντα τὸ ἔλαιον· τὸν γὰρ 49 θεὸν πληρώσειν αὐτά. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς τὰ κελευσθέντα ποιησάσης² καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις προσφέρειν ἔκαστον τῶν ἀγγείων προσταττούσης, ἐπεὶ πάντα ἐπληρώθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἢν κενόν, ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν τοὔλαιον ἀπελθούση ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοῖς δανεισταῖς ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα· γενήσεσθαι δέ τι καὶ

τούλαιον απελθουση αποδοσθαι και τοις δανεισταις αποδοῦναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα· γενήσεσθαι δέ τι καὶ περισσονδ ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ἐλαίου, ῷ πρὸς διατροφὴν τὴν τῶν τέκνων καταχρήσεται. καὶ Ἐλισσαῖος μὲν οὕτως ἀπήλλαξε τῶν χρεῶν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν ὕβρεως ἦλευθέρωσεν.

51 (3) 6 Ελισσαίος δε ταχέως προς 'Ιώραμον εξαπέστειλε φυλάττεσθαι τον τόπον εκείνον αὐτῷ παραινῶν· είναι γὰρ εν αὐτῷ Σύρους τινὰς τοὺς εκεί λοχῶντας αὐτὸν ἀνελείν. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς οὐκέτ' ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν εξώρμησε τῷ προφήτῃ πειθό-52 μενος· "Αδαδος δε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς διαμαρτὼν ώς τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ καταμηνυσάντων πρὸς τὸν 'Ιώρα-

μον τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἀργίζετό τε καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτοὺς προδότας ἔλεγε τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῦ καὶ θάνατον ἠπείλει, φανερᾶς τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἣν μόνοις ἐκείνοις ἐπίστευσε, τῷ πολεμίῳ γεγενημένης. 53 φήσαντος δέ τινος τῶν παρόντων ψευδοδοξεῖν

1 μετασχεῖν ROP: μετεγχεῖν S. 2 ποιούσης ROM. 3 πάντα OP: τοῦτο Bekker. 4 συμβουλεύει MSP. 5 περισσότερον MSP..

ante Ἐλισσαῖος lacunam esse docet Hudson.
 ⁷ μὴ ψευδοδοξεῖν MSPE Lat.

^a There is a lacuna in Josephus's text corresponding to the

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 48-53

then shut the doors of her chamber and pour some of the oil into all of them, for God, he said, would fill them. And the woman did as he had bidden, and instructed her children to bring every one of the vessels; and, when all were filled and not a single one was left empty, she came to the prophet and told him of these things. Then he advised her to go and sell the oil and pay her creditors what was owing, saying that something would be left over from the price of the oil which she could use for the maintenance of her children. In this way, then, did Elisha free the woman of her debts and deliver her from the harsh treatment of her creditors.

(3) Then Elisha hastily sent word to Joram, Elisha warning him to beware of that place, for, he said, warns of there were some Syrians there lying in wait to kill a Syrian him. And so the king did not again start out for the 2 Kings vi. 9. hunt, b in obedience to the prophet's word. Then Adados, having been unsuccessful in his plot, and thinking that his own men had betrayed the plan of the ambush to Joram, was enraged, and, having sent for them, called them betrayers of his secrets, and threatened them with death for having let the attempt (on Joram's life), which he had entrusted to them alone, become known to the enemy. But one of those present said that he was under a false

biblical narrative extending from 2 Kings iv. 8 to vi. 8, which tells of the Shunammite woman, the poisoned pottage, the miracle of the loaves, the leprosy of Naaman the Syrian, the rescue of the iron axe-head from the water, and the beginning of the Syrian war (vi. 8 reads, "Then the king of Syria warred against Israel and took counsel with his servants, saying, In such and such a place shall be my camp "). Josephus's text resumes at this point.

b There is no mention of a hunt in Scripture.

αὐτόν, μηδὲ ὑπονοεῖν ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ κατειρηκότας την έκπεμψιν των αναιρησόντων αυτόν, άλλα γινώσκειν ὅτι Ἐλισσαῖός ἐστιν ὁ προφήτης ὁ πάντα μηνύων αὐτῷ καὶ φανερὰ ποιῶν τὰ ύπ' αὐτοῦ βουλευόμενα, προσέταξε πέμψας μαθεῖν 54 εν τίνι πόλει τυγχάνει διατρίβων 'Ελισσαίος. οί δε πεμφθέντες ήκον άγγέλλοντες αὐτὸν ἐν Δωθαείν² ύπάρχοντα. πέμπει τοιγαρούν "Αδαδος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν δύναμιν πολλήν ἵππων καὶ άρμάτων, ὅπως τον 'Ελισσαΐον λάβωσιν. οι δε νυκτός κύκλω την πόλιν πασαν περιλαβόντες είχον έν φρουρά. αμα δέ εω τοῦτο μαθών ὁ τοῦ προφήτου διάκονος καὶ ότι ζητοῦσιν οἱ πολέμιοι λαβεῖν Ἐλισσαῖον, ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ταραχῆς δραμὼν πρὸς 55 αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τὸν θεράποντα μὴ δεδιέναι παρεθάρρυνε, καὶ τὸν θεόν, ὧ συμμάχω καταφρονῶν άδεης ην, παρεκάλει τῷ διακόνω πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν εὖελπι θάρσος ἐμφανίσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ παρουσίαν, ὡς δυνατόν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπήκοος τῶν εὐχῶν τοῦ προφήτου γενόμενος πληθος άρμάτων καὶ ἵππων τῶ θεράποντι περὶ τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον κεκυκλωμένον θεάσασθαι παρέσχεν, ώς αὐτὸν ἀφιέναι μεν το δέος, αναθαρσησαι δε προς την όψιν της 56 νομιζομένης συμμαχίας. 'Ελισσαίος δέ μετά ταῦτα καὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ὄψεις ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸν θεὸν παρεκάλει, άχλυν αυταις επιβαλόντα άφ' ής άγνοήσειν αὐτὸν ἔμελλον. γενομένου δὲ καὶ τούτου παρελθών είς μέσους τούς έχθρους έπηρώτησε τίνα

αὐτούς Ο.

² RO: Δωθαΐμ, Δωθαείμ rell.: Dothaim Lat.

³ κεχρημένος καταφρονῶν RO: χρώμενος καταφρονῶν S: χρώμενος P.
⁴ Niese: αὐτοῦ codd. E.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 53-56

impression and that he should not suspect them of having told his enemy of the sending out of the men who were to kill him, but should know that it was Elisha the prophet who had informed him of everything and had revealed to him the things plotted by Adados. Thereupon he gave orders to send men to learn in what city Elisha might then be dwelling. And the men who were sent came back with the report that he was in Dothaein. Accordingly, Ben-hadad Adados sent to that city a great force with horses and (Adados) of Syria chariots in order to take Elisha. These surrounded attempts the whole city by night and kept it under guard. Elisha. And when, at break of dawn, the prophet's servant 2 Kings learned of this and that the enemy were seeking to take Elisha, he came running to him with cries of alarm and informed him of these things. But the prophet encouraged his servant, telling him not to be afraid, and besought God, with whom as ally he was scornful of danger and without fear, to reveal. so far as was possible, His power and presence to his servant, in order that he might take hope and courage. Then God, hearkening to the prophet's prayers, permitted his servant to behold a host of horses and chariots b in a circle around Elisha, so that he lost his fear and took new courage at the sight of what seemed a host of allies. But Elisha after that besought God also to blind the eves of the enemy and throw a mist c about them through which they would be unable to see him. And, when this too was done, he came into the midst of the foe and

a Variant Dothaeim as in LXX; bibl. Dothan, modern Tell Dothan, about 6 miles S.W. of the modern Jenin, which is at the southern end of the Plain of Esdraelon.

b Bibl. " chariots of fire."

[·] The mist is a rationalistic detail added by Josephus.

έπιζητοῦντες ήλθον των δέ τον προφήτην 'Ελισσαίον εἰπόντων παραδώσειν ὑπέσχετο, εἰ πρὸς τὴν 57 πόλιν έν ή τυγχάνει ων ακολουθήσειαν αὐτω. καὶ οί μεν ήγουμένω τω προφήτη τας όψεις ύπο θεου καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπεσκοτημένοι σπουδάζοντες είποντο, άγαγών δέ αὐτοὺς Ἐλισσαῖος εἰς Σαμάρειαν 'Ιωράμω μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέταξε κλεῖσαι τὰς πύλας καὶ περιστήσαι τοῖς Σύροις τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, τῷ θεῷ δὲ ηὔξατο καθᾶραι τὰς ὄψεις τῶν πολεμίων και την άχλυν αυτών άνελειν. οι δ' έκ της άμαυρώσεως έκείνης άφεθέντες έώρων αύτους 58 έν μέσοις τοις έχθροις υπάρχοντας. έν έκπλήξει

δέ δεινή και άμηχανία των Σύρων οίον είκος έφ' ούτως θείω καὶ παραδόξω πράγματι κειμένων καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωράμου πυθομένου τὸν προφήτην εὶ κελεύσειεν αὐτοὺς κατακοντισθηναι, τοῦτο μέν έκώλυσε ποιείν 'Ελισσαίος τούς γάρ νόμω πολέμου ληφθέντας αποκτείνειν είναι δίκαιον έλεγε, τούτους δέ μηδέν κακόν έργάσασθαι την έκείνου χώραν, θεία δε δυνάμει πρός αὐτοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας ελθεῖν.

59 συνεβούλευέ τε ξενίων αὐτοῖς μεταδόντα καὶ τρα-πέζης ἀπολύειν ἀβλαβεῖς. Ἰώραμος μὲν οὖν τῷ προφήτη πειθόμενος έστιάσας λαμπρώς πάνυ καὶ φιλοτίμως τους Σύρους ἀπέλυσε προς "Αδαδον τον αὐτῶν βασιλέα.

60 (4) Τῶν δ' ἀφικομένων καὶ δηλωσάντων αὐτῷ τὰ συμβεβηκότα θαυμάσας ὁ "Αδαδος τὸ παράδοξον καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δύναμιν και τὸν προφήτην, ὧ τὸ θεῖον οὕτώς

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 56-60

asked them whom they had come in search of. When they said it was the prophet Elisha, he promised to deliver him if they would follow him to the city where he happened to be. And so, with their eves and understanding beclouded by God, they eagerly went with the prophet, who led the way. When Elisha had brought them to Samaria, he ordered King Joram to shut the gates and place his own army around the Syrians; then he prayed to God to clear the eyes of the enemy and remove the mist from before them. And, when they were freed from their blindness, they saw that they were in the midst of their foes. Then, while the Syrians, as was natural, were in dire consternation a and helplessness at so divine and marvellous an event, King Joram asked the prophet whether it was his bidding that they be shot down, but Elisha prevented him from doing this, saving that it was right to kill those who were captured by the law of war, but that these men had done no harm to his country and, without knowing it, had come to them by the power of God. He also counselled him to offer them hospitality and food and send them away unhurt, And so Joram, in obedience to the prophet's advice, entertained the Syrians very splendidly and lavishly and then sent them back to Adados their king.

(4) But, when they came and informed him of what Ben-hadad had happened, Adados was amazed at the marvel besieges and at the manifestation of the God of the Israelites in Samaria. and His power, and also at the prophet, with whom 2 Kings the Deity was so evidently present b; and so, be-

the manifestation of the power of the Israelite God as God of war cf. Ant. vi. 27; for Hellenistic parallels cf. P. Roussel in Bull. de Corresp. hell. lv. (1931): 108.

^a The Syrians' consternation is an unscriptural detail. ^b Ben-hadad's amazement is an unscriptural detail. On

έναργῶς παρῆν, κρύφα μὲν οὐκέτι διέγνω τῷ τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν ἐπιχειρεῖν βασιλεῖ, τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον δεδοικώς, φανερώς δε πολεμείν έκρινε, τω πλήθει της στρατιάς και τη δυνάμει νομίζων περιέσεσθαι 61 τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ στρατεύει μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰώραμον, δς οὐχ ἡγούμενος αὐτὸν ἀξιόμαχον εἶναι τοῖς Σύροις ἐνέκλεισεν αὐτὸν εἰς την Σαμάρειαν, θαρρών τη των τειχών όχυρότητι. "Αδαδος δε λογισάμενος αιρήσειν την πόλιν, εί καί μή τοις μηχανήμασι, λιμῷ μέντοι καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παραστήσεσθαι τοὺς Σαμαρεις, προσ-62 βαλών επολιόρκει την πόλιν. ούτω δε επέλιπε τον Ίώραμον ή τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐπορία, ὡς δι' ὑπερβολήν της ένδείας έν τη Σαμαρεία πραθήναι ογδοήκοντα μέν άργυρων νομίσματος κεφαλήν όνου, πέντε δ' ἀργυρῶν νομίσματος ξέστην κόπρου περι-63 στερών αντί άλων ωνείσθαι τους Έβραίους. ήν δ' έν φόβω μη διὰ τὸν λιμὸν προδῷ τις τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἰώραμος καὶ καθ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκπεριήρχετο τὰ τείχη καὶ τοὺς φύλακας, μή τις ἔνδον εἴη παρ' αὐτῶνὶ σκεπτόμενος² καὶ τῷ βλέπεσθαι καὶ φροντίζειν ἀφαιρούμενος καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι τι τοιοῦτον καὶ τὸ ἔργον, εἰ ταύτην τις τὴν γνώμην 64 ἥδη λαμβάνειν ἔφθασεν. ἀνακραγούσης δέ τινος

1 post αὐτῶν lacunam suspicatur Niese.
2 σκεπόμενος RO Lat.

b Unscriptural detail.

^a The contrast between "secret attempts" and the decision "to fight openly" is made to reconcile vs. 23, "the bands of Syria came no more into the land of Israel," with vs. 24, "And it came to pass after this that Ben-hadad, king of Syria; gathered all his host and went up and besieged Samaria."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 60-64

cause of his fear of Elisha, he determined to make no more secret attempts on the life of the Israelite king, but decided to fight openly, in the belief that he would overcome the enemy by the numbers and strength of his army.a So he marched with a great force against Joram, who, not thinking himself a match for the Syrians, b shut himself up in Samaria, relying on the strength of its walls. But Adados, who counted on capturing the city, if not by engines, at any rate by bringing the Samarians c to terms through famine and the lack of provisions, moved up his men and besieged the city. And Joram's supply The famine of necessities was reduced to such an extent that in Samaria. through the excessive lack of food an ass's head was vi. 25. sold for eighty d pieces of silver in Samaria, and the Hebrews paid five pieces of silver for a sextarius (xestē) of dove's dung to be used for salt. And Joram was in constant fear that, because of the famine, someone might betray the city to the enemy, and every day he would walk all around the walls to the guards, spying out whether any of the enemy were within the city, and by his appearance and precautions preventing any (citizen) even from wishing such a thing, or from acting on it if he had already formed such a plan. Now, when a certain woman

^e "Samaritans" is a term more appropriate to the inhabitants of Samaria after the Babylonian Exile.

d So Heb.; LXX 50.

Bibl. "a fourth part of a cab (qab)"; this would equal a log, approximately a pint. The log is equated with the sextarius also in Ant. viii. 57 (cf. note ad loc.).

[&]quot; "Used for salt" is an unscriptural detail. Some Jewish commentators assume that the dung was used for fuel.

This explanation of Jehoram's motives in walking around the walls is an addition to Scripture, which says merely that "as he was walking by on the wall, a woman cried out," etc.

γυναικός '' δέσποτα' ελέησον '' νομίσας αἰτεῖν τι μέλλειν αὐτὴν τῶν πρὸς τροφήν, ὀργισθεὶς ἐπηράσατο αὐτῆ τὸν θεὸν καὶ μήτε ἄλως² αὐτῷ μήτε ληνοὺς ὑπάρχειν ἔλεγεν, ὅθεν τι καὶ παράσχοι α̈ν³

65 αὐτῆ δεομένη. τῆς δ' οὐδενὸς μὲν τούτων χρήζειν εἰπούσης οὐδ' ἐνοχλεῖν τροφῆς ἔνεκα, κριθῆναι δ' ἀξιούσης πρὸς ἄλλην γυναῖκα, κελεύσαντος λέγειν καὶ διδάσκειν περὶ ῶν ἐπιζητεῖ, συνθήκας ἔφη ποιήσασθαι μετὰ τῆς ἐτέρας γυναικὸς γειτνιώσης καὶ φίλης αὐτῆ τυγχανούσης, ὅπως ἐπεὶ τὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας ἦν ἀμήχανα διαχρησάμεναι τὰ τέκνα (ἦν δ' ἄρρεν ἑκατέρα παιδίον) '' ἀνὰ μίαν 66 ἡμέραν θρέψωμεν ἀλλήλας. κάγὼ μέν,'' φησί,

66 ημεραν σρεψωμεν αλληλας. καγω μεν, φησι, "πρωτη τουμόν κατέσφαξα και την παρελθουσαν ήμέραν τουμόν ετράφημεν άμφότεραι νῦν' δ' οὐ βούλεται ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ παραβαίνει τὴν συν-

67 θήκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀφανῆ πεποίηκε.'' τοῦτ' ελύπησε σφοδρῶς Ἰώραμον ἀκούσαντα, καὶ περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ δεινὸν ἐκβοήσας ἔπειτα ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον πληρωθεὶς ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ὥρμησεν, ὅτι μὴ δεῖται τοῦ θεοῦ πόρον τ' αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφυγὴν τῶν περιεχόντων κακῶν δοῦναι· τόν τε ἀποτεμοῦντα αὐτοῦ τὴν

68 κεφαλήν εὐθὺς εξέπεμψε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἢπείγετο τοῦ προφήτου τὸν δ' Ἐλισσαίον οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργή, καθεζόμενος δὲ οἴκαδε παρ' αὐτῷ σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐμήνυσεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Ἰώραμος ὁ τοῦ φονέως υἱὸς

^{1 +} κύριε MSP.
2 Niese: ἄλωας codd. Ε.
3 παράσχοι ἄν Niese: παράσχοιεν RMSP: παράσχειεν Ο:
παράσχοι Βekker.
4 ή MSPE Lat. Zonaras.
5 πόρον τ' Niese: πόρον MSP: παρόντα R: παρόντος Ο.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 64-68

cried out, "Have pity, my lord," he was angered, The thinking that she was about to beg for food or the cannibalism like, and he called down God's curse upon her, a say-Israelite women. ing that he had neither threshing-floor nor wine-press 2 Kings from which he might give her something at her en- vi. 26. treaty. But she said that she needed none of these things nor was she troubling him about food; she begged, however, that her case against another woman be judged, and, when he bade her speak and inform him of what she wanted, she said that she had made an agreement with the other woman, who was her neighbour and friend, b that, since the conditions of famine and need had become impossible to bear, they should make an end of their childreneach had a son-and "we were each in turn to feed the other for one day. And I first slaughtered my son, and we both made a meal of him vesterday; and now she will not do the same, but has broken the agreement and has put her son out of sight." This Jehoram's grieved Joram sorely when he heard it, and he tore kill Elisha his garment in pieces and cried out fearfully; then, 2 Kings vi. 31. being filled with wrath against the prophet Elisha, he was bent on doing away with him because he did not ask God to give them a way out and an escape from the ills that surrounded them, and he at once sent out a man to cut off his head. And so this man hurried off to make away with the prophet. But Elisha was not unaware of the king's wrath; sitting in his own house with his disciples, c he warned them that Joram, the son of the murderer, a had sent

^o So Heb. and LXX, "may the Lord not save thee; how should I save thee?" A.V. renders, "If the Lord do not help thee, whence should I help thee?"

b Unscriptural details.

Bibl. "the elders."

d Ahab is meant.

πέμψειε τὸν ἀφαιρήσοντα αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν. 69 '' ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς,'' φησίν, '' ὅταν ὁ τοῦτο προσταχθεὶς ἀφίκηται, παραφυλάξαντες εἰσιέναι μέλλοντα προσαποθλίψατε τἢ θύρα καὶ κατάσχετε· ἀκολουθήσει γὰρ αὐτῷ πρός με παραγινόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταβεβουλευμένος.'' καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ κελευσθὲν ώς ἦκεν ὁ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κὸὶ τὴν Τὸ ἀναίρεσαν τὸν 'Ελισσαίον ἐποίρσαν ' Κόρανος δὲ

70 ἀναίρεσιν τὴν Ἐλισσαίου ἐποίησαν Ἰωραμος δὲ καταγνοὺς τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν προφήτην ὀργῆς καὶ δείσας μὴ φθάση κτείνας αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦτο προσταχθείς, ἔσπευσε κωλῦσαι γενέσθαι τὸν φόνον καὶ διασῶσαι τὸν προφήτην. ἀφικόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢτιᾶτο ὅτι μὴ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λύσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν παρόντων αἰτεῖται κακῶν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτῶν φθειρομένους

71 ύπερορᾶ. Ἐλισσαῖος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐπηγγέλλετο κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν, καθ' ῆν ὁ βασιλεὺς
ἀφίκετο¹ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἔσεσθαι πολλὴν εὐπορίαν
τροφῆς καὶ πραθήσεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῆ ἀγορᾶ σίκλου
δύο κριθῆς σάτα, ἀνήσεσθαι δὲ σεμιδάλεως σάτον

72 σίκλου. ταθτα τόν τε Ἰωραμον καὶ τοὺς παρόντας εἰς χαρὰν περιέτρεψε· πιστεύειν γὰρ τῷ προφήτη διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦς προπεπειραμένοις ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ὤκνουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης ἐνδεὲς τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἡ προσδοκωμένη κοῦφον αὐτοῖς

1 ἀφῖκτο Naber.

^a The meaning of Heb. $l^{\epsilon}hastem$ $\delta th\hat{o}$ baddeleth (A.V. "hold him fast at the door") is not quite clear. Josephus's rendering προσαποθλίψατε τ $\hat{\eta}$ θύρα is similar to I.XX παραθλίψατε αὐτὸν ἐν τ $\hat{\eta}$ θύρα " press him close in the door."

^b Bibl. " is not the sound of his master's feet behind him?" ^c The preceding is an amplification of the obscure verse (2 Kings vi. 33), "And while he (Elisha?) yet talked with 38

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 68-72

someone to take off his head. "But you," he said, "when the man arrives who has been given this order, be on guard as he is about to enter, and press him back against the door a and hold him there, for the king will follow him and come to me, having changed his mind." b So, when the man came who had been sent by the king to make away with Elisha, they did as he had ordered. But Joram, repenting of his wrath against the prophet and fearing that the man who had been ordered to kill him might already be doing so, hastened to prevent the murder and save the prophet. And, when he came to Elisha, he reproached him for not having asked of God a deliverance from their present misfortunes, and for looking on so indifferently while they were being destroyed by them.c But Elisha promised that on the morrow at the very same hour at which the king had come to him there would be a great abundance of food, and that two sata d of barley would be sold in the market for a shekel, while a saton of fine flour would be bought for a shekel. These words changed the feelings of Joram and those present to one of joy, for they did not hesitate to believe the prophet, having been convinced of his truthfulness by earlier experiences; moreover the expected day (of plenty) made the want and distress of that day seem light to them. But the commander

them, the messenger came down to them; and he (the king?) said, Behold, this evil is from the Lord; why should I wait

for the Lord any longer?"

* This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

⁴ Heb. s^{*}·āh (A.V." measure"), 1.xx μέτρον. In § 85 the saton is equated with 1½ Italian modii (=24 sextarii): the s^{*}·āh would thus equal 24 Heb. logs or pints (cf. § 62 note); this agrees with other ancient estimates.

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73 ἐποίει. ὁ δὲ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἡγεμὼν τῷ βασιλει φίλος ὢν καὶ τότε φέρων αὐτὸν ἐπερηρεισμένον '' ἄπιστα,'' εἶπε, '' λέγεις, ὧ προφῆτα· καὶ ὥσπερ ἀδύνατον ἐκχέαι τὸν θεὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταρράκτας κριθῆς ἢ σεμιδάλεως, οὕτως ἀμήχανον καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ νῦν εἰρημένα γενέσθαι.'' καὶ ὁ προφήτης πρὸς αὐτόν '' ταῦτα μέν,'' εἶπεν, '' ὄψει τοῦτο λαμβάνοντα τὸ τέλος, οὐ μεταλήψη δ' οὐδενὸς τῶν

ύπαρξόντων.1 ''

74 (5) Ἐξέβη τοίνυν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὰ ὑπὸ Ἐλισσαίου προειρημένα· νόμος ἢν ἐν τῆ Σαμαρεία τοὺς λέπραν ἔχοντας καὶ μὴ καθαροὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τὰ σώματα μένειν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως. ἄνδρες οὖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τέσσαρες διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν μένοντες, μηκέτι μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ λιμοῦ τροφὴν ἐκ-

αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ λιμοῦ τροφὴν ἐκ75 φέροντος, εἰσελθεῖν μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸν νόμον κεκωλυμένοι, κὰν ἐπιτραπῆ δ' αὐτοῖς διαφθαρήσεσθαι κακῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ λογισάμενοι, τοῦτο² δὲ
πείσεσθαι κὰν αὐτόθι μείνωσιν ἀπορία τροφῆς,
παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοὺς ἔκριναν ὡς εἰ
μὲν φείσαιντο αὐτῶν ζησόμενοι, εἰ δ' ἀναιρεθεῖεν

76 εὐθανατήσοντες. ταύτην κυρώσαντες τὴν βουλὴν νυκτὸς ἦκον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ἤρχετο δ' ἤδη τοὺς Σύρους ἐκφοβεῖν καὶ ταράττειν ὁ θεὸς καὶ κτύπον άρμάτων καὶ ἵππων³ ὡς ἐπερχο-

¹ ὑπαρξάντων ROMP. ² ταὐτὸ Naber.

b Heb. "if the Lord made windows in heaven," LXX

³ ὅπλων MSPE Lat.: ἵππων τε καὶ ὅπλων Zonaras.

^a Cf. LXX τριστάτης, rendering Heb. šālîš (A.V. "lord"); the Targum has "warrior."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 73-76

of the third division, who was a friend of the king and who was just then supporting the king as he leaned on him, said, "Incredible are the things you are saying, O prophet. And, as impossible as it is for God to rain down from heaven torrents of barley or fine flour, b just so impossible is it for the things of which you have now spoken to happen." And the prophet said to him, "You shall see these things come to pass in this way, but you shall have no share

in any of the things that are to be."

(5) And, indeed, the things which had been fore- The four told by Elisha came to pass in this manner. There lepers of Samaria. was a law in Samaria that those who had leprosy and 2 Kings whose bodies were not clean from such diseases should stay outside the city.c Now there were four men who for this reason were dwelling before the gates; but, as no one any longer brought food out to them because of the extremity of the famine, and as they were prevented by law from entering the city, they reflected that even if it were permitted them to enter they would perish miserably through the famine, and that they would suffer the same fate if they remained there, and so they decided to give themselves up to the enemy, in the hope that if these spared their lives they would be able to live, and that if they were put to death they would die without suffering greatly. Having firmly agreed on this plan, they went by night to the enemy's camp. Now God had already begun to frighten and disturb the Syrians and to cause the noise of chariots and

ίδου ποιήσει Κύριος καταράκτας έν ουρανώ. Josephus seems to have confused LXX καταράκτας "windows" with καταρράκτας (also written καταράκτας) "torrents." But cf. the Targum's addition, " and bring down abundance."

· Amplification of Scripture.

μένης στρατιάς ταις άκοαις αὐτῶν ἐνηχείν καὶ ταύτην έγγυτέρω προσφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπόνοιαν. 77 αμέλει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὑπ' αὐτῆς διετέθησαν,

ώστε τὰς σκηνὰς ἐκλιπόντες συνέδραμον πρὸς τὸν "Αδαδον, λέγοντες ώς 'Ιώραμος ό τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν βασιλεύς μισθωσάμενος συμμάχους τόν τε των Αίγυπτίων βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τῶν νήσων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς άγει προσιόντων γάρ αὐτῶν ἐπακούειν τοῦ κτύπου.

78 ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὁ "Αδαδος (καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς περιεψοφείτο ήδη τὰς ἀκοὰς ὁμοίως τῷ πλήθει) προσέσχε, καὶ μετά πολλης ἀταξίας καὶ θορύβου, καταλιπόντες έν τῆ παρεμβολή τους ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ πλοῦτον ἄφθονον, εἰς φυγὴν

79 εχώρησαν. οί δε λεπροί οί εκ της Σαμαρείας άναχωρήσαντες είς τὸ τῶν Σύρων στρατόπεδον, ών μικρον έμπροσθεν έπεμνήσθημεν, ώς γενόμενοι πρός τη παρεμβολή πολλήν ήσυχίαν καὶ ἀφωνίαν έβλεπον οδσαν καὶ παρελθόντες δὲ εἴσω καὶ όρμήσαντες είς μίαν σκηνήν οὐδένα έώρων, εμφαγόντες1 καὶ πιόντες εβάστασαν εσθήτα καὶ πολύν χρυσον

80 κομίσαντές τ'2 έξω της παρεμβολης έκρυψαν έπειτ' είς έτέραν σκηνήν παρελθόντες όμοίως τὰ ἐν αὐτῆ πάλιν έξεκόμισαν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν τετράκις μηδενός αὐτοῖς ὅλως ἐντυγχάνοντος. ὅθεν εἰκάσαντες ανακεχωρηκέναι τοὺς πολεμίους κατεγίνωσκον αύτων μή ταθτα δηλούντων τω Ἰωράμω καὶ 81 τοις πολίταις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸ τῆς

¹ εν μέσω φαγόντες MSP.
² κομίσαντές τ' ex Lat. Niese: κομίσαντες codd.: καὶ κομίgavtes Naber.

³ πόλεως ΡΕ.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 76-81

horses, as if an army were advancing, to resound in their ears, and this suspicion He brought ever closer to them. Finally they were so much affected by this means that they left their tents and ran to Adados, a saying that Joram, the Israelite king, had hired as allies both the king of Egypt and the king of the islands, b and was leading these against them, for, they said, they could hear the noise they made as they approached. As they were speak-flight of the Syrians, indeed, 2 Kings were already being assailed by the same sounds as vii. 7. were those of the people-, and then, abandoning their horses and beasts of burden and uncounted wealth in their camp, they turned to flee in great disorder and confusion. But the lepers who had left Samaria for the eamp of the Syrians, as we mentioned a little while ago, came to the camp and observed the great quiet and silence; and, when they had gone inside, they hastened to one of the tents, but, seeing no one there, they hurriedly ate and drank and carried off garments and much gold from the camp, which they buried. Then they went to another tent and again in the same way carried out what was in it; and this they did four times c without meeting anyone at all. Surmising, therefore, that the enemy had withdrawn, they reproached themselves for not having reported this to Joram and the citizens. And so they came to the wall of

Bibl. "they arose and fled in the darkness." Benhadad is not mentioned in the biblical account following.

· Unscriptural detail.

^b Bibl. "Hittites." Josephus has confused LXX Χετταίων (= Heb. Hittim " Hittites") with Χεττείμ or the like (= Heb. Kittim), representing Cyprus or the Greek islands generally; cf. LXX Jer. ii. 10 είς νήσους Χεττιείμ.

Σαμαρείας τείχος καὶ ἀναβοήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς φύλακας ἐμήνυον αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ταῦτ' ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως φύλαξι, παρ' ὧν μαθών 'Ιώραμος μεταπέμπεται 82 τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. πρὸς οῦς ἐλθόντας ἐνέδραν καὶ τέχνην ὑπονοεῖν ἔλεγε τὴν ἀναχώρησιν

ένέδραν καὶ τέχνην ύπονοεῖν ἔλεγε τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τοῦ τῶν Σύρων βασιλέως " ἀπογνόντος ἡμᾶς τῷ λιμῷ διαφθαρήσεσθαι, ἵνα ὡς πεφευγότων εἰς διαρπαγὴν ἐξελθόντων τῆς παρεμβολῆς αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπέσῃ καὶ κτείνῃ μὲν αὐτούς, ἀμαχητὶ δὲ ἔλῃ τὴν πόλιν ὅθεν ὑμῖν παραινῶ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν αὐτὴν καὶ μηδαμῶς προϊέναι καταφρονήσαντας τῷ τοὺς 83 πολεμίους ἀνακεχωρηκέναι." φήσαντος δέ τινος

33 πολεμίους άνακεχωρηκέναι. ΄΄ φήσαντος δέ τινος ώς άριστα μεν και συνετώτατα ύπονοήσειε, πέμψαι γε μην συμβουλεύσαντος δύο των ίππέων τους την άχρι 'Ιορδάνου πασαν έξερευνήσοντας, ἵν' εί ληφθέντες ύπὸ λοχώντων των πολεμίων διαφθαρείεν φυλακη τη στρατιά γένωνται του μηδεν όμοιον παθείν αυτήν άνυπόπτως προελθουσαν ΄΄ προσαριθμήσεις δέ,' φησί, ΄΄ τοις ύπὸ του λιμου τεθνηκόσι τους ίππεις, καν ύπὸ των έχθρων ληφθέντες από-

τοὺς ἱππεῖς, κἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ληφθέντες ἀπό84 λωνται.' ἀρεσθεὶς δὲ τἢ γνώμῃ τότε³ τοὺς κατοψομένους ἐξέπεμψεν· οἱ δὲ κενὴν μὲν πολεμίων
τὴν ὁδὸν ἤνυσαν, μεστὴν δὲ σιτίων καὶ ὅπλων εὖρον,
ἃ διὰ τὸ κοῦφοι πρὸς τὸ φεύγειν εἶναι ῥίπτοντες
κατέλιπον. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν τῶν ἐν τῶ στρατοπέδω τὸ πλῆθος ἐξαφῆκεν.

1 ed. pr.: ἀπογνόντας (-νῶντας Ο) codd.

3 τότε om. SP.

² καὶ . . . καταφρονήσαντας] μὴ καταφρονήσαντας RO: φρονήσαντας Μ.

^a Scripture, 2 Kings vii. 13, speaks of "five horses"

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 81-84

Samaria and, shouting up to the guards, informed The lepers them of what had become of the enemy, whereupon syrians' these announced this news to the king's guards, flight. from whom Joram learned of it and summoned his vii, 10. friends and commanders. And, when they came, he told them that he suspected the retreat of the Syrian king to be a snare and a trick; "giving up hope that we shall perish through famine, he has done this in order that, when we go out to plunder their camp in the belief that they have fled, he may suddenly fall upon our men and kill them and take the city without a battle. Wherefore I urge you to keep it well guarded and by no means to attack, being careless of danger because of the enemy's withdrawal." But someone said that, while the king was suspicious with the best reason and most wisely, he would at least advise him to send two of his horsemen a to search all the country as far as the Jordan in order that, if they were captured by the enemy lying in ambush and were slain, they might be a protection to the army against suffering a like fate through an incautious advance. "And," he added, "if they are captured by the foe and put to death, you will (merely) be adding the horsemen to those who have perished in the famine." Thereupon the king, approving of this plan, sent out the scouts. And these found the road which they Jehoram covered bare of enemies but full of abandoned pro-visions and arms which they had thrown away in camp; end order to be unimpeded in their flight. When the famine. king heard of this, he let the people loose to plunder 2 Kings

in vs. 14 Heb. has senê rekeb sûsîm "two chariots of horses." Lxx, reading rôkēb or rakkāb, " rider," has δύο ἐπιβάτας ΐππων, which reading Josephus follows.

85 εὐτελὲς δ' οὐδὲν οὐδ' ολίγον ωφελοῦντο, ἀλλὰ πολύν μέν χρυσόν, πολύν δ' ἄργυρον, ἀγέλας δὲ παντοδαπων κτηνών έλάμβανον. Ετι γε μην σίτου μυριάσι καὶ κριθης αξς οὐδ' ὅναρ ηλπισαν ἐπιτυχόντες τῶν μὲν προτέρων κακῶν ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἀφθονίαν δ' εξχον ὡς' ἀνεῖσθαι δύο μὲν σάτα κριθης σίκλου σεμιδάλεως δὲ σάτον σίκλου κατὰ τὴν 'Ελισσαίου προφητείαν ισχύει δε τὸ σάτον μόδιον

86 καὶ ημισυ Ἰταλικόν. μόνος δὲ τούτων οὐκ ὤνατο τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἡγεμών κατασταθείς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἴνα τὸ πληθος ἐπέχη της πολλης ὁρμης καὶ μη κιν-δυνεύσωσιν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀθούμενοι συμπατηθέντες ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτ' αὐτὸς ἔπαθε καὶ τοῦτον ἀποθνήσκει τὸν τρόπον, τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῷ προφητεύσαντος 'Ελισσαίου, ότε τοις ύπ' αὐτοῦ περί τῆς έσομένης εὐπορίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων λεγομένοις μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν. (6) 'Ο δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς "Αδαδος δια-

σωθείς είς Δαμασκον και μαθών ότι το θείον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν εἰς τὸ δέος καὶ την ταραχην έκείνην ενέβαλεν, άλλ' οὐκ έξ έφόδου πολεμίων εγένετο, σφόδρα τῷ δυσμενη τὸν θεὸν

88 έχειν άθυμήσας είς νόσον κατέπεσεν. έκδημήσαντος δέ κατ' έκεινον τον καιρον είς Δαμασκον 'Ελισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου γνοὺς ὁ ''Αδαδος, τὸν πιστότατον τῶν οἰκετῶν 'Αζάηλον ἔπεμψεν ὑπαντησόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα κομίζοντα, κελεύσας

¹ ελάμβανον om. ROM.

² ώς om. ROE.

a Cf. § 71 note.

b Josephus omits the episode of the Shunammite woman's return after the famine, 2 Kings viii. 1-6.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 85–88

the things in the camp. And they acquired no slight or small amount of gain, but took much gold and much silver and herds and flocks of all kinds: moreover they came upon such untold quantities of wheat and barley as they had not even dreamed of, and so they were delivered from their former sufferings and had such plenty that two sata of barley could be bought for a shekel, and a saton of fine flour for a shekel, in accordance with the prophecy of Elisha. Now the saton is equal to one and a half Italian modii. a The only one who did not enjoy any of these good things was the commander of the third division, for, having been stationed by the king at the gate to hold back the rush of the crowd and prevent the danger of their being pushed around by one another and trampled to death, he himself suffered this fate and died in this way, as Elisha had prophesied when this man alone of them all had refused to believe what he said concerning the abundance of provisions that was to be.

(6) Now, when the Syrian king Adados, who had Ben-hadad escaped to Damascus, learned that it was the Deity Hazael who had thrown both him and all his army into all (Azaelos) to consult that terror and confusion, and that it had not arisen Elishaabout from the advance of the enemy, he was greatly dis-his illness. 2 Kings heartened at having incurred God's displeasure, and viii. 7. fell ill.c But at that very time the prophet Elisha had left home for Damascus, and, when Adados knew of it, he sent Azaēlos, the most trusted of his servants, to meet him, bringing him gifts, and he ordered him

Scripture does not connect Ben-hadad's illness with his d Bibl. Hazael (Hazā'ēl), LXX 'Αζαήλ.

[·] Unscriptural detail.

^{&#}x27; So Luc. (δώρον) renders Heb. minhah, which Lxx transliterates as µaavá.

ἔρεσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου καὶ εἰ διαφεύξεται τὸν ἐξ 89 αὐτῆς κίνδυνον. ᾿Αζάηλος δὲ μετὰ καμήλων τεσσαράκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν, αι τὰ κάλλιστα και τιμιώτατα των έν Δαμασκώ γινομένων καὶ όντων έν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἔφερον δῶρα, συμβαλὼν τῷ Ἐλισσαίῳ καὶ προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ 'Αδάδου τοῦ βασιλέως πεμφθηναι πρὸς αὐτὸν δῶρά τε κομίσαι καὶ πυθέσθαι περί τῆς νόσου εἰ¹ ράων 90 ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔσοιτο. ὁ δὲ προφήτης τὸν μὲν 'Αζάηλον έκέλευε μηδέν απαγγέλλειν τῷ βασιλεί κακόν, ἔλεγε δ' ὅτι τεθνήξεται. καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰκέτης τοῦ βασιλέως έλυπείτο ταῦτ' ἀκούσας, ὁ δ' Ἐλισσαίος ἔκλαιε καὶ πολλοις έρρειτο δακρύοις, προορώμενος ἃ πάσχειν ό λαὸς ἔμελλε κακὰ μετὰ τὴν ᾿Αδάδου τελευτήν.
91 ἀνακρίναντος δ᾽ αὐτὸν ᾿Αζαήλου τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συγχύσεως '' κλαίω,'' φησί, '' τὸ πλῆθος τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν ἐλεῶν, ὧν ἐκ σοῦ πείσεται δεινῶν· άποκτενείς γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις ἐμπρήσεις, καὶ παιδία μὲν ἀπολείς προσρηγνὺς πέτραις τὰς δ' ἐγκύους ἀν-92 αρρήξεις γυναίκας.'' τοῦ δ' ᾿Λζαήλου λέγοντος· " τίνα γὰρ ἰσχὺν ἐμοί² τηλικαύτην εἶναι συμ-βέβηκεν, ὥστε ταῦτα ποιῆσαι; " τὸν θεὸν ἔφησεν αὐτῷ δεδηλωκέναι τοῦθ', ὅτι τῆς Συρίας μέλλοι βασιλεύειν. 'Αζάηλος μεν οθν παραγενόμενος προς τὸν "Αδαδον τῷ μέν τὰ βελτίω περὶ τῆς νόσου κατήγγελλε, τῆ δ' ἐπιούση δίκτυον ἐπιβαλών αὐτῷ 2 ἐν ἐμοὶ MSP. 1 Kal el RO.

^a Scripture (2 Kings viii. 11) seems to mean that Hazael kept the expression of his features unmoved; the Targum's rendering, "lengthened it greatly," may have suggested Josephus's interpretation.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 88-92

to inquire of the prophet about his illness and ask whether he would escape the danger it threatened. Thereupon Azaēlos, with forty camels bearing the most beautiful and costly gifts to be found in Damascus and in the palace, went to meet Elisha and, after greeting him in a friendly manner, said that he had been sent to him by King Adados to bring him gifts and to inquire about his illness, whether he would recover from it. Then the prophet bade Azaēlos not Elisha to announce the bad news to the king, but said that foretells Ben-hadad's he would die. And, while the king's servant was death and grieving at what he had heard, Elisha began to cry succession, and shed many tears, foreseeing the great ills which ²/₂ Kings viii. 10. the people was to suffer after the death of Adados. And, when Azaēlos asked him the reason of his distress, he said, "I am crying out of pity for the Israelite people because of the misfortunes which it will suffer at your hands. For you will slay their best men and burn their strongest cities, and you will kill their children by dashing them against the rocks and will rip up their women with child." Then, when Azaēlos asked, "What power has been given to me, so great that I can do these things? b" he replied that God had revealed to him that Azaēlos was to be king of Syria. So Azaēlos came to Adados and gave him a good report as to his illness, but the next day he spread a mesh-cloth e dipped in water over him and

Bibl. "What is thy servant, the dog (Lxx "dead dog"),

that he should do this great thing?"

[·] Heb. makber (A.V. "thick cloth ") is of uncertain meaning; Targum and Luc. render "bed-covering," Lxx transliterates as χαββά (v.l. μαχμά). Josephus's rendering, δίκτυον "mesh," would seem to fit better Heb. mikmar or mikmereth, less probably (as Weill suggests) Heb. mikbar "network" (of metal, wood, etc.; cf. LXX Ex. XXVII. 4).

93 διάβροχον τὸν μὲν στραγγάλη διέφθειρε, τὴν δ' άρχην αὐτὸς παρέλαβε δραστήριός τε ὢν άνηρ καὶ πολλήν έχων παρά των Σύρων εύνοιαν και τοῦ δήμου τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν, ὑφ' οὖ μέχρι νῦν αὐτός τε ό "Αδαδος καὶ 'Αζάηλος ό μετ' αὐτὸν ἄρξας ώς θεοί τιμώνται διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῶν ναῶν οἰκοδομίας, οἷς ἐκόσμησαν τὴν τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν

94 πόλιν. πομπεύουσι δ' αὐτοὶ καθ' έκάστην ἡμέραν έπὶ τιμῆ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ σεμνύνονται τὴν τούτων άρχαιότητα, οὐκ είδότες ὅτι νεώτεροί εἰσι καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν^ε οὖτοι οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔτη χίλια καὶ ἐκατόν. ὁ δέ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεύς Ἰώραμος ἀκούσας την 'Αδάδου τελευτην ανέπνευσεν έκ των φόβων καὶ τοῦ δέους δ δι' αὐτὸν είγεν, ἀσμένως εἰρήνης

λαμβανόμενος.

95 (v. 1) Ἰώραμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς (καὶ τούτω γὰρ ἦν ταὐτό, καθώς προειρήκαμεν έμπροσθεν, όνομα) παραλαβών την άρχην εὐθὺς έπὶ σφαγὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν πατρώων φίλων οδ καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν εχώρησε, τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν τῆς πονηρίας ἐντεῦθεν ποιησάμενος καὶ μηδέν διενεγκών τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ βασιλέων, οί πρώτοι παρηνόμησαν είς τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἑβραίων

96 ἔθη καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν. ἐδίδαξε δ' αὐτὸν τά τ' ἄλλα είναι κακὸν καὶ δὴ καὶ ξενικοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνείν 'Οθλία θυγάτηρ μεν 'Αχάβου συν-

² ἔχοντες RO. 4 Niese: Γοθολία codd.

^a Unscriptural detail.

¹ ούτοι ROSP. 3 'Ισραήλ (ἐσλ) MSP.

b Nicolas of Damascus may be the source of this addition to Scripture. T. Reinach refers to Justinus xxxvi. 2. 3, a passage on the early kings of Damascus, which reads, " Post Damas Azelus, mox Adores et Abrahames et Israhel reges

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killed him by suffocation. Then he took over the royal power himself, being a man of action and in great favour with the Syrians and the people of Damascus, by whom Adados and Azaēlos who ruled after him are to this day honoured as gods because of their benefactions and the building of temples with which they adorned the city of Damascus.^b And they have processions every day in honour of these kings and glory in their antiquity, not knowing that these kings are rather recent and lived less than eleven hundred years ago. Now, when Joram, the Israelite king, heard of Adados's death, he breathed again more freely after the alarms and the terror which he had felt on his account, and gladly welcomed peace.d

(v. 1) But Joram, the king of Jerusalem-he bore Jehoram of this same name, as we stated earlier —no sooner his queen, came into power than he proceeded to slay his Athaliah brothers and his fathers' friends who were also chiefs, 2 Kings making this the beginning and the outward sign of viii. 16; 2 Chron. his wickedness; and in no way did he differ from the xxi. 1. kings of the people f who first transgressed against the ancient customs of the Hebrews and the worship of God. The one who taught him to do wrong in so many ways, and especially in worshipping foreign gods, was Achab's daughter Othlia,9 who was married

fuere." Josephus (or his source) is evidently thinking of the god Hadad, the chief deity of the Aramaeans, cf. S. A. Cook, The Religion of Ancient Palestine, etc. (Schweich Lectures), 1930, pp. 130 ff. A god Hazael seems to be unknown.

Ben-hadad and Hazael reigned about 850 B.C., i.e. less than 1000 years before Josephus's time of writing (c. A.D. 100). The remarks on Jehoram's feeling are an addition to ° § 45. Scripture.

Emended form; Mss. Gotholia, as in LXX; bibl. Athaliah ('Athalyāhû). She is not named at this point in Scripture (2 Kings viii. 18; 2 Chron. xxi. 6).

οικοῦσα δ' αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς διὰ τὴν πρὸς Δαυίδην ὁμολογίαν οὐκ ἐβούλετο τούτου τὸ γένος ἔξαφανίσαι, Ἰώραμος δ' οὐ διέλιπεν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας καινουργῶν ἐπ' ἀσεβεία καὶ λύμη τῶν ἐπι-

97 χωρίων ἐθισμῶν. ἀποστάντων δ' αὐτοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Ἰδουμαίων καὶ τὸν μὲν πρότερον ἀποκτεινάντων βασιλέα, δς ὑπήκουεν αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρί, δν δ' ἐβούλοντο αὐτοὶ καταστησάντων, Ἰώραμος μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πέριξ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας

98 διέφθειρε, πορρωτέρω δ' οὐ προῆλθεν. ὤνησε μέντοι τοῦτο ποιήσας οὐδέν.² πάντες γὰρ ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ τὴν χώραν τὴν καλουμένην Λαβίναν³ νεμόμενοι. ἦν δ' οὕτως ἐμμανὴς ὤστε τὸν λαὸν ἠνάγκαζεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα⁴ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀναβαίνοντα προσκυνεῖν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους θεούς.

99 (2) Ταῦτα δ' αὐτῷ πράττοντι καὶ τελέως ἐκβεβληκότι τῆς διανοίας τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα κομίζεται παρ' Ἡλίου τοῦ προφήτου ἐπιστολή, ἡ τὸν θεὸν ἐδήλου μεγάλην παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενον δίκην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἰδίων πατέρων μιμητὴς οὐκ ἐγένετο, τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέων κατηκολούθησεν ἀσεβήμασι καὶ συνηνάγκασε τὴν Ἰούδα φυλὴν καὶ τοὺς πολίτας Ἱεροσολύμων ἀφέντας τὴν δσίαν τοῦ

Niese: αὐτοῦ codd. E.
 Λάβαιναν cod. Vat. ap. Hudson: Labennan Lat.
 ὑψηλά MSP.
 ἐτι γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς ἦν SP.

^a Scripture says merely that they revolted from Judah and made themselves a king, implying that they had had no independent king during Jehoshaphat's reign, cf. 1 Kings xxii. 47 (Heb. 48), "There was then (in Jehoshaphat's reign) no

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to him. But God because of His covenant with David did not wish utterly to destroy his line, although Joram did not let a day go by without devising some new form of impiety and violation of his country's traditions. Now, when, about that time, The the Idumaeans revolted from him and, after killing revolt. their former king who had been submissive to Joram's 2 Kings father, a set up a king of their own choosing, Joram, 2 Chron. with his own body of horsemen and chariots, invaded xxi. 8. Idumaea by night and destroyed those people who were near the borders of his kingdom, but did not proceed farther. By this act, however, he gained nothing at all, for they all revolted from him, including those who inhabited the region called Labina.b And he was so far out of his mind that he forced the people to go up to the highest parts of the mountains and worship strange gods.

(2) While he was acting in this fashion and com-Elijah's pletely disregarding his country's laws, a letter was prophecy of brought to him from the prophet Elijah, which fall. 2 Chron. informed him that God would inflict severe punish- xxl. 12. >ment on him because, instead of having imitated his own fathers, he had followed the impious example of the Israelite kings and had compelled the tribe of Judah and the citizens of Jerusalem to give up the king in Edom; a governor (A.V. "deputy") was king." Josephus, however, follows the contradictory account in 2 Kings iii. 9 ff. (see above, § 30), which speaks of a "king of

Edom" accompanying Jehoshaphat in the war against the Moabites.

 Bibl. Libnah, Lxx 2 Kings Λοβενά (v.l. Λομνά, cod. Β Σεννά), Luc. Λοβνά, 2 Chron. Λοβνά (v.l. Λομνά). It has been tentatively identified by Albright with mod. Tell Bornat on the eastern border of the Philistine plain in the latitude of Bethlehem.

" The variant (as if to explain the surprising fact) adds " for he was still upon earth."

ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ θρησκείαν¹ σέβειν τὰ εἴδωλα, καθὼς καὶ "Αχαβος τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἐβιάσατο,
 100 ὅτι τε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διεχρήσατο καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτεινεν· τήν τε τιμωρίαν ἣν ἀντὶ τούτων ὑφέξειν ἔμελλεν ἐσήμαινε τοῖς γράμμασιν ὁ προφήτης, ὅλεθρον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ

101 φθορὰν γυναικῶν αὐτοῦ² καὶ τέκνων, καὶ ὅτι τεθνήξεται νόσω τῆς νηδύος ἐπὶ πολὺ βασανισθείς, καὶ τῶν ἐντέρων αὐτοῦ³ δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τῶν ἐντὸς διαφθορᾶς ἐκρυέντων, ὥστ' αὐτὸν ὁρῶντα⁴ τὴν αὑτοῦ συμφορὰν καὶ μηδὲν βοηθῆσαι δυνάμενον ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐδήλου διὰ

της επιστολης δ 'Ηλίας.

102 (3) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ στρατὸς 'Αράβων τῶν ἔγγιστα τῆς Αἰθιοπίας κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων εἰς τὴν 'Ιωράμου βασιλείαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τήν τε χώραν διήρπασαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἰοὺς αὐτοῦ κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. εἶς δὲ αὐτῷ περιλείπεται τῶν παίδων διαφυγὼν τοὺς πολεμίους 'Οχοζίας⁵ ὄνομα.

103 μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτὸς τὴν προειρημένην ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου νόσον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον νοσήσας χρόνον (ἐπέσκηψε γὰρ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργήν), ἐλεεινῶς ἀπέθανεν ἐπιδὼν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐντὸς ἐκρυέντα. περιύβρισε δ' αὐτοῦ

> 1 θρησκείαν om. RO. 2 + τοῦ βασιλέωs codd. Lat. 3 αὐτῷ cod. Vat. ap. Hudson.

ἐπιδόντα SP.
 ⁶ 'Οζίας M Lat.
 ⁶ Dindorf: αὐτῷ R: αὐτοῦ rell.

<sup>Or "after great torment."
Josephus uses the LXX word ἀλλόφυλοι "foreigners" to</sup>

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 99-103

holy service of their national God and to worship idols just as Achab had forced the Israelites to do, and also because he had done away with his brothers and had slain the good and righteous men. And the penalty which he was to pay for these offences the prophet indicated in his letter, namely the destruction of his people and the death of his wife and children, and that he should die of a disease of the intestines after a long period of torment, when, from the excessive corruption of his inward parts, his bowels would fall out, so that he would look on at his own misery without being able to help himself at all, and finally would die in this manner. Such were the things which Elijah told him in his letter.

(3) Not long after, an army of those Arabs who Jehoram's lived nearest Ethiopia, and the Philistines b invaded and death, the kingdom of Joram; they plundered the country 2 Chron. and the king's residence, and moreover slew his sons and wives. Only one of his sons, named Ochozias, d was left to him, having escaped from the enemy. And after this misfortune he himself for a very long time suffered from the disease which the prophet had foretold to him-for the Deity had struck at his stomach in His wrath,—and so perished miserably, looking on while his entrails fell out. And the populace treated

designate the Philistines, but follows the Heb, in speaking of the Philistines and the Arabs living near Ethiopia, while LXX has "Philistines and Arabs and the neighbours of the Ethiopians."

Bibl. "captured (Lxx "carried away") . . . his sons

and his wives (Lxx "daughters")."

⁴ Bibl. Ahaziah ('Aḥazyāhū), Lxx 'Oχοζείας. In 2 Chron. xxi. 17 he is called Jehoahaz (Y'εhō'aḥaz), which is the same name as Ahaziah except that the two elements (Yāhū = the tetragram, and 'aḥaz "has taken") are transposed.

104 καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ὁ λαός λογισάμενος γὰρ οἷμαι τὸν οὕτως ἀποθανόντα κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ μηδὲ κηδείας τῆς βασιλεῦσι πρεπούσης ἄξιον εἶναι τυχεῖν, οὕτε ταῖς πατρώαις ἐνεκήδευσαν αὐτὸν θήκαις οὕτε ἄλλης τιμῆς ἢξίωσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ιδιώτην ἔθαψαν, βιώσαντα μὲν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, βασιλεύσαντα δὲ ὀκτώ. παραδίδωσι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν

'Ιεροσολυμιτῶν τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Όχοζία.

105 (vi. 1) Ίωραμος δὲ ο τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὴν ᾿Αδάδου τελευτὴν ἐλπίσας ᾿Αραμάθην¹ πόλιν τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τοὺς Σύρους στρατεύει μὲν ἐπ' αὐτὴν μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς, ἐν δὲ τῆ πολιορκία τοξευθεὶς ὑπό τινος τῶν Σύρων οὐ καιρίως ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἰεζαρήλην² πόλιν ἰαθησόμενος ἐν αὐτῆ τὸ τραῦμα, καταλιπὼν ἐν τῆ ᾿Αραμάθη τὴν στρατιὰν ἄπασαν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὸν Νεμεσαίου³ παῖδα Ἰηοῦν ἤδη γὰρ αὐτὴν ἡρήκει 106 κατὰ κράτος. προύκειτο δ᾽ αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν

106 κατὰ κράτος. προύκειτο δ' αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν θεραπείαν πολεμεῖν τοῖς Σύροις. Ἐλισσαῖος δ' ὁ προφήτης ἕνα τῶν αὐτοῦ' μαθητῶν, δοὺς αὐτῷ τὸ ἄγιον ἔλαιον, ἔπεμψεν εἰς ᾿Αραμάθην χρίσοντα τὸν Ἰηοῦν καὶ φράσοντα ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἥρηται βασιλέα· ἄλλα τε πρὸς τούτοις εἰπεῖν ἐπιστείλας

¹ 'Αραμώθα RO: 'Αραμώθ E: Aramath Lat.

² Niese: Ἱεζερήλην RO: ᾿Αζαρην M: Ἰαζάρην SP: Hiez-

rahelam Lat.

^a Bibl. "and the people made no burning (LXX ἐκφοράν burial") for him like the burning of his fathers."

b Bibl. "he departed without being missed (LXX οὖκ ἐν ἐπαίνω "not with praise")."

³ Niese: 'Αμασῆ ROSPE Zonaras: 'Αμασὶ M: Amessi Lat.: 'Αμασίου cod. Vat. ap. Hudson: Νεμεσοὶ vel Ναμαοὶ Hudson.
⁴ Niese: αὐτοῦ codd. Ε.

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even his dead body with indignity a; as they reasoned, I suppose, that one who had died in this manner through the wrath of God was not worthy to obtain a form of burial befitting kings, they neither laid him to rest in the sepulchres of his fathers nor did they grant him any other honour, but buried him like a commoner, b at the age of forty years and after a reign of eight years. And the people of Jerusalem gave

the royal power over to his son Ochozias.

(vi. 1) Now Joram, the king of the Israelites, Jehoram of hoped, after the death of Adados, to take the city attacks the of Aramathē in Galaaditis of from the Syrians, and Syrians marched against it with a great array, but in the in Gilead. siege he was shot by one of the Syrians, and, though viii, 28. not mortally wounded, withdrew to the eity of Jezarelee to have his wound healed there, and left his whole army behind in Aramathe with their commander Jehu, the son of Nemesaios, for he had already taken it by storm. And it was his intention, after being cured, to continue the war with the Syrians.h But the prophet Elisha sent one of his disciples, to Elisha sends whom he gave the holy oil, to Aramathe to anoint a disciple Jehu and tell him that the Deity had chosen him Jehu as king; and, having instructed him to say other things israel.

2 Kings ix. 1.

Bibl. Ramoth-gilead, cf. Ant. viii. 399 note.

Scripture adds that Ahaziah accompanied him.

Bibl. Jezreel, cf. Ant. viii. 316 note a.

f Gr. Jeus, cf. Ant. viii. 352 note f.

⁹ Bibl. Nimshi, cf. ibid. note g. At this point in Scripture (2 Kings ix. 2) Jehu is called "the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi," but Luc. has "the son of Nimshi the son of Jehoshaphat," which reading Josephus follows as agreeing with the earlier reference, 1 Kings xix. 16.

Market Language La

1 The prophet Jonah, according to Jewish tradition, cf. § 139 note f.

ἐκέλευε τρόπω φυγῆς ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν, 107 ὅπως λάθη πάντας ἐκεῖθεν ἀπιών. ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν μὲν Ἰηοῦν εὐρίσκει καθεζόμενον μετὰ τῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνων μέσον αὐτῶν, καθὼς Ἐλισσαῖος αὐτῷ προεῖπε, προσελθὼν δὲ

108 ἔφη βούλεσθαι περί τινων αὐτῷ διαλεχθῆναι. τοῦ δὲ ἀναστάντος καὶ ἀκολουθήσαντος εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον, λαβὼν ὁ νεανίσκος τὸ ἔλαιον κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔφη βασιλέα χειροτονεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ γένους τοῦ ᾿Αχάβου, καὶ ὅπως ἐκδικήση¹ τὸ αἷμα τῶν προφητῶν τῶν ὑπὸ

109 Ἰεζαβέλας παρανόμως ἀποθανόντων, ἵν' ὁ τούτων οἶκος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ Ἱεροβοάμου τοῦ Ναβαταίου παιδὸς καὶ Βασὰ² πρόρριζος διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν ἀφανισθῆ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολειφθῆ σπέρμα τῆς ᾿Λχάβου γενεᾶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἐξεπήδησεν ἐκ τοῦ ταμιείου, σπουδάζων μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὁραθῆναι.

110 (2) 'Ο δὲ Ἰηοῦς προελθὼν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἔνθα μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκαθέζετο. πυνθανομένων δὲ καὶ φράζειν αὐτοῖς παρακαλούντων τί πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοιτο ὁ νεανίσκος, καὶ προσέτι μαίνεσθαι λεγόντων αὐτόν, '' ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς γε εἰκάσατε,'' εἶπε, '' καὶ γὰρ τοὺς λόγους μεμηνότος 111 ἐποιήσατο.'' σπουδαζόντων δ' ἀκοῦσαι καὶ δεο-

ἐκδικήσει Μ.
 ᾿Αβασᾶ SP: Βαάσα Μ: Βασὰν Ο: Abisa Lat.

a Bibl. "flee and tarry not."

b On the LXX ταμιείον έν ταμιείω, translating the Heb

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in addition, he told him to make the journey as if he were a fugitive, in order that he might get away from there without being seen by anyone. And so, when he came to the city, he found Jehu seated in the midst of the officers of the army, as Elisha had foretold to him, and, going up to him, he said that he wished to speak with him about certain matters. Then, when Jehu got up and followed him into an inner chamber, b the youth took the oil and poured it over his head, saying that God had eleeted him king to destroy the line of Achab and to avenge the blood of the prophets who had unlawfully been put to death by Jezabela, in order that their house, like that of Jeroboam, the son of Nabataios, and that of Basa, might be destroyed root and branch and that no seed might be left of Achab's family.4 And, when he had said these things, he darted out of the inner chamber, taking care not to be seen by any of those in the army.e

(2) But Jehu went out and came to the place where The army he had been sitting with the officers. And, when proclaims Jehu king, they questioned him and urged him to tell them why 2 Kings the youth had come to him, adding that he was a madman, he replied, "You have, indeed, guessed right, for the words he spoke were those of a madman." f But they were eager to hear them and

idiom heder beheder, lit. " chamber in chamber," cf. Ant. viii. 410 note.

^e Called Basanes in Ant. viii. 288; bibl. Baasha, LXX Baagá.

d Josephus omits the scriptural statement (2 Kings ix. 10),

"and the dogs shall eat Jezebel," etc.

Bibl. "and he opened the door and fled."

Bibl. "you know the man and his talk (LXX ἀδολεσχίαν "idle talk")."

μένων ἔφη τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν ἡρῆσθαι βασιλέα τοῦ πλήθους εἰρηκέναι. ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ἔκαστος περιδύων αὐτὸν ὑπεστρώννυεν¹ αὐτῷ τὸ ἰμάτιον καὶ σαλπίζοντες τοῖς κέρασιν ἐσήμαινον Ἰηοῦν εἶναι

σαλπίζοντες τοις κέρασιν ἐσήμαινον Ἰηοῦν είναι
112 βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ ἀθροίσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἔμελλεν
ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ Ἰώραμον εἰς Ἰεζάρηλαν πόλιν, ἐν ·ἦ,
καθὼς προείπομεν με ἐθεραπεύετο τὴν πληγὴν ἢν
ἔλαβε πρὸς τῷ ἸΑραμάθης πολιορκία. ἔτυχε δὲ
καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεὺς ἸΟχοζίας
ἀφιγμένος πρὸς τὸν Ἰώραμον υίὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ
τῆς ἀδελφῆς, ὡς καὶ προειρήκαμεν, ἐπισκέψασθαι
δὲ πῶς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἔχοι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν

113 ἐληλύθει. Ἰηοῦς δὲ βουλόμενος αἰφνιδίως τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰώραμον προσπεσεῖν³ ἢξίου μηδένα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποδράντα μηνῦσαι ταῦτα τῷ Ἰωράμῳ• τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσεσθαι λαμπρὰν ἐπίδειξιν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ διακειμένους οὕτως ἀποδεῖξαι

αὐτὸν βασιλέα.

114 (3) Οἱ δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἡσθέντες ἐφύλαττον τὰς όδοὺς μή τις εἰς Ἰεζάρηλαν διαλαθὼν μηνύση αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐκεῖ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰηοῦς τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους παραλαβὼν καὶ καθίσας ἐφ' ἄρματος εἰς τὴν Ἰεζάρηλαν ἐπορεύετο, γενομένου

1 ex Lat. Cocceji: ἐπεστρώννυεν RSPE(O): ἐπεστόρευεν Μ.
2 προεῖπον RO.

³ έμπεσεῖν MSP. 4 πεισθέντες Naber.

^a Emended text. The Heb. (2 Kings ix. 13) is obscure, "and put it under him at the *gerem* (A.V. "top") of the steps"; Lxx transliterates *gerem*, Targum renders *d*rag ša'ayā* "smooth step" (not "grade of the sun-dial" as some Jewish commentators explain) and similarly later commentators. Josephus apparently takes *gerem*, which regularly means "bone" in Aramaic (and occasionally in Heb.), in the sense of "foot."

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begged him to speak, whereupon he said that the youth had told him that God had chosen him king of the people. When he had said this, every man took off his cloak and spread it under Jehu's feet. and. sounding the trumpets, they proclaimed him king. Then he collected the army and prepared to set out against Joram to the city of Jezarela, where, as we have said before, b he was being healed of the wound which he had received in the siege of Aramathē. Now it happened also that Ochozias, the king of Jerusalem, had come to Joram, for he was, as we have said before, the son of his sister and, because of their kinship, d had come to see for himself how his wound was doing. But Jehu, wishing to fall suddenly upon Joram and his men, asked that none of his soldiers run off and inform Joram of these plans, saving that if they observed this request it would be a clear proof of their lovalty to him and that they had declared him king because of their friendly feeling toward him.

(3) And so, approving of f what he said, they Jehu's drive guarded the roads in order that no one might escape to Jezreel. 2 Kings to Jezarela and betray him to those who were there. ix. 16. Then Jehu, taking along the pick of his horsemen, took his seat in his chariot h and set out for Jezarēla;

b § 105.

Suggested variant "obeying."

This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

d Scripture gives no reason for Ahaziah's visit to Jehoram. ' The latter part of this sentence is an addition to Scripture, probably based on the LXX rendering, εί έστιν ή ψυχή ύμῶν μετ' ἐμοῦ, of the conventional Heb. phrase (2 Kings ix. 15), "if it be your pleasure (lit. "soul"), let none go forth," etc.

^{*} So Heb. and Luc. (ἐπέβη); most Lxx Mss. have ἔσπευσεν "hastened"; cod. Β ἐππευσεν usu. "rode on horseback." sometimes "drove a chariot."

δὲ ἐγγὺς ὁ σκοπὸς ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωραμος καθεστάκει τοὺς ἐρχομένους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφορῶν, ἰδὼν μετὰ πλήθους προσελαύνοντα τὸν Ἰηοῦν ἀπήγγειλεν Ἰωράμω προσελαύνουσαν ἵππέων ἴλην.

115 ὁ δ΄ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐκπεμφθῆναί τινα τῶν ἱππέων ὑπαντησόμενον καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ προσιὼν γνωσόμενον. ἐλθὼν οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἰηοῦν ὁ ἱππεὺς ἐπηρώτα περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ ταῦτα τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν μὲν περὶ τούτων πολυπραγμονεῦν ἐκέλευσεν, ἔπεσθαι δ' αὐτῷ.

116 ταῦτα ὁ σκοπὸς ὁρῶν ἀπήγγειλεν Ἰωράμω τὸν ἱππέα συγκαταμιγέντα τῷ πλήθει τῶν προσιόντων σὺν ἐκείνοις παραγίνεσθαι. πέμψαντος δὲ καὶ δεύτερον τοῦ βασιλέως ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν προσέταξεν

117 Ἰηοῦς. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐδήλωσεν ὁ σκοπὸς Ἰωράμω, τελευταῖον αὐτὸς ἐπιβὰς ἄρματος σὺν ἸΟχοζία τῷ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεῖ (παρῆν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὡς ἔφαμεν¹ ἔμπροσθεν ὀψόμενος αὐτὸν πῶς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἔχοι διὰ συγγένειαν) ἐξῆλθεν ὑπαντησόμενος. σχολαίτερον δὲ καὶ μετ'

118 εὐταξίας ὥδευεν Ἰηοῦς. καταλαβὼν δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ Ναβώθου τοῦτον Ἰώραμος ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ πάντα ἔχοι καλῶς τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον βλασφημήσαντος δὲ πικρῶς αὐτὸν Ἰηοῦδος, ὡς καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ φαρμακὸν καὶ πόρνην ἀποκαλέσαι,

Naber: ἔφημεν codd.: ἔφην Niese.
 καὶ πόρνην om. RO.

^a Bibl. "stream" (A.V. "company"), LXX κονιορτόν "dust-cloud," Luc. κονιορτόν τοῦ ὅχλου "dust-cloud of the multitude."

b Bibl. "Thus says the king, Is it peace?" Heb. sālôm, here translated "peace," often means "it is well," in which sense Josephus takes it here.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 114-118

but, as he came near, the look-out whom King Joram had stationed to watch for those entering the city saw Jehu advancing with a host of men, and informed Jorani that a troop of horsemen a was advancing. Thereupon he at once ordered one of his own horsemen to meet them and find out who it was that was coming. So the horseman came to Jehu and asked him about the state of things in the camp, saying that the king wanted to know. b But Jehu told him not to Jehu slays trouble himself about these matters, but to follow and wounds him. When the look-out saw this, he reported to Ahaziah. Joram that the horseman had joined himself to the ix. 18. host of men approaching, and was coming with them. And, when the king sent a second man, Jehu ordered him to do the same (as the first). But, when the look-out informed Joram of this also, he himself mounted his chariot with Ochozias, the king of Jerusalem—he too was there, as we said before, d because of their kinship, to see how Joram's wound was getting on-and went out to meet him. Now Jehu was going along rather slowly and in good order.6 And Joram, coming upon him in the field of Naboth, inquired whether all was well with the camp.f But Jehn reviled him bitterly, going so far as to call his mother a witch and a harlot, whereupon the king,

Bibl. "What have you to do with peace?"

So the Targum renders Heb. besiggā'ôn "in madness" (A.V. "furiously"), LXX ἐν παραλλαγῆ. The (correct) rendering in the English bible has given rise to the proverbial expression "drive like Jehu."

f Cf note b.

Variant omits "harlot." Scripture uses the abstract plurals, "harlotries and witchcrafts," LXX πορνείαι καὶ φάρμακα.

δείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπονοήσας, στρέψας ὡς εἶχε τὸ ἄρμα ἔφυγε, φήσας πρὸς 'Οχοζίαν ἐνέδρα καὶ δόλω κατεστρατηγῆσθαι. 'Ἰηοῦς δὲ τοξεύσας αὐτὸν καταβάλλει, τοῦ βέλους διὰ τῆς καρδίας ἐνεχθέντος.

119 καὶ Ἰωραμος μέν εὐθὺς πεσών ἐπὶ γόνυ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφῆκεν, Ἰηοῦς δὲ προσέταξε Βαδάκω¹ τῷ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἡγεμόνι ρῦψαι τὸν Ἰωράμου νεκρὸν εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τὸν Ναβώθου ἀναμνήσας αὐτὸν τῆς Ἡλία προφητείας, ἡν ᾿Αχάβω τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Νάβωθον ἀποκτείναντι προεφήτευσεν ὡς ἀπολεῖται αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνου χωρίω·

120 ταῦτα γὰρ καθεζόμενος ὅπισθεν τοῦ ἄρματος ᾿Αχάβου λέγοντος ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ προφήτου. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν τὴν ἐκείνου. πεσόντος δὲ Ἰωράμου δείσας περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας ᾿Οχοζίας τὸ ἄρμα εἰς ἐτέραν όδὸν 121 ἐξένευσε, λήσεσθαι τὸν Ἰηοῦν ὑπολαβών. ὁ δ᾽

- 121 εξένευσε, λήσεσθαι τον Ἰηοῦν ὑπολαβών. ὁ δ' επιδιώξας καὶ καταλαβών ἔν τινι προσβάσει τοξεύσας ἔτρωσε, καταλιπών δὲ τὸ ἄρμα καὶ ἐπιβὰς ἵππω φεύγει τὸν Ἰηοῦν εἰς Μαγεδδώ κἀκεῖ θεραπευόμενος μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τελευτᾶ. κομισθεὶς δ' εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς ἐκεῖ ταφῆς τυγχάνει βασιλεύσας μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν ἔνα, πονηρὸς δὲ καὶ χείρων τοῦ πατρὸς γενόμενος.
 - ¹ Βαδάκρφ ex Lat. (Vadacro) Hudson.
 ² ἀναβὰς RO.

³ Hudson: Μαγιαδδώ codd.: Mageddon Lat.

^a The phrase μηδέν ὑγιές φρονεῖν (occurring also in B.J. v. 326) is Sophoclean, cf. Phil. 1006.

δ So Heb. and LXX; A.V. (inaccurately) "sunk down."
 Bibl. Bidkar, LXX Βαδεκάρ (cod. B Βαδεκά), Luc. Βαδέκ.
 ^d Cf. § 73 note a.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 118-121

fearing his intentions and suspecting that he meant no good, turned his chariot where it was and fled, telling Ochozias that they had been manœuvred into a trap and tricked. But Jehu shot at him and hit him, the arrow going through his heart. And Joram immediately fell on his knees b and breathed his last. Then Jehu ordered Badakos, the commander of the third division, d to throw Joram's corpse into the field of Naboth, reminding him of Elijah's prophecy which he had made to Joram's father Achab who had killed Naboth, when he said that both he and his line should perish in Naboth's field. These things, said Jehu, he had heard the prophet say, when seated behind Achab's chariot. And indeed it fell out in accordance with Elijah's prophecy. When Joram fell, Ochozias, being fearful for his own safety, turned his chariot aside to another road, thinking to elude Jehu. But he pursued him closely and, overtaking him at a certain rise of ground, shot and wounded him f; thereupon Ochozias abandoned his chariot and, mounting a horse, fled from Jehu to Mageddo, where, although he received treatment, h he died from the wound shortly after. Then he was brought to Jerusalem and there received burial; he 2 Chron. had reigned only a year, but had been a bad king, xxii. 2. even worse than his father.

Bibl. "at the ascent of Gur which is near Ibleam." According to Heb. and Luc. of 2 Kings ix. 27 Jehu commands his men (LXX has the command in the sing., apas δή βάψον) to shoot Ahaziah; but according to the Luc. addition after 2 Kings x. 36 it was Jehu who shot Ahaziah, and, finally, according to LXX of 2 Chron. XXII. 9 when Ahaziah was caught at Samaria and brought to Jehu, Jehu killed him (Heb. "and they killed him").

Bibl. Megiddo, cf. Ant. viii. 151 note. A So LXX 2 Chron.; Hcb. "lay hid in Samaria." 122 (4) Τοῦ δὲ Ἰηοῦδος εἰσελθόντος εἰς Ἰεζάρηλαν κοσμησαμένη Ἰεζαβέλα καὶ στᾶσα ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου "καλός," εἶπε, "δοῦλος ὁ ἀποκτείνας¹ τὸν δεσπότην." ὁ δ' ἀναβλέψας πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη καὶ καταβᾶσαν ἤκειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τέλος τοῦς εὐνούχοις προσέταξεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ

123 πύργου βαλεῖν. καταφερομένη δ' ήδη τό τε τεῖχος περιέρρανε τῷ αἴματι καὶ συμπατηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἴππων οὕτως ἀπέθανε. τούτων δὴ γενομένων παρελθῶν Ἰηοῦς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἐαυτὸν ἐκ τῆς όδοῦ ἀνεκτᾶτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τραπέζη. προσέταξε δὲ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀνελομένοις τὴν Ἰεζαβέλαν θάψαι διὰ τὸ γένος ἦν γὰρ ἐκ

124 βασιλέων. εὖρον δ' οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς οἱ προσταχθέντες τὴν κηδείαν ἢ² μόνα τὰ ἀκρωτήρια, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πᾶν ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἦν δεδαπανημένον ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰηοῦς ἐθαύμαζε τὴν Ἡλίου προφητείαν· οὖτος γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν Ἰεζαρήλα προεῖπε

τοῦτον ἀπολεῖσθαι τὸν τρόπον.

125 (5) "Οντων δ' 'Αχάβω παίδων έβδομήκοντα τρεφομένων δ'3 ἐν Σαμαρεία πέμπει δύο ἐπιστολὰς 'Ἰηοῦς τὴν μὲν τοῖς παιδαγωγοῖς τὴν δ' ἐτέραν τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν Σαμαρέων, λέγων τὸν ἀνδρειότατον τῶν 'Αχάβου παίδων ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα (καὶ γὰρ ἄρμάτων αὐτοῖς ἐἶναι πλῆθος καὶ ἵππων καὶ

δ ἀποκτείνας ΜΕ: δς ἀποκτείνας SP¹: δς ἀπέκτεινε P²:
 δς ἀποκτείνει O: qui occidit Lat.
 2 πλην SP.
 3 δ' αὐτῶν RO.
 4 αὐτῷ RO.

^a Bibl. "Is it well with Zimri (A.V. "had Zimri peace"), 66

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 122-125

(4) Now as Jehu entered Jezarela, Jezabela, who Jehu slays had adorned herself and was standing on the tower, 2 Kings cried, " A fine servant, who has killed his master!" a ix. 30. But he looked up at her and asked who she was, b and commanded her to come down to him; finally he ordered the eunuchs to throw her from the tower. And, behold, as she fell, the wall was spattered with her blood, and she was trampled by the horses, and so died. After these happenings, Jehu came to the palace with his friends, and refreshed himself after his ride with food and other things. He also ordered the servants who had sent Jezabela to her death to bury her, out of respect for her lineage, for she came of a line of kings. But the men who had been ordered to bury her found nothing more of her body than the extremities alone; all the rest had been devoured by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he marvelled at the prophecy of Elijah, for he had foretold that she would perish in this manner at Jezarela.

(5) Now Achab had seventy sons, who were being Jehn orders brought up in Samaria, and Jehu sent two letters, one the death of Ahab's sons, to their tutors, and the other to the magistrates of 2 Kings x. 1 Samaria, telling them to appoint the bravest of Achab's sons as king, for, he said, they had an abundance of chariots, horses, arms, soldiers and

who killed his master?" Jezebel alludes ironically to the regicidal deed of Zimri, the successor of Elah, 1 Kings xvi. 9 ff. (Ant. viii. 307 ff.).

^b So Lxx, τίς εἶ σύ; renders Heb. mî 'ittî mî, lit. " who is with me, who?"; LXX evidently read 'att " thou " for 'itti "with me." The Heb. phrase is traditionally rendered "who is on my side?"

* Scripture says merely that Jehu sent letters (LXX βιβλίον "a letter") to the elders of Samaria and to the guardians of the princes, not specifying "two letters": ef. § 127 note b. ὅπλων καὶ στρατιᾶς καὶ πόλεις ὀχυρὰς ἔχειν) καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντας εἰσπράττεσθαι δίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ὁ δεσπότου, ταῦτα δὲ γράφει διάπειραν βουλό-

126 δεσπότου. ΄ ταῦτα δὲ ΄ γράφει¹ διάπειραν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν τῆς τῶν Σαμαρέων διανοίας. ἀναγνόντες δὲ τὰ γράμματα οἴ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ
παιδαγωγοὶ κατέδεισαν, καὶ λογισάμενοι μηδὲν
δύνασθαι ποιεῖν πρὸς τοῦτον,² δύο γὰρ³ μεγίστων
ἐκράτησε βασιλέων, ἀντέγραψαν ὁμολογοῦντες
αὐτὸν ἔχειν δεσπότην καὶ ποιήσειν ὅτι ἄν κελεύη.

127 ὁ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέγραψεν, αὐτῷ τε ὑπακούειν κελεύων καὶ τῶν ᾿Αχάβου παίδων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμόντας πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτόν. οἱ δ᾽ ἄρχοντες μεταπεμψάμενοι τοὺς τροφεῖς τῶν παίδων προσέταξαν ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτοὺς τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμεῖν καὶ πέμψαι πρὸς Ἰηοῦν. οἱ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὅλως φεισάμενοι τοῦτο ἔπραξαν καὶ συνθέντες εἴς τινα πλεκτὰ ἀγγεῖα τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέπεμψαν εἰς

128 Ἰεζάρηλαν. κομισθεισῶν δὲ τούτων ἀγγέλλεται μετὰ τῶν φίλων δειπνοῦντι τῷ Ἰηοῦ ὅτι κομισθεῖεν αι τῶν ἸΑχάβου παίδων κεφαλαί. ὁ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πύλης ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ αὐτῶν

129 ἀναστήσαι βουνούς. γενομένου δε τούτου ἄμα ήμέρα πρόεισιν ὀψόμενος, καὶ θεασάμενος ἤρξατο πρὸς τὸν παρόντα λαὸν λέγειν ὡς αὐτὸς μεν ἐπὶ τὸν δεσπότην στρατεύσαιτο τὸν αὐτοῦ κἀκεῖνον ἀποκτείνειε, τούτους δε' οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀνέλοι γινώ-

¹ δὲ γράφει Ε: δ' ἐγεγράφει RO: ἐγράφει P: δ' ἔφη MS: autem scripsit Lat.: ἔγραψε ταῦτα Zonaras.

² τοῦτο RO.

³ δύο γὰρ RO: δς δύο MSP Lat.

⁴ Niese: avrô codd. E.

⁵ τέκνων MSP.

⁶ S: ἀναστῆναι rell. E.

δὲ πάντας MSPE Lat

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 125-129

fortified cities,a and, when they had done this, to take vengeance for their master's death. This he wrote because he wished to test the feelings of the Samarians toward himself. But, when they read the letters, the magistrates and the tutors were terrified and, reflecting that they could do nothing against one who had overcome two very great kings, they wrote back, agreeing to have him for their master and to do whatever he commanded. He thereupon wrote back, commanding them to obey him and to cut off the heads of Achab's sons and send them to him. So the magistrates summoned the sons' tutors and ordered them to kill them b and cut off their heads and send them to Jehu. And they did so, showing no mercy at all, and, putting their heads in woven baskets, e sent them off to Jezarēla. When they had been brought there, it was announced to Jehu, as he was dining with his friends,d that the heads of Achab's sons had been brought. He thereupon commanded that they be set up before the gate in two heaps, one on either side. And, after this was done, he went out at dawn to see them, and, when he had looked at them, he began to speak to the people there present, saying that he had indeed marched against his master and killed him, but these youths he himself had not slain. He also asked them to recog-

" Fortified cities" are mentioned in LXX; Heb. "fortified city" (collective?). Neither text specifically mentions soldiers.

b Unscriptural detail. Scripture seems not to distinguish between the elders of the city and the tutors of the princes, cf. 2 Kings x. 6 f. "And the sons of the king were with the great men (LXX άδροί "chiefs") of the city, who brought them up, And it came to pass, when the letter came to them, they took the king's sons and slew seventy persons." etc.

Heb. dùdim (A.V. "baskets"), LXX καρτάλλοις.
 "Dining with his friends" is an unscriptural detail.

σκειν δε αὐτοὺς ήξίου περί της 'Αχάβου γενεας. ότι πάντα κατά την τοῦ θεοῦ προφητείαν γέγονε καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ, καθώς καὶ Ἡλίας προεῖπεν,

130 ἀπόλωλε. προσδιαφθείρας δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰεζαρηλίταις εὐρεθέντας ἐκ τῆς ᾿Αχάβου συγγενείας ίππεις² είς Σαμάρειαν επορεύετο, κατά δέ την όδον τοις 'Οχοζία συμβαλών οἰκείοις τοῦ βασιλέως των Ίεροσολυμιτων ανέκρινεν αὐτούς

131 τί δή ποτε παρεγένοντο, οί δ' ἀσπασόμενοί τε Ἰώραμον καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα Ὀχοζίαν ηκειν ἔφασκον (οὐ γὰρ ηδεσαν αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ύπ' αὐτοῦ πεφονευμένους). Ἰηοῦς δὲ καὶ τούτους συλληφθέντας ἀναιρεθῆναι προσέταξεν, ὄντας τὸν

άριθμον τεσσαράκοντα δύο.

132 (6) Συναντά δ' αὐτῷ μετὰ τούτους ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος Ἰωνάδαβος ὄνομα φίλος αὐτῷ πάλαι γεγονώς, δε ασπασάμενος αὐτὸν επαινείν ήρξατο τῷ πάντα πεποιηκέναι κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, 133 τὴν οἰκίαν ἐξαφανίσας³ τὴν ᾿Αχάβου. Ἰηοῦς δ᾽

αναβάντα επί τὸ άρμα συνεισελθείν αὐτὸν είς Σαμάρειαν παρεκάλει, λέγων ἐπιδείξειν πῶς οὐδενός φείσεται πονηροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας καὶ τοὺς ψευδιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς έξαπατήσαντας τὸ πληθος, ώς τὴν μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ θρησκείαν εγκαταλιπείν τους δε ξενικούς προσ-

> 1 kai om. MSPE. ² iππεîs om. M: cum equis Lat.

> 3 ¿ξαφανίσαντα ed. pr. fort. recte.

⁶ Gr. "knights"; bibl. "all his great men (LXX άδρούς chiefs") and kinsmen and priests."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 129-133

nize that all these things had happened to Achab's family, in accordance with God's prophecy and his house had perished, just as Elijah had foretold. Then, having also destroyed the nobles a related to Achab, who were found among the people of Jezarela, he set out for Samaria. But on the way he fell in with some relatives of Ochozias, the king of Jerusalem, and he asked them what they might have come for. Thereupon they replied that they had come to greet Joram and their own king, Ochozias bthey were not aware that both kings had been done to death by him. Then Jehu ordered that they too should be seized and slain, being forty-two in number.

(6) After these men (had been disposed of), there Jehu and met him a good and just man named Jonadab, who Jehonadab had long been his friend, and, after greeting him, he x. 15. began to commend him for having done everything in accordance with the will of God in extirpating the house of Achab. Then Jehu asked him to come up into his chariot and come along with him to Samaria, saying that he would show him how he would spare no wicked man, but would punish the false prophets and the false priests and those who had seduced the people into abandoning the worship of the Most High God and bowing down to strange gods; it was, he

Scripture says merely that Jehonadab gave Jehu his hand (as a token that his heart was "right with" him).

 $^{^{}b}$ Bibl. "We are going to greet the sons of the king and the sons of the queen" (or "queen-mother," Heb. $g^{*bir\bar{a}h}$, lxx τῆς δυναστευούσης). Presumably the sons (or descendants) of Ahab and Jezebel are meant, but Josephus's correction is quite natural.

Gr. Jonadabos; bibl. Jehonadab (Yehônādāb). Scripture adds that he was the son of Rechab (Rēkāb).

d Unscriptural detail, perhaps derived from Jehu's question, " Is your heart right as my heart is with your heart?"

κυνείν, τιμωρήσεται· κάλλιστον δ' είναι θεαμάτων καὶ ηδιστον ἀνδρὶ χρηστῷ καὶ δικαίω κολαζομένους 134 πονηρούς ίδειν. τούτοις πεισθείς ό Ἰωνάδαβος ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ἄρμα εἰς Σαμάρειαν παραγίνεται. ἀναζητήσας δὲ πάντας τοὺς ᾿Αχάβου συγγενεῖς Ἰηοῦς ἀποκτείνει. βουλόμενος δὲ μηδένα τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν μηδ' ἱερέων τῶν ᾿Αχάβου θεῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν διαφυγεῖν, ἀπάτη καὶ δόλω πάντας 135 αὐτοὺς συνέλαβεν· ἀθροίσας γὰρ τὸν λαὸν ἔφη βούλεσθαι διπλασίονας ὧν "Αχαβος εἰσηγήσατο θεών προσκυνείν και τους έκείνων ίερεις και προφήτας ήξίου καὶ δούλους αὐτῶν² παρείναι θυσίας γὰρ πολυτελεῖς καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιτελεῖν μέλλειν τοῖς ᾿Αχάβου θεοῖς· τὸν δ᾽ ἀπολειφθέντα τῶν ἱερέων θανάτῳ ζημιώσειν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ᾿Αχάβου Βαὰλ 136 έκαλεῖτο. τάξας δὲ ἡμέραν καθ' ἡν ἔμελλε ποιήσειν τὰς θυσίας διέπεμπεν³ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώραν τοὺς ἄξοντας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοῦ Βαάλ. ἐκέλευσε δ' Ἰηοῦς τῷ ἱερεῖ δοῦναι πᾶσιν ἐνδύματα· λαβόντων δὲ παρελθών εἰς τὸν οἷκον μετὰ τοῦ φίλου Ἰωναδάβου, μή τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλλόφυλος εἴη καὶ ξένος ἐρευνῆσαι προσέταξεν: οὐ βούλεσθαι γὰρ τοῖς ίεροῖς αὐτῶν 137 αλλότριον παρατυγχάνειν. τῶν δὲ εἰπόντων μὲν

> 1 ideîv om. ROM. αὐτῶ RMS: αὐτοῦ Ο. 3 διέπεμψεν MSP. ⁴ τοις ίερεῦσι MŚPE et fort. Zonaras.

him much."

a Amplification of Jehu's brief statement, "Come with me and see my zeal for the Lord."

^b Bibl. "Ahab served Baal a little, but Jehu shall serve

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 133-137

said, the most desirable and pleasant of sights for a good and upright man to see the wicked punished.a Being persuaded by these arguments, Jonadab got up into Jehu's chariot and came to Samaria. There Jehu sought out all of Achab's relatives and killed them. Then, resolving that none of the false prophets or priests of Achab's gods should escape punishment, he caught them all by deceit and cunning; having gathered the people together, he told them that he wished to worship twice as many gods as Achab had introduced, and he asked the priests of these gods and their prophets and servants to be present, for, he said, he intended to offer costly and great sacrifices to Achab's gods, and he would punish with death any of the priests who might be absent. Now the god of Achab was called Baal. And so, having set a day on Jehu has which he intended to offer the sacrifices, Jehu sent of Baalslain men throughout the Israelites' country to bring to 2 Kings him the priests of Baal; he also ordered the (chief) x. 19. priest to give vestments to all.4 And, when they had taken them, he went into the temple e with his friend Jonadab, and ordered a search to be made that there might be no foreigner nor stranger among them, saying that he did not wish any outsider to be present at their rites. And, when they said that there was no

° Cf. § 138 note d.

^d Bibl. "and he said to him who was over the meltāḥāh (A.V. "vestry," LXX οἴκου μεσθαάλ, Targum and Jewish tradition "clothes-chest"), Bring forth vestments for all the priests of Baal."

Of Baal.

Bibl. "Search and look out that there be here with you none of the worshippers of the Lord, but the worshippers of Baal only." Josephus evidently thinks that the biblical version of Jehu's stratagem to trap the worshippers of Baal needs an extra twist.

οὐδένα παρείναι ξένον, καταρξαμένων δὲ τῶν θυσιών περιέστησεν έξωθεν ογδοήκοντα τον άριθμον ανδρας, ούς ήδει πιστοτάτους των όπλιτων, κελεύσας αὐτοῖς ἄποκτεῖναι τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας καὶ νθν τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσι τιμωρεῖν πολύν ἤδη χρόνον ωλιγωρημένοις, απειλήσας ύπερ των δια-

138 φυγόντων τὰς ἐκείνων ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι ψυχάς. οί δε τούς τε ἄνδρας ἄπαντας κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὸν οίκον τοῦ Βαὰλ ἐμπρήσαντες ἐκάθηραν οὕτως ἀπὸ των ξενικων εθισμων την Σαμάρειαν. οδτος δ Βαὰλ Τυρίων ἢν θεός: "Αχαβος δὲ τῷ πενθερῷ βουλόμενος χαρίσασθαι Ἰθωβάλῳ Τυρίων ὅντι βασιλεῖ καὶ Σιδωνίων ναόν τ' αὐτῷ κατεσκεύασεν έν Σαμαρεία καὶ προφήτας ἀπέδειξε καὶ πάσης

139 θρησκείας ηξίου. άφανισθέντος δε τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ τας χρυσας δαμάλεις προσκυνείν τοίς 'Ισραηλίταις 'Ιηοῦς ἐπέτρεψε. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξαμένω καὶ προνοήσαντι της κολάσεως των ἀσεβων ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου προείπεν ἐπὶ τέσσαρας γενεὰς τοὺς παίδας αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσειν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν. καὶ

τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰηροῦν ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν. 140 (vii. 1) ᾿Οθλία δ' ἡ ἸΑχάβου θυγάτηρ ἀκούσασα τήν τ' Ίωράμου τάδελφοῦ τελευτήν καὶ τὴν 'Οχοζία

> 1 ἔξωθεν om. RO. ² ἀφαιρήσεσθαι MSP et fort. Lat.: ἐφαιρήσεσθαι Naber. 3 θεών ROM. 4 ex Lat. (vid.) Hudson: βασιλεύειν codd. E.

a Unscriptural detail. The phrase "whom he knew to be most faithful to him" is a conventional one occasionally added by Josephus; here, however, it may have been suggested by the following verse (x. 25) in Scripture, "And Jehu said to the runners and šālišīm (Λ.V. "guards and 74

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stranger present and began the sacrifices, he placed outside the temple some of his men, eighty in number, whom he knew to be most faithful to him, a and commanded them to kill the false prophets and now avenge their fathers' customs which had for so long a time been set at naught, and he threatened that their own lives should be forfeit for any who escaped. So they slew all the men and burnt down the temple of Baal, thus purging Samaria of strange rites. This Baal was the god of the Tyrians, to whom Achab, wishing to please his father-in-law Ithobalos, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, had built a temple in Samaria and had appointed prophets and honoured him with every manner of cult.d When this god had been removed, Jehu permitted the Israelites to bow down before the golden heifers. But, since he had carried out these reforms, and had provided for the punishment of those impious men, God foretold to him through the prophet that his sons should rule over the Israelites for four generations. Such, then, was the state of affairs under Jehu.

(vii. 1) When Othlia, the daughter of Achab, Athaliah, heard of the death of her brother Joram and her son the wicked

captains "), Go in and slay them." Josephus evidently considers these men to have been Jehu's picked guard.

b Josephus omits the carrying out and burning of the images in the Baal temple (x. 26).

Variant "gods.'

d Cf. Ant. viii. 317 ff. on 1 Kings xvi. 31 ff.
Made by Jeroboam, as Scripture adds (x. 29).

Rabbinic tradition, like Josephus, assumes that it was a prophet (Jonah) who gave God's message to Jehu, while in Scripture (x. 30) God speaks to him directly. It was also Jonah, according to rabbinic tradition (ef. Ginzberg iv. 246), whom Elisha had sent to anoint Jehu.

Bibl. Athaliah, cf. § 96 note g.

τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν βασιλέων τὴν απώλειαν ἐσπούδαζε μηδένα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου καταλιπείν οίκου, παν δ' έξαφανίσαι το γένος, ώς

141 αν μηδὲ εἶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἔτι γένοιτο. καὶ τοῦθ' ὡς μὲν ὤετο διεπράξατο, διεσώθη δὲ εἶς υίὸς 'Οχοζίου, τρόπω δὲ τοιούτω τὴν τελευτὴν διέφυγεν ήν 'Οχοζία δμοπάτριος άδελφη 'Ωσαβέθη'

142 ονομα ταύτη συνην ο άρχιερευς 'Ιώδας.' είσελθούσα δ' είς τὸ βασίλειον καὶ τοῖς ἀπεσφαγμένοις τον Ίωασον (τοθτο γάρ προσηγορεύετο το παιδίον ου ενιαύσιον) εγκεκρυμμένον εύρουσα μετά της τρεφούσης, βαστάσασα μετ' αὐτῆς είς τὸ ταμιείον άπέκλεισε των κλινων και λανθάνοντες ανέθρεψαν αὐτή τε καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Ἰωδας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔτεσιν ἔξ, οἷς ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀθλία τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν δύο φυλῶν.

143 (2) Τῶ δὲ ἐβδόμω κοινολογησάμενός τισιν Ἰώδας πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν έκατοντάρχοις καὶ πείσας αὐτοὺς συνεπιθέσθαι μέν τοις κατά της 'Οθλίας έγχειρουμένοις, την δε βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ περιποιήσαι, λαβών ὅρκους οἷς τὸ ἀδεὲς παρὰ τῶν συνεργούντων βεβαιοῦται τὸ λοιπὸν ἐθάρρει ταῖς κατὰ

144 της 'Οθλίας έλπίσιν. οί δ' ἄνδρες, ούς ὁ ίερεὺς 'Ιώδας κοινωνούς της πράξεως παρειλήφει, περιπορευθέντες απασαν την χώραν, τους ίερεις καὶ τούς Ληουίτας έξ αὐτῆς ἀθροίσαντες καὶ τοὺς τῶν

¹ Niese: 'Ωσαβέθει Μ: 'Ωσαβεέθ RO: 'Οσαβεέθη S: 'Οσαβεέθη P: Ἰωσαβέθ E: Iosabeth Lat.: Ἰωσαβέθη Hudson.
² Ἰώδαος MSP: Ἰωδάνης Ε: Iodam Lat.

³ ov add. Niese.

⁴ τῶν κλινῶν om. Lat., secl. Ernesti.

⁵ συμπείσας MSP. 6 συμπεριποιήσαι MSP.

⁷ ex Lat. Niese: πορευθέντες codd.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 140-144

Ochozias and of the destruction of the royal family, queen of she took steps to leave no one of the house of David 2 Kings xi. 1; alive and to extirpate his family, in order that there 2 Chron. might never again be a single king of his line. And this plan, as she thought, she carried out, but one son of Ochozias was saved, and this was the way in which he escaped death. Ochozias had a sister by the same father, whose name was Osabethe, and who was married to the high priest Jodas. When she entered the palace and found Joas - this was the name of the child, who was a year old-concealed with his nurse among those who had been slain, she carried him with her to a private bedchamber and shut him up there; and secretly she and her husband brought him up in the temple for six years, during which time Othlia ruled over Jerusalem and the two tribes.

(2) But in the seventh d year Jodas took into his The high confidence some of the captains of hundreds, five in priest Jehoiada number, and persuaded them to join in the plot (Jodas) formed against Othlia and to secure the royal power against for the child, and, having obtained oaths by which he Athaliah. 2 Kingsxi. 4; was assured that in future he would have nothing to 2 Chron. fear from the conspirators, he felt hopeful of success xxiii. 1. in the attempt against Othlia. Then the men whom the priest Jodas had taken as his partners in the deed went out through the entire country and, having 2 Chron. gathered together the priests and Levites therein and xxiii. 2.

^a Bibl. 2 Kings Jehosheba (Yehôšeba'), ι.xx Ἰωσάβεε (v.l. Ἰωσάβεθ), Luc. Ἰωσάβεαι: 2 Chron. Jehoshabeath (Yehośab-

Bibl. Jehoiada (Yehôyādā'), LXX Ἰωδαε.

Gr. Joasos; bibl. Joash (Yô'ās) and Jehoash (Yehô'ās).

d Some LXX MSS. in 2 Chron. have "eighth."

[•] Their names are given in 2 Chron.

φυλῶν προεστηκότας ἦκον ἄγοντες εἰς Ἱεροσό145 λυμα πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα. ὁ δὲ πίστιν ἤτησεν αὐτοὺς ἔνορκον, ἢ μὴν φυλάξειν ὅπερ ἂν μάθωσιν ἀπόρρητον παρ' αὐτοῦ, σιωπῆς ἄμα καὶ συμπράξεως δεόμενον. ὡς δ' ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῷ λέγειν ὀμωμοκότων ἐγένετο, παραγαγὼν ὃν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους ἔτρεφεν "οὖτος ὑμῦν,¹" εἶπε, "βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς οἰκίας, ἣν ἴστε τὸν θεὸν ἡμῖν προφητεύσαντα βασιλεύσειν ἄχρι τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου.

146 παραινῶ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ύμῶν μοῖραν φυλάττειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, τὴν δὲ τρίτην² ταῖς πύλαις ἐφεστάναι τοῦ τεμένους ἀπάσαις, ἡ δὲ μετὰ ταὐτην ἐχέτω τὴν τῆς ἀνοιγομένης καὶ φερούσης εἰς τὸ βασίλειον πύλης φυλακήν τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἄοπλον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τυγχανέτω· μηδένα δ' εἰσελθεῖν

147 δπλίτην εάσητε ή μόνον ίερεα." προσδιέταξε δε τούτοις μέρος τι των ίερεων και Ληουίτας περί αὐτὸν είναι τὸν βασιλέα, ταις μαχαίραις έσπασμέναις αὐτὸν δορυφοροῦντας, τὸν δε τολμήσαντα παρελθείν εἰς τὸ ίερὸν ωπλισμένον ἀναιρεισθαι παραυτίκα δείσαντας δε μηδεν παραμειναι τῆ 148 φυλακῆ τοῦ βασιλέως. και οι μεν οις ὁ ἀρχιερεύς

1 ήμιν RO.

² τετάρτην MSP Lat.

(1) 2 Kings " A third part of you that come on the sabbath

^a Variant "fourth." Josephus omits some of the details in the rather obscure biblical passage describing the disposition of the guards. It would seem from this that on the Sabath, when the guards were changed, there were more men on duty at the temple than at the palace, but that on this occasion Jehoiada planned to have the full strength of the guard stationed at the temple while the palace remained unguarded. The disposition of the three companies of guards according to Scripture was as follows:

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 144-148

the chiefs of the tribes, brought them to the high priest when they returned to Jerusalem. Thereupon he demanded of them a sworn pledge that they would surely guard whatever secret they might hear from him which required equally their silence and their co-operation. And, when they had sworn and it was Jehoiada safe for him to speak, he brought forward the child of Joash king. David's line whom he had raised, and said, "This is 2 Kings xi. 4, your king from that house, which, as you know, God xxiii. 3. foretold to us should rule for all time to come. I now advise that a third of your force guard him in the temple, and that another third a be stationed at all the gates of the sacred precinct, while the remaining third keeps watch over the gate that opens and leads into the palace. And let the rest of the people stay unarmed in the temple. But allow no soldier to enter, nor anyone but a priest." He also arranged that in addition to these a body of priests and Levites should be with the king himself and with drawn swords serve as his bodyguard and immediately kill anyone who should venture to enter the temple armed; and he told them to fear nothing and remain on guard over the king. So these men followed the

and keep the watch of the king's house" (LXX adds "in the gateway"); 2 Chron. "A third part of you that come on the sabbath as (?) priests and Levites, as porters of the threshhold."

(2) 2 Kings "And a third part shall be at the gate of Sur " (LXX" at the gate of roads"); 2 Chron. " A third part shall

be at the king's house."

(3) 2 Kings "And a third part at the gate behind the guard" (lit. "runners"); 2 Chron. "And a third part at the gate of the foundation" (Lxx " middle gate").

b This refers to a fourth division, apparently corresponding to "All the people in the courts of the house of the Lord "

in 2 Chron, xxiii, 5.

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συνεβούλευσεν, τούτοις πεισθέντες ἔργῳ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐδήλουν ἀνοίξας δὲ Ἰώδας τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὁπλοθήκην, ἣν Δαυίδης κατεσκεύασε, διεμέρισε τοῖς ἐκατοντάρχοις ἄμα καὶ ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις ἄπανθ' ὅσ' εὖρεν ἐν αὐτῆ δόρατά τε καὶ φαρέτρας καὶ εἴ τι ἔτερον εἶδος ὅπλου κατέλαβε, καὶ καθωπλισμένους ἔστησεν ἐν κύκλι, περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν συναψαμένους τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον τοῖς οὐ 149 προσήκουσιν οὕτως ἀποτειχίσοντας. συναγαγόντες

149 προσήκουσιν οὕτως άποτειχίσοντας. συναγαγόντες δὲ τὸν παίδα εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐπέθεσαν αὐτῷ τὸν στέφανον τὸν βασιλικόν, καὶ τῷ ἐλαίῳ χρίσας Ἰώδας ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος χαῖρον καὶ

κροταλίζον έβόα σώζεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα.

150 (3) Τοῦ δὲ θορύβου καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων 'Οθλία παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀκούσασα, τεταραγμένη σφόδρα τῷ διανοίᾳ μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐξεπήδησε στρατιᾶς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου. καὶ παραγενομένην εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἰσδέχονται, τοὺς δ' ἐπομένους ὁπλίτας εἶρξαν εἰσελθεῖν οἱ περιεστῶτες ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν ὑπὸ 151 τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦτο προστεταγμένων. ἰδοῦσα δὲ

31 του αρχιερέως τουτο προστεταγμένων. ισουσα σε 'Οθλία τὸν παίδα ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς¹ ἐστῶτα καὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν περικείμενον² στέφανον περιρρηξα-

¹ στήλης RO: tribunal Lat.
 ² βασιλικὸν περικείμενον] βασίλειον ἐπικείμενον RO.

^a So Luc. in 2 Kings; Heb. 2 Kings "spears and shields" (ἐἐμξɨm), 2 Chron. "spears and shields (magɨnnöth) and ἐἐαξɨm (shields?)"; LXX 2 Kings σειρομάστας καὶ τρισσούς "barbed spears and threefolds" (? reading ἐαμεῖκιπ for ἔἐαξɨm), 2 Chron. μαχαίρας καὶ θυρεούς καὶ ὅπλα "swords and long shields and arms"; Luc. 2 Chron. δόρατα καὶ ἀσπίδας "spears and round shields." For φάρετραι "quivers" as a rendering of ἔεἰαξɨm "shields" (?) cf. Ant. vii. 104 note b, also Ant. viii. 259 note a.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 148-151

counsel which the high priest gave them, and made plain their intentions by their deeds. Then Jodas opened the armoury in the temple, which David had built, and distributed to the captains of hundreds and, at the same time, to the priests and Levites all the spears and quivers a he found in it and whatever other kind of weapon he came upon, and, when they were armed, he placed them in a circle round the temple with their hands joined b so as to bar entrance to any who did not belong there. Then they set the boy in their midst and placed the royal crown on his head, and Jodas, having anointed him with oil, proclaimed him king, whereupon the multitude with rejoicing and clapping of hands cried out, "Long live the king!"

(3) When Othlia heard the tumult and the acclama- Jehojada has tions, which were so unexpected, she was thrown into put to great confusion of mind, and jumped up and ran out death. of the palace with her private force of soldiers. And, xi, 13; when she came to the temple, the priests admitted 2 Chron. her, but the armed men accompanying her were prevented from entering by those stationed around in a circle, who had been given this order by the high priest.d. But Othlia saw the boy standing on the platform and wearing the royal crown, and, rending

^b Bibl. " and the guard stood every man with his weapons in his hand, from the right shoulder (A.V. "corner") of the temple to the left shoulder of the temple," etc. Josephus seems to have misunderstood the biblical text.

e Bibl. "the crown (nezer) and the testimony," Lxx 2 Kings τὸ ἔζερ καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον, Luc. τὸ ἀγίασμα καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον.

LXX 2 Chron. το βασίλειον καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια.

d Unscriptural details.

^e Lit. "stage"; variant "pillar" as in Scripture (except Lxx 2 Chron. στάσεως). It is not clear from the Heb., however, whether Joash stood on the pillar (so Lxx) or by the pillar (so Jewish tradition and A.V.).



μένη καὶ δεινὸν ἀνακραγοῦσα φονεύειν ἐκέλευε τὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτῆ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελέσθαι σπουδάσαντα. Ἰώδας δὲ καλέσας τοὺς έκατοντάρχους ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπαγαγόντας τὴν 'Οθλίαν είς την φάραγγα την Κεδρώνος ανελείν

152 αὐτὴν ἐκεῖ· μὴ γὰρ βούλεσθαι μιᾶναι τὸ ἱερόν, αὐτόθι τὴν ἀλιτήριον τιμωρησάμενον. προσέταξε δέ καν βοηθών τις προσέλθη κάκεινον άνελειν. έλλαβόμενοι τοίνυν της 'Οθλίας οἱ προστεταγμένοι την αναίρεσιν αυτης, έπι την πύλην των ημιόνων τοῦ βασιλέως ήγαγον κάκει διεχρήσαντο.

153 (4) 'Ως δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν 'Οθλίαν τοῦτον ἐστρατηγήθη τὸν τρόπον, συγκαλέσας τόν τε δήμον καὶ τούς όπλίτας ό Ἰώδας είς τὸ ίερὸν εξώρκωσεν εὐνοεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ προνοεῖν αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀρχῆς ἔπειτ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα τιμήσειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ μὴ παραβῆναι τοὺς Μωυσέος5

154 νόμους δοῦναι πίστιν ἢνάγκασε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰσδραμόντες τὸν τοῦ Βαὰλ οἶκον, δν 'Οθλία τε καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Ἰώραμος κατεσκεύασεν ἐφ' ύβρει μέν τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ τιμῆ δὲ τοῦ ᾿Αχάβου κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην αὐτοῦ 155 Μάθαν ἀπέκτειναν, την δ' ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φυ-

3 cod. Vat. ap. Hudson: τιμωρησαμένων rell.

6 ex Lat. Niese: Νάθαν RO: Μααθάν MSP.

² ἀγαγόντας ΜΡ. 1 Ε: φονεύσειν codd.

Dindorf: προσέλθοι codd.
 Naber: Μωσήους RO: Μωσέως Μ: Μωυσέως SPE: Mosaeos Lat.: Μωνσείους Niese.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 151-155

her garments and with a fearful outcry, she commanded her men to take the life of the man who had plotted against her and had worked to deprive her of the royal power. Thereupon Jodas called the captains of hundreds and commanded them to lead Othlia away to the valley of Kedron b and there put her to death, saying that he did not wish to defile the temple by punishing the guilty wretch on the spot. He also ordered them to put to death anyone who might come forward to help her. Accordingly those who had been ordered to put Othlia to death took hold of her and led her to the gate of the king's mules, where they made an end of her.

(4) When the fate of Othlia had skilfully been Jehoiada determined in this manner, Jodas summoned the administers people and the soldiers to the temple and made them people and king. take an oath to be loyal to the king and watch over 2 Kings his safety and the continuance of his rule. He then xi. 17; compelled the king himself to honour God and give xxiii. 16. his pledge not to transgress the laws of Moses. And after that they ran to the temple of Baal, which Othlia and her husband Joram had built in contempt of the nation's God and in honour of the god of Achab, and razed it to the ground and killed Mathan e who held the office of priest of Baal. The care and watch of Chron.

xxiii. 13.

^a Scripture says merely, "And Athaliah rent her clothes and cried. Conspiracy, Conspiracy!" (A.V. "Treason, Treason").

Bibl. "to within the sederôth" (?=" between the rows"; A.V. " without the ranges "), LXX 2 Kings έσωθεν των σαδηρώθ, 2 Chron. ἐκτὸς τοῦ οἶκου "outside the temple." Jewish commentators explain s'derôth to mean the "ranks" of the guard. "Kedron" seems to be based on a corruption of sederith or σαδηρώθ.

Bibl. "horses." d Cf. § 138.

· So most LXX MSS. (v.ll. Μαγθάν, Ματθάν κτλ.); bibl. Mattan.

λακὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις ἐπέτρεψεν Ἰωδας κατὰ τὴν Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως
διάταξιν, κελεύσας αὐτοὺς δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιφέρειν
τὰς νενομισμένας τῶν ὁλοκαυτώσεων θυσίας καὶ
θυμιᾶν ἀκολούθως τῷ νόμῳ. ἀπέδειξε δέ τινας
τῶν Ληουιτῶν καὶ πυλωροὺς ἐπὶ φυλακῆ τοῦ
τεμένους, ὡς μηδένα μεμιασμένον παριέναι λανθάνοντα.

156 (5) Τούτων δ' έκαστα διατάξας, μετὰ τῶν έκατοντάρχων καὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραλαβὼν ἄγει τὸν Ἰωασον εἰς τὸ βασίλειον, καὶ καθίσαντος ἐπὶ¹ τὸν βασιλικὸν θρόνον ἐπευφήμησέ τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς εὐωχίαν τραπέντες ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἐωρτασαν ἡμέρας ἡ μέντοι γε πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν 'Οθλίαν ἀποθανεῦν ἡσυχίαν

157 ἥγαγεν. ἦν δὲ Ἰωασος ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν ἐτῶν ἐπτά, μήτηρ δ' ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα
Σαβία πατρίδος δὲ Βηρσαβεέ. πολλὴν δ' ἐποιήσατο τῶν νομίμων² φυλακὴν καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
θρησκείαν φιλοτιμίαν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν

158 'Ιώδας ἐβίωσεν. ἔγημε δὲ καὶ γυναίκας δύο παρελθών εἰς ἡλικίαν δόντος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐξ ῶν καὶ ἄρρενες αὐτῷ καὶ θήλειαι παῖδες ἐγένοντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως 'Ιωάσου, ὡς τὴν τῆς 'Οθλίας ἐπιβουλὴν διέφυγε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἐν τούτοις δεδηλώκαμεν.

1 els MSP.

² νόμων MSP Lat.

^a Bibl, "offices" (cf. Lxx 2 Chron. ἔργα "duties"), Lxx 2 Kings ἐπισκόπους "supervisors," Luc. τὴν ἐπισκοπήν "supervision."

b So 2 Chron.; 2 Kings omits "priests and Levites" as well as the details following.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 155-158

the temple a Jodas committed to the priests and Levites in accordance with the ordinance of King David, and ordered them to offer the customary sacrifice of the whole burnt-offerings twice a day and burn incense c in conformity with the law. He also appointed some of the Levites and porters to guard the sacred precinct, that no impure person might enter it unseen.

(5) When he had arranged these several matters, The reign of Joash. he and the captains of hundreds and the officers and 2 Kings all the people conducted Joas from the temple to the xi. 19; 2 Chron. palace; and, when he had taken his seat on the royal xiii. 20. throne, the multitude acclaimed him with shouts, and then turned to feasting and celebrated for many days. The city, on the other hand, had been calm at the death of Othlia. Now Joas was seven years old when he took over the kingship, and his mother's name was Sabia,d her birthplace being Bersabee. He kept strict observance of the ordinances and was zealous in the worship of God all the time that Jodas lived. And, when he came of age, he married two women whom the high priest had given him.g This much, then, concerning King Joas and how he escaped the plot of Othlia and succeeded to the throne is all that we have to relate at this point.

Bibl. "offer up . . . with rejoicing and song."

1 Josephus omits the scriptural detail (2 Kings xii. 3) that Joash did not remove the idolatrous high-places.

The Heb. of 2 Chron. xxiv. 3 says, "And Jehoiada married to him (lô) two wives," presumably meaning Joash by "him," as Josephus renders; Lxx, however, takes lô to mean "himself," καὶ ἔλαβεν ἐαυτῷ γυναῖκας δύο, with which

interpretation some Jewish commentators agree.

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d So Luc. (vid.); bibl. Zibiah (Sibyāh), LXX 'Aβιά. Bibl. Beersheba, cf. Ant. viii. 348 note e.

159 (viii. 1) 'Αζάηλος δ' δ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς πολεμῶν τοῖς 'Ισραηλίταις καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν 'Ιηοῦ διέφθειρε τῆς πέραν 'Ιορδάνου χώρας τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῶν 'Ρουβηνιτῶν καὶ Γαδιτῶν¹ καὶ Μανασσιτῶν ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν Γαλααδῖτιν καὶ Βαταναίαν, πυρπολῶν πάντα καὶ διαρπάζων καὶ τοῖς

160 εἰς χεῖρας ἀπαντῶσι βίαν προσφέρων. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθη αὐτὸν Ἰηοῦς ἀμύνασθαι κακοῦντα τὴν χώραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὑπερόπτης γενόμενος καὶ καταφρονήσας τῆς ὁσίας καὶ τῶν νόμων ἀπέθανε βασιλεύσας ἔτη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι. ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν Σαμαρεία, τῆς ἀρχῆς

διάδοχον 'Ιωαζον' τον υίον καταλιπών.

161 (2) Τον δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν³ βασιλέα Ἰωασον όρμή τις ἔλαβε τὸν ναὸν ἀνακαινίσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καλέσας Ἰωδαν εἰς ἄπασαν ἐκέλευσε πέμψαι τὴν χώραν τοὺς Ληουίτας καὶ ἱερέας αἰτήσοντας ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης κεφαλῆς ἡμίσικλον ἀργύρου εἰς ἐπισκευὴν καὶ ἀνανέωσιν τοῦ ναοῦ καταλυθέντος ὑπὸ Ἰωράμου καὶ 'Οθλίας καὶ τῶν

162 παίδων αὐτῆς. ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε συνεὶς ὡς οὐδεὶς εὐγνωμόνως προήσεται τὰργύριον, τρίτῳ δὲ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει μεταπεμψαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόν τε καὶ Ληουίτας καὶ ὡς παρακούσαντας ὧν προσέταξεν

² Iochazan Lat.

² Ίεροσολύμων MSP Lat.

¹ ed. pr. Lat.: Γαλα(α)διτών codd.

^{*} εὐγνωμόνως προήσεται Ε: προείται RO: προήται Μ: πρόηται SP: conferret Lat.

Amplification of Scripture.
 Unscriptural detail.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 159-162

(viii. 1) Now Azaēlos, the king of Syria, made war Hazael on the Israelites and their king Jehu, and ravaged the of Syria eastern parts of the country across the Jordan belong-invalues ing to the Reubenites and Gadites and Manassites, jordan. and also Galaaditis and Batanaia, spreading fire 1 Kings x. 32 everywhere and plundering everything and inflicting violence on all who fell into his hands. For Jehu had not been prompt to oppose him when he began to devastate the country, but had become careless of his duties toward the Deity and contemptuous of Death of holiness and the laws; he died after ruling over the ^{Jehu}_{2 Kings x. 35}. Israelites for twenty-seven years, and was buried in Samaria, after leaving his son Jōazos c as his successor on the throne.

(2) As for Joas, the king of Jerusalem, he was Joash renoseized by a strong desire to renovate the temple of temple. God, and, summoning the high priest Jodas, he com- 2 Kings xii. manded him to send the Levites and priests through 2 Chron. out the entire country to ask half a shekel of silver o xxiv. 4. for each person for the repairing and renovation of the temple, which had been left crumbling by Joram and Othlia and her sons. The high priest, however, did not do this, realizing that no one would be well affected enough to offer the money, but, when in the twenty-third year of his reign the king summoned him and the Levites and, after charging them

Bibl. Jehoahaz (Y hô'āhāz), LXX Ἰωαγάς (v.l. Ἰωαγάζ), Luc. Iwxás.

In Scripture, Joash addresses the priests directly.

The sum is not specified in Scripture, but in 2 Chron. xxiv. 6 the "tax (A.V. "collection") of Moses" is mentioned, meaning the half-shekel temple tax prescribed in Ex. xxx. 13 and still in force in Josephus's time (at least up to A.D. 70).

Lit. "broken down," cf. 2 Chron. xxiv. 7" For the sons of Athaliah, that wicked woman, had broken down the house of God." ⁹ Unscriptural detail.

87

αἰτιωμένου καὶ κελεύσαντος εἰς τὸ μέλλον προνοεῖσθαι τῆς ἐπισκευῆς τοῦ ναοῦ, στρατηγήματι χρῆται πρὸς τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν χρημάτων ὁ ἀρχ-

163 ιερεὺς ῷ τὸ πλῆθος ἡδέως ἔσχε τοιούτω ξύλινον κατασκευάσας θησαυρὸν καὶ κλείσας πανταχόθεν όπὴν ἐν¹ αὐτῷ μίαν ἤνοιξεν. ἔπειτα θεὶς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἔκαστον ὅσον βούλεται βάλλειν² εἰς αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ. πρὸς τοῦτο πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εὖ διετέθη, καὶ πολὺν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν φιλο-

164 τιμούμενοι καὶ συνεισφέροντες ήθροισαν. κενοῦντες δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν καὶ παρόντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀριθμοῦντες τὸ συνειλεγμένον ὅ τε γραμματεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς τῶν γαζοφυλακείων ἔπειτ' εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐτίθεσαν τόπον. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίουν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας. ὡς δ' ἀποχρώντως τὸ πλῆθος ἐδόκει βαλεῖν³ τῶν χρημάτων, ἔπεμψαν μισθούμενοι λατόμους καὶ οἰκοδόμους ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωδας καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσος καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλα μεγάλα καὶ τῆς καλλίστης

165 ὕλης. ἐπισκευασθέντος δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ, τὸν ὑπολειφθέντα χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον (οὐκ ὀλίγος δὲ ἦν) εἴς τε κρατῆρας καὶ οἰνοχόας καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σκεύη κατεχρήσαντο, θυσίαις τε πολυτελέσιν ὁσημέραι τὸν βωμὸν πιαίνοντες διετέλουν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐφ' ὅσον Ἰώδας χρόνον ἔζη τῆς

προσηκούσης ἐτύγχανε σπουδῆς.

166 (3) 'Ως δ' ἐτελεύτησεν οὖτος ἔτη μὲν βιώσας έκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα δίκαιος δὲ καὶ πάντα χρηστὸς γενόμενος, ἐτάφη δ' ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις ἐν 'Ιεροσολύμοις, ὅτι τῷ Δαυίδου γένει τὴν βασιλείαν

 $^{^{1}}$ έν om. ROM. 2 βαλεῖν cod. Vat. ap. Hudson E. 3 ἀποχρώντως . . . βαλεῖν] ἀποχρών τὸ πλῆθος ἐδόκει RO.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 162-166

with having disobeved his orders, commanded them in future to look after the repair of the temple, the high priest employed the following device for collecting the money, which the people willingly accepted: he made a wooden chest and, having closed it on all sides, made a single opening in it. Then he placed it in the temple beside the altar and told everyone to throw into it, through the opening, as much as he wished, for the repair of the temple. To this request all the people were well disposed, and they collected much silver and gold, vying with one another in bringing it in. Then, when the scribe and priest of the treasury had emptied the chest and in the presence of the king had counted the sum that had been collected, they put the chest back in the same place. And this they would do every day. When the people had put in what seemed a sufficient amount of money, the high priest Jodas and King Joas sent and hired stone-cutters and carpenters, and ordered great timbers of the finest wood. And, when the temple had been repaired, they spent the money that was left over-it was no small amount-for bowls and pitchers and cups and other vessels, and they continued day by day to enrich the altar with costly sacrifices. Thus, so long as Jodas lived, these things were done with the required care.

(3) But, after Jodas died at the age of one hundred Death of and thirty years, having been an upright man and Jehoisda good in allways, and was buried in the royal sepulchres degeneraat Jerusalem because he had restored the kingdom to Joseph.

^b So 2 Chron.; according to 2 Kings it was expressly forbidden to use the money for temple vessels, etc.

^e So 2 Chron.; in 2 Kings it is the priests who take the money from the people and put it in the box.

JOSEPHUS

ἀνεκτήσατο, προέδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωασος τὴν 167 ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεόν. συνδιεφθάρησαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τοῦ πλήθους πρωτεύοντες, ὥστε πλημμελεῖν εἰς τὰ δίκαια καὶ νενομισμένα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄριστα εἶναι. δυσχεράνας δ' ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῆ μεταβολῆ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, πέμπει τοὺς προφήτας διαμαρτυρησομένους τε τὰ πραττό-

168 μενα καὶ παύσοντας τῆς πονηρίας αὐτούς. οἱ δ'
ἰσχυρὸν ἔρωτα καὶ δεινὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἄρα ταύτης
εἶχον, ὡς μήτε οἷς οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐξυβρίσαντες εἰς
τὰ νόμιμα πανοικὶ κολασθέντες ἔπαθον, μήθ' οἷς
οἱ προφῆται προύλεγον πεισθέντες μετανοῆσαι καὶ
μετελθεῖν ἐξ ὧν εἰς ἐκεῖνα παρανομήσαντες ἐτράπησαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ζαχαρίαν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως
'Ἰώδα λίθοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσε βληθέντα ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσιῶν

169 αὐτοῦ λαθόμενος, ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ προφητεύειν αὐτὸν ἀποδείξαντος στὰς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει συνεβούλευεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ δίκαια πράττειν, καὶ τιμωρίαν ὅτι μεγάλην ὑφέξουσι μὴ πειθόμενοι προύλεγε. τελευτῶν μέντοι Ζαχαρίας μάρτυρα καὶ δικαστὴν ὧν ἔπασχε τὸν θεὸν ἐποιεῖτο, ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβουλίας καὶ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ παρέσχεν Ἰωάσῳ πικρῶς καὶ βιαίως ἀπολλύμενος.

170 (4) "Εδωκε μέντοι γ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς δίκην ὧν παρηνόμησεν· ἐμβαλόντος γὰρ 'Αζαήλου τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Γίτταν καταστρεψαμένου καὶ λεηλατήσαντος καὶ 90

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 166-170

the line of David, King Joas proved faithless in the 2 Chron. service of God. And together with him were cor- xxiv. 15. rupted the leaders of the people so that they transgressed against what was right and held among them to be the highest good. Thereupon God, being displeased at this change of heart in the king and the others, sent the prophets to protest solemnly against their actions and to make them leave off their wrongdoing. But they indeed were seized with so strong a love and so terrible a desire for it that, heeding neither the punishment which those before them had suffered together with all their house for outraging the ordinances, nor what the prophets had foretold, they refused to repent and turn back from the lawless course which they had taken. Moreover the king even ordered Zacharias, the son of the high priest Jodas, to be stoned to death in the temple, unmindful of the good works of his father, because, when God appointed him to prophesy, he stood in the midst of the people and counselled both them and the king to do right, and warned them that they would suffer heavy punishment if they disobeyed. As he died, however, Zacharias made God the witness and judge of what he had suffered in being so cruelly and violently put to death in return for his good counsel and for all that his father had done for Joas.b

(4) It was not long, however, before the king paid Joash pays the penalty for his unlawful acts. For Azaēlos, the tribute to king of Syria, invaded his country and, after sub-2 Kings duing Gitta of and despoiling it, he prepared to march (Heb. 18);

a So most LXX MSS. (v.l. 'AZaplar); bibl. Zechariah (Zekaryāh).

Bibl. "And when he died, he said, The Lord look upon it and require it " (LXX " judge ").

Bibl. Gath, LXX Γέθ.

μέλλοντος έπ' αὐτὸν στρατεύειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Ἰώασος πάντας ἐκκενώσας τοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυροὺς καὶ τοὺς τῶν βασιλείων καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα καθελὼν ἔπεμψε τῷ Σύρῳ, τούτοις ῶνούμενος τὸ μὴ πολιορκηθῆναι μηδὲ κινδυνεύειν

171 περὶ τῶν ὅλων. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τῆ τῶν χρημάτων ὑπερβολῆ τὴν στρατιὰν οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν³ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. νόσω μέντοι χαλεπῆ περιπεσὼν ὁ Ἰώασος, ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων οῦ τὸν Ζαχαρίου⁴ θάνατον ἐκδικοῦντες τοῦ Ἰώδα παιδὸς ἐπεβούλευσαν τῷ βασιλεῦ, διεφθάρη πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ

172 θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς θήκαις δὲ τῶν προγόνων, ἀσεβὴς γενόμενος. ἐβίωσε δ' ἔτη ἐπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν

αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται 'Αμασίας ὁ παῖς.

173 (5) Εἰκοστῷ δὲ καὶ πρώτῳ τῆς Ἰωάσου βασιλείας παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰώαζος ὁ τοῦ Ἰηοῦ υἱὸς ἐν Σαμαρεία καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν ἔτεσιν ἐπτὰ καὶ δέκα τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς οὐδ' αὐτὸς μιμητὴς γενόμενος, ἀσεβήσας δ' ὅσα καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι

174 τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονήσαντες. ἐταπείνωσε δ' αὐτὸν καὶ συνέστειλεν ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς εἰς ὁπλίτας μυρίους καὶ πεντήκοντα ἱππεῖς, στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ πόλεις

² βασιλέων MSPE.

3 οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν] οὐκέτ' ἤγαγεν RO.

5 Ἰωάζας ΜΕ: Ἰωζας SP (Ἰώχαζος infra): Iocha Lat.

¹ καὶ μέλλοντος ex Lat. add. Naber.

^a Variant "kings." These details are from 2 Kings; 2 Chron. omits them.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 170-174

against him to Jerusalem; Joas, fearing this, emptied ² Chron. xxiv. 23. all the treasuries of God and of the palace a and, taking down the dedicatory offerings, sent them to the Syrian to buy himself off with these from being besieged and endangering his entire power. Accordingly the other, being persuaded by the very large amount of money, did not lead his army against Jerusalem. But Joas, being stricken by a very severe Death of illness, was attacked by some of his friends, who had 2 Kings plotted against the king to avenge the death of xii. 20 Zacharias, the son of Jodas, and was done to death 2 Chron. by them. And, though he was buried in Jerusalem, xxiv. 25. it was not in the sepulchres of his forefathers, dbecause of his impiety. He had lived forty-seven years, and was succeeded on the throne by his son Amasias.e

(5) In the twenty-first f year of the reign of Joas, Jehoahaz the government of the Israelites was taken over (Jōazos) of at Samaria by Joazos, the son of Jehu, and he held defeated by it seventeen years; although he was no imitator of 2 Kings his father, he committed as many impieties as did xiii. 1. the first (kings) who held God in contempt. But the king of Syria humbled him and reduced his force from the very great one it was to ten thousand foot-soldiers and fifty horsemen h when he marched against him

Joash's illness is mentioned in 2 Chron., but not in 2 Kings.

⁶ Variant "the friends of Zacharias." According to Scripture they were friends of the king. Their names are given in 2 Chron.

4 So 2 Chron.; according to 2 Kings he was buried "with

his fathers."

· So Lxx 2 Chron. (2 Kings 'Αμεσσείας); bibl. Amaziah ('Amasyāh).

¹ Bibl. 23rd.

Bibl. Jehoahaz, cf. § 160 note c.

A Josephus omits the ten chariots mentioned in Scripture.

τε μεγάλας καὶ πολλὰς αὐτοῦ ἀφελόμενος καὶ 175 τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ διαφθείρας. ταῦτα δ' ἔπαθεν ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς κατὰ τὴν Ἐλισσαίου προφητείαν, ὅτε ᾿Αζάηλον βασιλεύσειν προεῖπε τῶν Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκηνῶν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν δεσπότην. ὢν δὲ ἐν ἀπόροις οὕτω κακοῖς Ἰώαζος ἐπὶ δέησιν καὶ ἰκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ κατέφυγε, ῥύσασθαι τῶν ᾿Αζαήλου χειρῶν αὐτὸν παρακαλῶν

σασθαι τῶν ᾿Αζαήλου χειρῶν αὐτὸν παρακαλῶν
176 καὶ μὴ περιϊδεῖν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνῷ γενόμενον. ὁ δὲ θεὸς
καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν ὡς ἀρετὴν³ ἀποδεχόμενος, καὶ
νουθετεῖν μᾶλλον τοὺς δυναμένους, τελέως μὴ
ἀπολλύειν δοκοῦν αὐτῷ, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
πολέμου καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἄδειαν. εἰρήνης δ᾽ ἡ
χώρα λαβομένη ἀνέδραμέ τε πάλιν εἰς τὴν προ-

τέραν κατάστασιν καὶ εὐθήνησε.

177 (6) Μετά δὲ τὴν Ἰωάζου τελευτὴν ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ υίὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰώασος. ἔβδομον ἤδη καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος βασιλεύοντος Ἰωάσου τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν οὖτος ὁ Ἰώασος ἐν Σαμαρεία τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν (καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχε προσηγορίαν τῷ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεῖ) καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν ἔτεσιν ἑκκαίδεκα.

βασιλεῖ) καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν ἔτεσιν ἐκκαίδεκα.

178 ἀγαθὸς δ' ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ὅμοιος τῷ πατρὶ τὴν φύσιν.

κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου γηραιοῦ μὲν ἤδη τυγχάνοντος εἰς δὲ νόσον ἐμπεπτωκότος ἦκεν ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς

πεπτωκότος ήκεν δ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς 179 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπισκεψόμενος. καταλαβὼν δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἐσχάτοις ὄντα κλαίειν ἤρξατο βλέποντος αὐτοῦ³ καὶ ποτνιᾶσθαι καὶ πατέρα τε ἀποκαλεῖν καὶ ὅπλον· δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ μηδέποτε χρήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς

1 βασιλεύς SP. 2 ἀρίστην MSP. 3 βλέποντος αὐτοῦ om. M: αὐτοῦ om. RO.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 174-179

and took from him many great cities a and destroyed his army. These misfortunes the Israelite people b suffered in accordance with the prophecy of Elisha, who had foretold that Azaēlos would kill his master and become king of Syria and Damascus.6 But Jōazos, being helpless before such great difficulties, had recourse to prayer and supplication to God and begged Him to save him from the hands of Azaelos and not suffer him to fall into his power. Thereupon God accepted his repentance as a virtue and, because He saw fit rather to admonish the powerful and not completely destroy them, gave him security from war and its dangers. And so, when the country had obtained peace, it was restored to its former condition and began to flourish.d

(6) After the death of Joazos, the royal power came Jehoahaz is to his son Joas. In the thirty-seventh year of Joas's succeeded by Joash. reign over the tribe of Judah, this Joas—he had the 2 Kings xiii, 9. same name as the king of Jerusalem-took over the government of the Israelites at Samaria and held it for sixteen years. He was a good man and in no way like his father in character. Now about this time Elisha, the prophet Elisha, who was now an old man, fell ill, prophesies and the Israelite king came to visit him. But, finding victory over him near his end, he began to lament, as Elisha 2 Kings looked on, and to wail and call him "Father" and xiii. 14. "armour." Because of him, he said, they had

^a Unscriptural detail.

b Variant "king." c Cf. §§ 91 ff.

^d The foregoing (from "Thereupon God accepted his repentance") is an amplification of 2 Kings xiii. 23 (rather than of xiii. 5).

Bibl. Jehoash (Yehô'aš) or Joash (Yô'aš), Lxx 'Ιωάς.

Bibl. " he did evil in the sight of the Lord."

Bibl. "O my father, my father, the chariot of Israel and its horsemen."

έχθροὺς ὅπλοις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκείνου προφητείαις ἀμαχητὶ κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων νῦν δ' ἀπιέναι¹ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν, καταλείπειν² δ' ἐξωπλισμένον³

180 τοις Σύροις καὶ τοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν πολεμίοις. οὐδ' αὐτῷ τοίνυν ζῆν ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καλῶς ἔχειν συνεξορμᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ συναπαίρειν ἐκ⁴ τοῦ βίου. ταῦτ' ὀδυρόμενον Ἐλισσαῖος παρεμυθεῖτο τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τόξον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κομισθὲν ἐντεῖναι τοῦτο. ποιήσαντος οὖν εὐτρεπὲς τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ τόξον, ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ

181 ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν τοξεύειν. τρία βέλη δ' αὐτοῦ προεμένου εἶτα δ' ἀναπαυσαμένου "πλείω μέν," εἶπεν, "ἀφεὶς ἐκ ρίζῶν ἂν τὴν τῶν Σύρων βασιλείαν ἐξεῖλες, ἐπεὶ δὲ τρισὶν ἠρκέσθης μόνοις, τοσαύταις καὶ μάχαις κρατήσεις συμβαλῶν τοῖς Σύροις, ἴνα τὴν χώραν ἣν ἀπέτεμον τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ἀνακτήση." καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ταῦτ' ἀκούσας

182 ἀπηλλάγη. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ δ προφήτης ἀπέθανεν, ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη διαβόητος καὶ φανερῶς σπουδασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· θαυμαστὰ γὰρ καὶ παράδοξα διὰ τῆς προφητείας ἐπεδείξατο ἔργα καὶ μνήμης λαμπρᾶς παρὰ τοῦς Ἑβραίοις ἀξιωθέντα. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ταφῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς καὶ

183 οΐας εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν οὕτω θεοφιλῆ μεταλαβεῖν. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τότε, ληστῶν τινων ριψάντων εἰς τὸν Ἐλισσαίου τάφον ὁν ἦσαν ἀνηρηκότες, τὸν νεκρὸν τῷ

Cocceji: ἀπεῖναι codd.
 Bekker: καταλιπεῖν codd.
 ἐξωπλισμένοις (M)SP.

⁴ έκ om. MSP. 5 έπιλαβόμενον RMSP.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 179-183

never had to use arms against the foe, but through his prophecies they had overcome the enemy without a battle. But now he was departing this life and leaving him unarmed a before the Syrians and the enemies under them. It was, therefore, no longer safe for him to live, but he would do best to join him in death and depart this life together with him.^b As the king was bemoaning in these words, Elisha comforted him and told him to have a bow brought to him and to bend it; when the king had made the bow ready, the prophet took hold of his hands and bade him shoot. He then let fly three arrows and ceased, whereupon the prophet said, " If you had sent more arrows, you would have destroyed the kingdom of Syria to its foundations, but, since you were satisfied with only three, you shall meet the Syrians in as many battles and defeat them, that you may recover the territory which they cut off from your father's possessions.' And the king, having heard these words, departed. But not long afterward the prophet died; he was a Death of man renowned for righteousness and one manifestly 2 Kings held in honour by God; for through his prophetic xiii. 20. power he performed astounding and marvellous deeds, which were held as a glorious memory by the Hebrews. He was then given a magnificent burial, such as it was fitting for one so dear to God to receive. Now it happened just at that time that some robbers threw into the grave of Elisha a man whom they had

• The magnificence of the burial is an unscriptural detail.

[&]quot; Variant " leaving him to the fully armed Syrians."

The last three sentences are an addition to Scripture, to explain the curious epithets given to Elisha by the king. The Targum amplifies similarly.

σώματι αὐτοῦ προσκολληθέντα ἀναζωπυρῆσαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου, ζῶν τε ὅσα προείπε καὶ ὡς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔτι δύναμιν

είχε θείαν, ήδη δεδηλώκαμεν.

184 (7) Τελευτήσαντος δε τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως 'Αζαήλου εἰς "Αδαδον¹ τὸν υίὸν αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία παραγίνεται· πρὸς τοῦτον² συνάπτει πόλεμον 'Ιώασος ὁ τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς και τρισὶ μάχαις νικήσας αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο τὴν χώραν ἄπασαν καὶ ὅσας ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ 'Αζάηλος πόλεις καὶ 185 κόμιας τῆς 'Ισραηλιτῶν βασιλείας παρέλαβε τοῦτο

185 κώμας τῆς Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλείας παρέλαβε. τοῦτο μέντοι κατὰ τὴν Ἐλισσαίου προφητείαν ἐγένετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη καὶ Ἰώασον ἀποθανεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἐν Σαμαρεία κηδεύεται, καθῆκε δὲ εἰς Ἱεροβόαμον³

ή άρχη τον υίον αὐτοῦ.

186 (ix. 1) Δευτέρω δ' ἔτει τῆς Ἰωάσου βασιλείας τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐβασίλευσεν ᾿Αμασίας τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μητρὸς ῶν Ἰωάδης τοῦνομα πολίτιδος δὲ τὸ γένος θαυμαστῶς δὲ τοῦ δικαίου προυνόει καὶ ταῦτα νέος ὤν. παρελθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔγνω δεῖν πρῶτον Ἰωάσω τιμωρῆσαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοὺς 187 ἐπιθεμένους αὐτῷ φίλους κολάσαι. καὶ τούτους μὲν συλλαβὼν ἄπαντας ἐφόνευσε, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας

αὐτῶν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο δεινὸν ἀκόλουθα ποιῶν τοῖς

'Ιέσωζον Ε: Gessoban vel Iesoban codd. Lat.

4 Ἰουδα M: Ἰωδαδὶς S: Ἰωδαδης P: Ioadin Lat.

Hudson: 'Αδδαν RO Lat.: 'Ανδᾶν Μ: Βέραν Ρ: 'Ανβερὰν S: 'Αδαὰν Ε.
 * Cod. Vat. ap. Hudson.
 * Cod. Vat. ap. Hudson: 'Ιώασον ROMS: 'Ιώνασον P:

^a According to Scripture the band of Moabite robbers surprised some Israelites who were burying a man, and these 98

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murdered, and, when the corpse came into contact with his body, it was restored to life. This much, then, concerning Elisha, both as to what he foretold in his lifetime and how after death he still had divine

power, we have now related.

(7) On the death of Azaelos, the king of Syria, the Jehoash kingship came to his son Adados. Against him a Israel war was begun by Joas, the Israelite king, who defeats Ben-hadad defeated him in three battles and got back from him (Adados) all the territory which his father Azaēlos had taken of Syria. from the Israelite kingdom. This, moreover, came xiii. 24. about in accordance with the prophecy of Elisha. And, when the time came for Joas to die, he was Jehoash is buried in Samaria, and the royal power fell to his son succeeded by Jero-Jeroboam.

(ix. 1) In the second year of the reign of Joas over xiii, 13, Israel, Amasias began to reign over the tribe of Amaziah (Amasias) Judah in Jerusalem; the name of his mother, a of Judah. native of that city, was Joade.^d Now he was remark-² Kings xiv. 1; ably observant of justice, even though a youth. When ² Chron. he came into office and held power he decided first to xxv. 1. avenge his father Joas and to punish his friends who had laid violent hands on him; and, having seized them, he put them all to death, but did no harm to their children, for he was acting in accordance with

in terror threw the corpse into Elisha's grave. The Heb. text (2 Kings xiii. 20-21), however, is not clear and might seem to mean, as Josephus thought, that it was the robbers who threw the corpse of a man whom they had murdered into Elisha's grave.

Bibl. Ben-hadad, LXX νίδς 'Αδέρ; he was the third of

that name. On the name cf. Ant. viii. 363 note e.

Bibl. Amaziah, cf. § 172 note e.

Bibl. Jehoadan (Y'ho'addayn, 2 Chron. -an), Lxx 2 Kings Ἰωαδείμ (v.l. Ἰωδείν κτλ.), 2 Chron. Ἰωναά (v.l. Ίωαδέν κτλ.).

Μωυσέος νόμοις, δς οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε διὰ πατέρων 188 άμαρτίας τέκνα κολάζειν. ἔπειτα στρατιὰν ἐπι-λέξας ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος τῶν ἐν ἀκμῆ καὶ περὶ¹ εἴκοσι ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ συναθροίσας ώς τριάκοντα μυριάδας τούτων μέν έκατοντάρχους κατέστησε, πέμψας δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα μισθοῦται δέκα μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν έκατὸν ἀργυρίου ταλάντων διεγνώκει γὰρ τοῖς ᾿Αμαληκιτῶν ἔθνεσι καὶ Ἰδουμαίων καὶ Γαβα-

189 λιτῶν ἐπιστρατεύσασθαι. παρασκευασαμένου δὲ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν καὶ μέλλοντος ἐξορμᾶν ὁ προφήτης τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν στρατὸν ἀπολυσαι συνεβούλευσεν είναι γάρ άσεβη, και τον θεον ήτταν αὐτῷ προλέγειν χρησαμένῳ τούτοις συμμάχοις περιέσεσθαι δε των πολεμίων καὶ μετ'

ολίγων αὐτοῖς ἀγωνιζόμενον βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ. 190 δυσφοροῦντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῷ φθῆναι τὸν μισθὸν δεδωκέναι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις παρήνει ποιεῖν ό προφήτης ό τι τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ, χρήματα δ' αὐτῷ πολλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολύει, χαρίζεσθαι τὸν μισθὸν εἰπών, αὐτὸς δὲ μετά της οἰκείας δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰ προειρημένα τῶν

191 έθνων έστράτευσε και κρατήσας αὐτων τῆ μάχη μυρίους μεν απέκτεινε, τοσούτους δε ζωντας έλαβεν, οθς επί την μεγάλην αγαγών πέτραν, ήπερ

¹ ύπέρ ex Lxx (2 Paral) conj. Niese.

a Cf. Deut. xxiv. 16.

So Heb. and Luc. (2 Chron.); LXX "Judah and Jerusalcm."
 Bibl. "from twenty years old and above."
 Scripture adds "and captains of thousands."

^{* 2} Kings "He smote Edom in the valley of Salt ($g\ell$ ham-melah, LXX $\Gamma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda a$) ten thousand," 2 Chron. "And Amaziah went to the valley of Salt and smote of the Seirites

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the laws of Moses, who declared it unjust to punish children for the sins of their fathers.2 Thereafter His war with Amalehe raised an army from the tribes of Judah and kites and Benjamin b of such as were in their prime and about 2 Chron. twenty years of age, and, having collected some three xxv. 5. hundred thousand, appointed captains of hundreds d over them; then he sent to the Israelite king and hired a hundred thousand of his soldiers for a hundred talents of silver; for he had decided to undertake a campaign against the nations of the Amalekites and Edomites and Gabalites. When he had made his preparations for the campaign and was about to set out, the prophet f advised him to dismiss the Israelite army, saying that they were impious men and that God foretold a defeat for him if he employed them as allies, but that he would overcome the enemy, even if he fought with only a few men, if God so willed. But the king objected to this because of already having given the Israelites their pay, whereupon the prophet exhorted him to do what was pleasing to God, and said that he should have much wealth from Him. And so he dismissed the Israelites, saving that he would make them a present of their pay g; but he himself with his own force marched against the aforementioned nations. And, having defeated them in battle, he killed ten thousand of them and took alive as many more, whom he then led to the great rock

(Edomites) ten thousand." Gabalites and Amalekites are

connected with Edomites in Ant. iii. 40, cf. note ad loc.

The prophet (bibl. "man of God") is not named in

Scripture.

Bibl, "and Amaziah separated them (LXX διεχώρισεν) to (lit.) the army that had come to him from Ephraim." Did Josephus perhaps read διεχαρίσατο "distributed presents" for LXX διεχώρισεν?

έστὶ κατὰ τὴν 'Αραβίαν, ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατεκρήμνισεν, ἀπήγαγέ τε λείαν πολλὴν καὶ πλοῦτον ἄφθονον ἐκ 192 τῶν¹ ἐθνῶν. 'Αμασίου δ' ἐν τούτοις ὑπάρχοντος οἱ τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν οὓς ἀπέλυσε μισθωσάμενος ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τούτω καὶ νομίσαντες ὕβριν εἶναι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο παθεῖν μὴ κατεγνωσμένους, ἐπῆλθον αὐτοῦ τῆ βασιλεία καὶ μέχρι Βηθσεμήρων² προελθόντες διήρπασαν τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔλαβον ὑποζύγια, τρισχιλίους δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀπέκτειναν.

193 (2) 'Αμασίας δὲ τῆ νίκη καὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν ἐπαρθεὶς τὸν μὲν τούτων αἴτιον αὐτῷ θεὸν γενόμενον ὑπερορᾶν ἤρξατο, οὖς δ' ἐκ τῆς 'Αμαληκιτῶν

- 194 χώρας ἐκόμισε, τούτους σεβόμενος διετέλει. προσελθών δ' δ προφήτης αὐτῷ θαυμάζειν ἔλεγεν, εἰ τούτους ήγεῖται θεούς, οῖ τοὺς ἰδίους παρ' οῖς ἐτιμῶντο μηδὲν ἄνησαν μηδ' ἐκ χειρῶν ἐρρύσαντο τῶν ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' ὑπερεῖδον πολλούς τε αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένους καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας κεκομίσθαι γὰρ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, καθὼς ἄν τις τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς ζωγρήσας
- 195 ἤγαγεν. τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ ταῦτ' ὀργὴν ἐκἶνησε, καὶ προσέταξεν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν τὸν προφήτην, ἀπειλήσας αὐτὸν κολάσειν ἂν πολυπραγμονῆ. καὶ ὁ μὲν

1 πάντων MSP: τούτων ex Lat. Hudson. 2 Βηθεεμήρων R: Bethoron Lat. 3 τινὰ RO.

^a Bibl. Sela (A.V. "the rock"; possibly Sela is thus to be taken as "the rock," a common noun, not a name, here), LXX 2 Kings τὴν πέτραν, 2 Chron. κρημνοῦ, "precipice." But the site of the later Petra is probably meant, cf. Ant. iv. 82. ^b Unscriptural detail.

Amplification of 2 Chron. xxv. 10, "and their anger was 102

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which is over against Arabia, and hurled them from it; he also carried off much booty and untold wealth from these nations. While Amasias was so engaged, the Israelites whom he had dismissed after hiring them showed resentment at this act and, considering their dismissal an insult-for, they said, they would not have experienced this treatment had they not been held in contempt c-they fell upon his kingdom and, advancing as far as Bethsemera, a ravaged the country and took many cattle and killed three thousand men.

(2) But Amasias, elated at his victory and achieve- Amaziah is ments, began to neglect God, who had been the sprophet cause of them, and persisted in worshipping the gods for idolatry. whom he had brought from the country of the xxv. 14. Amalekites. Then the prophet f came to him and said that he wondered how he could consider those beings as gods who had neither given any help to their own people, by whom they were honoured, nor had saved them from his hands, but had looked on while many of them were perishing, and had allowed themselves to be taken captive, for they had, he said, been brought to Jerusalem in the same manner as one might bring enemies whom one had taken alive. But these words moved the king to anger, and he ordered the prophet to hold his peace, threatening to punish him if he meddled in these affairs. And

greatly kindled against Judah and they returned to their home in wrath."

d Bibl. "from Samaria (šôm'rôn) even unto Beth-horon," LXX ἀπὸ Σαμαρείας εως Βαιθωρών. Probably, as Weill suggests, Bethsemera in Josephus's text is a conflation of the two names. Moreover, the occurrence of the name Beth-shemesh (2 Kings xiv. 11 = 2 Chron. xxv. 21) as the battlefield of Judah and Israel may have added to the confusion.

Bibl. " much spoil."

[&]quot; Prophets " in LXX (but sing. is used further on).

ήσυχάζειν εἶπεν, οὐκ ἀμελήσειν δὲ ὧν ἐπικεχείρηκε 196 νεωτερίζων¹ τὸν θεὸν προύλεγεν. 'Αμασίας δὲ κατέχειν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις οὐ δυνάμενος, ἃς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξύβριζεν, ἀλλὰ φρονηματισθεὶς ἔγραψεν 'Ιωάσω τῷ τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν βασιλεῖ κελεύων ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ σὺν ἄπαντι τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὑπήκουε τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτοῦ Δαυίδη καὶ Σολομῶνι, ἢ μὴ βουλόμενον εὐγνωμονεῖν, εἰδέναι πολέμω περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς

εὐγνωμονεῖν, εἰδέναι πολέμω περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς 197 διακριθησόμενον. ἀντέγραψε δ' ὁ Ἰώασος τάδε· '' βασιλεὺς Ἰώασος βασιλεῖ 'Αμασία. ἦν ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει κυπάρισσος παμμεγέθης καὶ ἄκανος. αὕτη πρὸς τὴν κυπάρισσον ἔπεμψε μνηστευομένη² τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς πρὸς γάμον τῷ παιδί. μεταξὸ δὲ ταῦτα λέγουσαν θηρίον τι παρερχόμενον κατ-

198 επάτησε τὴν ἄκανον. τοῦτο οὖν ἔσται σοι παράδειγμα τοῦ μὴ μειζόνων ἐφίεσθαι, μηδ' ὅτι τὴν πρὸς ᾿Αμαληκίτας μάχην εὐτύχησας ἐπὶ ταύτη γαυρούμενος σαυτῷ καὶ τῆ βασιλεία σου κινδύνους ἐπισπῶ.''

199 (3) Ταῦτα δ' ἀναγνοὺς 'Αμασίας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν παρωξύνθη, τοῦ θεοῦ παρορμῶντος αὐτόν, οἷμαι, πρὸς αὐτήν, ἵνα τῶν παρανομηθέντων εἰς αὐτὸν δίκην ἀπολάβη. ὡς δ' ἐξήγαγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ἰώασον καὶ συνάπτειν μάχην ἕμελλον, τὸ 'Αμασίου στράτευμα φόβος αἰφνίδιος

¹ νεωτερίζειν MS1.

² Ε: μνηστευσομένη codd.

a Lit. "innovating"; νεωτερίζων, moreover, usually has a political connotation.

^b Scripture says merely, "And Amaziah sent messengers to Jehoash . . . saying, Come let us meet face to face (i.e. in battle)."

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the other, though he said that he would hold his peace, foretold that God would not overlook the strange and unlawful practices a to which he had set his hand. Amasias, however, was not able to con-Amaziah's tain himself at his good fortune, but outraged God challenge to from whom he had received it, and in his presump-Israel tion wrote to Joas, the king of the Israelites, com-xiv. 8; manding him to submit to him with all his people, 2 Chron. xxv. 17. just as formerly they had submitted to his forefathers David and Solomon; if he refused to be reasonable, let him understand that the question of supremacy would have to be decided by war.b Thereupon Joas wrote back as follows, "King Joas to King Amasias. There was once on Mount Libanos a very great cypress c and a thistle. The thistle sent to the cypress to ask the latter's daughter in marriage for her son. But meanwhile, as she was asking this, a wild beast came by and trampled on the thistle. Let this, therefore, be an example to you not to reach for what is beyond you, nor, because you were lucky in battle against the Amalekites,d need you take so much pride in that and bring down danger upon yourself and your kingdom."

(3) When Amasias read this letter, he was still Jehoash further provoked into making war; it was God, I takes Jerusalem, force against Joas, and they were about to join battle, there came upon the army of Amasias such a

think, who urged him on to it, in order that he 2 Kings might suffer punishment for his transgressions against 2 Chron. Him. But, after he had marched out with his xxv. 20.

^ε Bibl. "cedar" ('erez), LXX κέδρον. d Bibl. "Edomites," cf. § 188 note e.

[·] Although this statement reads like an addition made by Josephus, it is found in Scripture, 2 Chron. xxv. 20.

καὶ κατάπληξις οἶαν θεὸς οὐκ εὐμενὴς ὢν ἐντίθησιν 200 εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε, καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν διασπαρέντων ὑπὸὶ τοῦ δέους αὐτῶν μονωθέντα τὸν
᾿Αμασίαν ληφθῆναι συνέβη πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων
αἰχμάλωτον ἢπείλησε δ' αὐτῷ θάνατον Ἰωασος,² εἰ μὴ πείσειε τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἀνοίξαντας αὐτῷ
τὰς πύλας δέξασθαι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς τὴν
201 πόλιν. καὶ ᾿Αμασίας μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης καὶ τοῦ

201 πόλιν. καὶ 'Αμασίας μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὸ ζῆν δέους ἐποίησεν εἰσδεχθῆναι τὸν πολέμιον ὁ δὲ διακόψας τι τοῦ τείχους ὡς τετρακοσίων πηχῶν ἐφ' ἄρματος εἰσήλασε διὰ τῆς διακοπῆς εἰς 'Ιεροσόλυμα, τὸν 'Αμασίαν ἄγων αἰχμάλωτον.

202 κύριος δε τούτω τω τρόπω γενόμενος των 'Ιεροσολύμων' τούς τε τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυροὺς ἀνείλετο καὶ ὅσος ἦν τῷ 'Αμασία χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀπολύσας

203 τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνέζευξεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν. ταῦτα δ' ἐγένετο περὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἔτει τετάρτω καὶ δεκάτω τῆς ᾿Αμασία βασιλείας, δς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων φεύγει μὲν εἰς Λάχεισαν πόλιν, ἀναιρεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβούλων

δ' ὑπὸ ROSP¹ Lat.: δὴ ὑπὸ Hudson.
 Ἰώσος Ε Lat.: om. codd.
 ¾ Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν RO.
 Λάχισαν ROE: Lachis Lat.

^a The account of the battle is amplified. Josephus, however, seems rightly to have recognized that the Heb. verb yinnāgeph (A.V. "was put to the worse"), applied to Judah, really means "was seized by divinely inspired terror in battle."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 199-203

sudden terror and consternation as God inspires when He is unpropitious, and turned them to flight. And, when they dispersed in alarm before even a blow was struck, the result was that Amasias, being left alone, was taken captive by the enemy. And Joas threatened him with death unless he persuaded the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to him and admit him with his army into the city. And so Amasias from necessity and fear for his life caused the enemy to be admitted. b Joas then broke down the wall for a distance of about four hundred cubits and in his chariot rode through the breach into Jerusalem, leading Amasias captive. And, having become master of Jerusalem in this way, he carried off the treasures of God, and took out all the gold and silver that Amasias had in his palace; then, having released him from captivity under these Death of conditions, he departed for Samaria. These things 2 Kings happened to the people of Jerusalem in the four-xiv. 17; 2 Chron. teenth year of the reign of Amasias e; and when, xxv. 25. after these events, his friends conspired against him, he fled to the city of Lacheisa but was put to death by the men whom the conspirators had sent

b Scripture says merely that Amaziah was captured and brought to Jerusalem.

The last clause (" in his chariot," etc.) is an addition to

"Under these conditions" or "circumstances" (οὐτως) may, less plausibly, be taken with the verb "he departed."

According to 2 Kings xiv. 2=2 Chron. xxv. 1, Amaziah reigned 29 years, and according to 2 Kings xiv. 17 = 2 Chron. xxv. 15, he lived for 15 years after Jehoash's death, which puts the capture of Jerusalem in the 14th year of his reign, if we assume that Jehoash's death took place in the same

Bibl. Lachish (Lakiš), LXX Aaxeis; cf. Ant. viii. 246

note l.

πεμψάντων έκει τους αποκτενούντας αὐτόν. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κομίσαντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα βασιλικῶς 204 ἐκήδευσαν κατέστρεψε δὲ οὕτως Αμασίας τὸν βίον διά τον νεωτερισμόν της πρός τον θεόν όλιγωρίας, βιώσας μεν έτη τέσσαρα καὶ πεντήκοντα βασιλεύσας δ' έννέα καὶ εἴκοσι. διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ό

παῖς 'Οζίας τοὔνομα.

205 (χ. 1) Πεντεκαιδεκάτω έτει της 'Αμασία βασιλείας έβασίλευσε των 'Ισραηλιτών ό 'Ιωάσου υίὸς Ίεροβόαμος έν Σαμαρεία έτη τεσσαράκοντα. οδτος ό βασιλεύς τὰ μὲν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ύβριστής καὶ παράνομος δεινώς έγένετο είδωλά τε σεβόμενος καὶ πολλοίς ἀτόποις καὶ ξένοις ἐγχειρῶν ἔργοις, τῷ δέ λαῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν μυρίων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος

206 ύπηρξε. τούτω προεφήτευσε τις 'Ιωνας, ώς δεί πολεμήσαντα τοις Σύροις αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι τῆς κοκεμησάντα τους 20μους αυτον κρατησάν της ἐκείνων δυνάμεως καὶ πλατῦναι τὴν αύτοῦ⁴ βασι-λείαν τοῦς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἄρκτον μέρεσιν ἔως ᾿Αμάθου πόλεως, τοῦς δὲ κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν

207 έως της 'Ασφαλτίτιδος λίμνης τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οί όροι τῆς Χαναναίας ἦσαν οὖτοι, καθὼς ὁ στρα-τηγὸς Ἰησοῦς περιώρισε. στρατεύσας οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σύρους ὁ Ἱερόβαμος καταστρέφεται πᾶσαν αὐτῶν την χώραν, ώς προεφήτευσεν Ίωνας.

208 (2) 'Αναγκαΐον δὲ ἡγησάμην, τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν 1 καὶ διὰ RO.

a Scripture adds "on horses."

² τῆς . . . όλιγωρίας] καὶ τὴν . . . όλιγωρίαν ex Lat. Hudson. ³ κακῶν MSP Exc. Suidas. ⁴ Niese: αὐτοῦ codd. E.

b According to 2 Kings xiv. 21 = 2 Chron. xxv. 1, he was 25 years old at his accession; adding 29 years for his reign, we get 54 years.

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there to kill him. Then they brought his body to Jerusalem a and gave him a royal burial. Thus, then, did Amasias meet his end because of his innovations, which led him to show contempt of God; he had lived fifty-four years b and reigned twenty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, named Ozias.c

(x. 1) In the fifteenth year of the reign of Amasias, Wickedness Jeroboam, the son of Joas, began to reign over the of Jeroboam of Israel. Israelites and reigned in Samaria forty d years. This 2 Kings viv. 23 king was shockingly arrogant and lawless in his con-xiv. 23. duct toward God, worshipping idols and adopting many unseemly foreign practices, but to the people of Israel he was the cause of innumerable benefits. Now a certain Jonah prophesied to him that he should make war on the Syrians and defeat their forces and extend his realm on the north as far as the city of Amathos f and on the south as far as Lake Asphaltitis 9-for in ancient times these were the boundaries of Canaan as the general Joshua had defined them. And so, having marched against the Syrians, Jeroboam subdued their entire country, as Jonah had prophesied.

(2) But, since I have promised to give an exact The story

So LXX 2 Chron.; bibl. Uzziah ('Uzziyāhû); also called

Azariah ('Azaryāhû), Lxx 'Αζαρίας.

^a The variant "evils" is probably a scribal correction to fit the context; the reading "benefits" is supported by what Josephus says in § 215, and by Scripture, 2 Kings xiv. 25, 27, which speaks of Jeroboam's conquests.

¹ Bibl. Hamath, LXX Αἰμάθ, v.l. Ἡμάθ; cf. Ant. vii. 107

⁹ Bibl. "the sea of the plain" ('Arābāh), LXX της θαλάσσης τῆς ᾿Αραβά; for ᾿Αραβά Luc. has πρὸς ἐσπέραν " toward the west" (lit. "evening," reading 'ereb). The scriptural "sea of the plain" is the Dead Sea, for which Lake Asphaltitis is the Hellenistic name, cf. Ant. i. 174.

πραγμάτων παραδώσειν ύπεσχημένος, όσα καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῦ προφήτου εύρου έν ταις Έβραϊκαις βίβλοις ἀναγεγραμμένα διεξελθεῖν κελευσθείς γὰρ οθτος ύπο του θεου πορευθήναι μέν είς την Νίνου1 βασιλείαν, κηρῦξαι δ' ἐκεῖ γενόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολέσει, δείσας οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδράσκει τὸν θεὸν εἰς Ἰόπην² πόλιν καὶ πλοῦον

209 εύρων έμβας είς Ταρσον έπλει της Κιλικίας. έπιγενομένου δε χειμώνος σφοδροτάτου καὶ κινδυνεύοντος καταδθναι τοθ σκάφους οί μεν ναθται καὶ οἱ κυβερνῆται³ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ναύκληρος εὐχὰς εποιοῦντο χαριστηρίους, εἰ διαφύγοιεν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὁ δὲ Ἰωνᾶς συγκαλύψας αὐτὸν εβεβλητο, μηδεν ών τους άλλους εώρα ποιοῦντας μιμούμενος.

210 αὔξοντος δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῦ κλύδωνος καὶ βιαιοτέρας γενομένης ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς θαλάσσης, ύπονοήσαντες, ώς ενδέχεται, τινά των εμπλεόντων αἴτιον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοῦ χειμῶνος, συνέθεντο κλήρω

211 τοῦτον ὄστις ποτὲ ἦν μαθεῖν. κληρωσαμένων οὖν ό προφήτης λαγχάνει, πυνθανομένων δε πόθεν τε είη καὶ τί μετέρχεται το μεν γένος έλεγεν Έβραιος είναι προφήτης δε τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ. συνεβούλευσεν οὖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ θέλουσιν ἀποδράναι τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον, έκβαλείν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. 212 αἴτιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοῦ χειμῶνος. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν

> ¹ Nivvov RO: Nivaíov E: Niniae Lat. 2 'Ιόππην RMP2. δ κυβερνήτης MSP Lat.
> post θεοῦ lacunam statuit Niese.

 ^a Bibl. Nineveh, LXX Νωευή.
 ^b Bibl. Joppa (Yāphô), LXX Ἰόππη, modern Jaffa, the chief port of Palestine.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 208-212

account of our history, I have thought it necessary to recount what I have found written in the Hebrew books concerning this prophet. This man, then, hav- Jonah i. 2 ing been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Ninos a and, when he arrived there, to preach in that city that it would lose its power, was afraid and did not set out, but fled from God to the city of Jope, b where he found a boat and embarked in it to sail to Tarsus c in Cilicia. But a very severe storm came up and, as the vessel was in danger of sinking, the sailors and pilots and even the shipmaster began to pray and vow thank-offerings if they escaped the sea. Jonah, however, covered himself up and lay there, not imitating any of the things that he saw the others doing.d Then, when the waves rose still higher and the sea became more violent in the wind, they began to suspect, as is natural, that one of the passengers was the cause of the storm that had come upon them, and they agreed to draw lots to see who it might be. Accordingly they drew them, and it was the prophet on whom the lot fell. And, when they asked him where he came from and what his business was, he said that he was a Hebrew by race, and a prophet of the Most High God. He advised them, therefore, if they wished to escape their present danger, to throw him into the water, for, he said, he was the cause of the storm that had come upon them. At

Bibl. Tarshish, Lxx Θαρσείς, cf. Ant. i. 127.
 Bibl. "Jonah went into the sides of the ship and lay there

son went to sleep " (Lxx ἔρεγχεν " snored ").

« So Heb. consonantal text 'bry = 'ibri; Lxx, reading consonantal text as 'bd y = 'ebed Y(HWH), has δοῦλος Κυρίου " servant of the Lord."

¹ Bibl. " and I fear the Lord God of heaven who has made the sea and the dry land."

JOSEPHUS

πρῶτον οὐκ ἐτόλμων, κρίναντες ἀσέβημα εἶναι ξένον ἄνθρωπον καὶ πεπιστευκότα αὐτοῖς τὸ ζῆν εἰς φανερὰν οὕτως¹ ἀπώλειαν ἐκρῦψαι, τελευταῖον δ' ὑπερβιαζομένου τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ὅσον οὕπω μέλλοντος βαπτίζεσθαι τοῦ σκάφους, ὑπό τε τοῦ προφήτου παρορμηθέντες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους τοῦ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ρίπτουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς

213 τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ ὁ μèν χειμὼν ἐστάλη, τὸν δè λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ κήτους καταποθέντα τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τοσαύτας νύκτας εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον ἐκβρασθῆναι πόντον, ζῶντα καὶ μηδèν τοῦ σώματος λελωβη-

214 μένον. ἔνθα τοῦ θεοῦ δεηθεὶς συγγνώμην αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Νίνου πόλιν καὶ σταθεὶς εἰς ἐπήκοον ἐκήρυσσεν ὡς μετ' ὀλίγον πάνυ χρόνον² ἀποβαλοῦσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς 'Ασίας, καὶ ταῦτα δηλώσας ὑπέστρεψε. διεξῆλθον δὲ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ διήγησιν, ὡς εῦρον ἀναγεγραμμένην.

215 (3) Ἱεροβόαμος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ πάσης εὐδαιμονίας τὸν βίον διαγαγὼν καὶ ἄρξας ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ἐτελεύτησε καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Σαμαρεία, διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υίὸς Ζαχαρίας.
216 τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ 'Οζίας ὁ τοῦ 'Αμασία υίός,

1 αὐτοὺς RO.
2 πάνυ χρόνον] πάλιν M ed. pr.

^a Amplification of Scripture.

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first they did not dare to do so, regarding it as an impious act to take a man who was a stranger and had entrusted his life to them, and cast him out to so certain a death; but finally, as their distress pressed more heavily upon them b and the vessel was on the point of sinking, and since they were driven to it both by the prophet himself and by fear for their own lives, they cast him into the sea. And so the storm was stilled; as for Jonah, the story has it that he was swallowed by a whale and after three days and as many nights was cast up on the shore of the Euxine sea, e still living and unharmed in body. Then, having prayed to God to grant him pardon for his sins, he went to the city of Ninos and, standing where all could hear him, proclaimed that in a very short time they would lose their dominion over Asia; after giving them this message, he departed. And I have recounted his story as I found it written down.d

(3) Now King Jeroboam died after a life of com- Jeroboam is plete prosperity and a reign of forty e years; he was succeeded buried in Samaria and was succeeded on the throne Zachariah. by his son Zacharias. In the same way Ozias, the 2 Kings the xiv. 29. son of Amasias, (succeeded his father, and) in the Amaziah is

by Uzziah

υπερβιαζομένου τοῦ κακοῦ is a Thucydidean phrase, cf. (Ozias). Thuc. ii. 52.

^e Jonah ii. 10 (Heb. 11) "And the whale vomited Jonah upon the dry land" (Lxx ξηράν). Josephus apparently assumes that the Black (Euxine) Sea would be the nearest sea to Nineveh.

d Josephus's brief summary of the book of Jonah omits the

chief message of the story, the need of repentance.

· Cf. § 205 note b.

Bibl. Zachariah (Z'karyāh), LXX Zaxaplas (at this point, 2 Kings xiv. 29, Lxx mistakenly writes Azariah but gives Zacharias thereafter).

Bibl. Uzziah (also called Azariah), cf. § 204 note c.

έτος ήδη τέταρτον πρός τοις δέκα βασιλεύοντος Ίεροβοάμου, τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μητρός ὢν 'Αχίας' μεν τοὔνομα ἀστῆς δε τὸ γένος. ἀγαθὸς δὲ ἢν καὶ δίκαιος τὴν φύσιν καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ προνοήσαι τῶν πραγμάτων φιλο-217 πονώτατος. στρατευσάμενος δε καὶ επὶ Παλαιστίνους καὶ νικήσας μάχη πόλεις αὐτῶν ἔλαβε κατὰ κράτος Γίτταν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ κατέσκαψεν αὐτῶν τὰ τείχη. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν έπηλθε τοις τη Αιγύπτω γειτνιωσιν "Αραψι, καὶ πόλιν κτίσας έπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης έγκατ-218 έστησεν αὐτῆ φρουράν. ἔπειτα τοὺς ᾿Αμμανίτας καταστρεψάμενος καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς όρίσας τελεῖν καὶ πάντα τὰ μέχρι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὅρων χειρωσάμενος, τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἤρχετο ποιεῖσθαι τὸ λοιπον την επιμέλειαν όσα γάρ των τειχών η ύπο τοῦ χρόνου κατεβέβλητο η ύπο της όλιγωρίας των πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων, ταῦτά τε ἀνωκοδόμει καὶ κατεσκεύαζεν, όσα τε ην κατεσκαμμένα³ ύπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως, ὅτε τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ λαβών αιχμάλωτον τον 'Αμασίαν εισηλθεν είς την 219 πόλιν. προσωκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ πύργους πολλούς

'Aχιάλας SP: Achelamas Lat.
 ex cod. Vat. Hudson: 'Ιαμνίαν rell.
 M Εχς.: καταβεβλημένα rell.

^a Bibl. 27th. As rabbinic commentators early recognized, the biblical figure here is at variance with those indicated earlier; Amaziah reigned for 15 years after Jeroboam's accession (2 Kings xiv. 17 = 2 Chron. xxv. 25, ef. § 203 note ε), so that Uzziah must have become king in the 14th (by predating) year of Jeroboam's reign, as Josephus states. Some 114

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fourteenth a year of Jeroboam's reign began to rule 2 Kings over the two tribes in Jerusalem; the name of his 2 Chron. mother, a native of that city, was Achia. He was a xxvi. 1. good and just man by nature and was both magnanimous and most industrious in providing for the state. He also made war on the Philistines and, having defeated them in battle, took by storm their cities Gitta and Jamneia and razed their walls to the ground. After this campaign he went out against the Arabs living on the borders of Egypt and, having founded a city on the Red sea, stationed a garrison there. Next he subdued the Ammanites q and, Uzziah's having imposed a tribute upon them and made him- and imself master of all the country as far as the borders provements 2 Chron. of Egypt, he began to take thought thereafter for xxvi. 8. Jerusalem; whatever parts of the walls had fallen either through age or through the neglect of the kings before him, he rebuilt or repaired, as well as those parts which had been thrown down by the king of Israel when, after taking his father Amasias captive, he entered the city." In addition he built many

Jewish authorities, however, resolve the chronological difficulties by assuming that Uzziah was co-regent with Amaziah during the last 15 years of the latter's reign.

b Variant Achiala; bibl. Jecholiah (Y'kolyāhû), LXX

2 Kings Xaleiá, 2 Chron. 'Iexeliá, v.l. Xaaiá.

Bibl. Gath, cf. § 170 note c.

⁴ Bibl. Jabneh (Yabnéh), LXX 'Iaβνή, cf. Ant. v. 87

note f. Scripture adds Ashdod.

 Bibl. "the Arabs that dwelt in Gur-baal (LXX ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας) and the Meunim" (LXX Μειναίους "Minaeans"). The site of Gur-baal has not been identified. The Meunim were probably the inhabitants of Maon, S.E. of Petra.

At Eloth (2 Chron. xxvi. 2).

So Heb. (bibl. Ammonites), probably meaning the Meunim; here again LXX has Mewalow.

A The reference to Amaziah is an addition to Scripture.

πεντήκοντα πηχῶν ἔκαστον.¹ καὶ φρουροὺς δ' ἐνετείχισε τοῖς ἐρήμοις χωρίοις, καὶ πολλοὺς ὀχετοὺς ἄρυξεν ὑδάτων. ἦν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θρεμμάτων ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος:

220 εὐφυὴς γὰρ ἦν ἡ χώρα πρὸς νομάς. γεωργικὸς δὲ ῶν σφόδρα τῆς γῆς ἐπεμελεῖτο, φυτοῖς αὐτὴν καὶ παντοδαποῖς τιθηνῶν σπέρμασι. στρατιᾶς δ' εἶχεν ἐπιλέκτου περὶ αὐτὸν μυριάδας ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, ἦς ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν καὶ ταξίαρχοι καὶ χιλίαρχοι γενναῖοι καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴς ἀνυπόστατοι, τὸν ἀριθμὸν

221 δισχίλιοι. διέταξε δ' εἰς φάλαγγας τὴν ὅλην στρατιὰν καὶ ὥπλισε ρομφαίαν δοὺς ἐκάστῳ καὶ θυρεοὺς καὶ θώρακας χαλκοῦς καὶ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις μηχανήματα πολλὰ πρὸς πολιορκίας κατεσκεύασε πετρόβολά τε καὶ δορύβολα καὶ ἄρπαγας² καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια.
222 (4) Γενόμενος δ' ἐν ταύτη τῆ συντάξει καὶ

222 (4) Γενόμενος δ' εν ταύτη τη συντάξει καὶ παρασκευή διεφθάρη την διάνοιαν ύπο τύφου, καὶ χαυνωθεὶς θνητή περιουσία της άθανάτου καὶ προς ἄπαντα διαρκοῦς τὸν χρόνον ἰσχύος ώλιγώρησεν (αὕτη δὲ ἦν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβεια καὶ τὸ τηρεῖν

(αὕτη δὲ ἦν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβεια καὶ τὸ τηρεῖν 223 τὰ νόμιμα). ἄλισθε δὲ ὑπ' εὐπραξίας καὶ κατηνέχθη πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς άμαρτήματα, πρὸς ἃ κἀκεῖνον ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν λαμπρότης καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ δυνηθέντα προστῆναι καλῶς αὐτῶν ἤγαγεν. ἐνστάσης δ' ἡμέρας ἐπισήμου καὶ

¹ ἔκαστον] καὶ ἐκατὸν MSP Exc. Suidas: singulis quibusque CL cubitos habentibus Lat. 2 + καὶ ἀρτῆρας SP.

^a Variant "a hundred and fifty"; no figure is given in Scripture.

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towers, each fifty a cubits high. He also built fortified posts in desert regions and dug many canals for water. b And of beasts of burden and other cattle he had an unlimited number, for the country was naturally good for pasture. And, being interested in farming, he took the greatest care of the soil and cultivated it with plants and all kinds of seed. He also had under him a picked army of three hundred and seventy thousand e men, over which were commanders and officers and captains of thousands who were men of valour and irresistible prowess, two thousand d in number. He disposed his entire army into phalanxes and armed them, giving each a sword,6 a shield and breastplate of bronze, a bow and a sling. Beside this he also built many engines for sieges, such as rock-throwers and spear-throwers and grapplingirons, and the like.

(4) But, after he had made these arrangements and Uzziah's preparations, he was corrupted in mind through degenpride and, being filled with vanity on account of his 2 Chron. mortal prosperity, he became contemptuous of the power that is immortal and endures for all time, that is, piety toward God and observance of the laws. And so, because of his successes, he slipped and became involved in the same sins as those of his father, who had also been led into them by his brilliant good fortune and the greatness of his power, which he had not been able to direct rightly. Thus, on the occasion of a notable day which was a public

" " Bronze" is an unscriptural detail.

Amplification of Scripture.

117

Bibl. "cisterns" (A.V. "wells").
 Bibl. 307,500.
 Bibl. "spear." d Bibl. 2600.

Variant adds "attachments" (?). Scripture mentions only engines to throw arrows and great stones.

πάνδημον έορτὴν ἐχούσης, ἐνδὺς ἱερατικὴν στολὴν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος θυσιάσων ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦς 224 βωμοῦ τῷ θεῷ. τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως 'Αζαρία, ὄντων σὺν αὐτῷ ἱερέων ὀγδοήκοντα, κωλύοντος αὐτόν (οὐ γὰρ ἐξὸν ἐπιθύειν εἶπον, μόνοις δ' ἐφεῖσθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ 'Ααρῶνος γένους), καταβοώντων δ' ἐξιέναι καὶ μὴ παρανομεῖν εἰς τὸν θεόν, ὀργισθεὶς ἡπείλησεν αὐτοῖς θάνατον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἡσυχίαν

225 ἄξουσι. μεταξὺ δὲ σεισμὸς ἐκλόνησε τὴν γῆν μέγας, καὶ διαστάντος τοῦ ναοῦ φέγγος ἡλίου λαμπρὸν ἐξέλαμψε καὶ τῆ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄψει προσέπεσεν, ὡς τῷ μὲν εὐθέως λέπραν ἐπιδραμεῖν, πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῆ καλουμένη Ἐρωγῆ τοῦ ὅρους ἀπορραγῆναι τὸ ἤμισυ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν δύσιν καὶ κυλισθὲν τέσσαρας σταδίους ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνατολικὸν ὅρος στῆναι, ὡς τάς τε παρόδους ἐμφραγῆναι καὶ τοὺς παραδείσους τοὺς βασιλικούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατ-226 ειλημμένην τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τῆς λέπρας

226 ειλημμένην τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τῆς λέπρας εἶδον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἔφραζόν τε αὐτῷ τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ ἐκέλευον ἐξιέναι τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἐναγῆ. ὁ δ'

¹ ἐπιθυσιάσων Μ Exc. Suidas: ἐπιθυμιάσων SP Lat. ι θυμιάσων Ε Zonaras. ² Ε: ἐφεῖται codd. Exc. Suidas.

^a Variant "offer incense," as in Scripture; but cf. ἐπιθύειν below.

^b Scripture says merely, "he transgressed against the Lord his God and went into the temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the altar of incense."

[°] So Lxx; bibl. Azariah ('Azaryāhû).

d The threat of death is an unscriptural detail.

Like Josephus, the rabbis connect with Uzziah's act the earthquake mentioned in the prophecy of Zechariah, xiv. 5, "As you fled from before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah, King of Judah" (as well as the vision of Isaiah, ch. vi.), cf. Ginzberg iv. 262, vi. 358 note 30.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 223-226

festival, he put on the priestly garment and entered the sacred precinct to offer sacrifice a to God on the golden altar. And, when the high priest Azarias, with whom there were eighty priests, tried to prevent him-for, they said it was not lawful for any one to offer sacrifice, but to do so was allowed only to those of the line of Aaron,-and they all clamoured for him to go out and not transgress against God, he became angry and threatened them with death d if they did not hold their peace. But, while he spoke, Uzziah is a great tremor shook the earth, and, as the temple afflicted with was riven, a brilliant shaft of sunlight gleamed leprosy. through it and fell upon the king's face so that 2 Chron. xxvi. 19; leprosy at once smote him, while before the city of Zech. at a place called Eroge half of the western hill was broken off and rolled four stades till it stopped at the eastern hill and obstructed the roads and the royal gardens.9 When the priests saw the king's face smitten with leprosy, they explained to him the cause of his misfortune, and told him to go out of the city as an unclean person. And so, in his shame

1 It is generally (and probably correctly) assumed that the reference to the "brilliant shaft of sunlight" is based on the Heb. has sara ath zār hāh bemisho "the leprosy blossomed (A.V. "rose up") in his forehead," as zār hāh commonly means "shine" (of the sun); for another possible explanation cf. Ginzberg vi. 358 note 30, and Rappaport, p. 133 note 258.

note.

Possibly En-rogel, S.E. of Jerusalem, cf. Ant. vii. 223 note a. Rappaport, following S. Rapoport (cf. also Petit ap. Hudson-Havercamp), suggests that it is derived from the Heb. text of Zech. xiv. 5, where, instead of wonastem gê hāray "and you shall flee to the valley of the mountains" (?), Josephus read wenistam gê hāray " and Ge haray was stopped up," the name Gê hāray being further corrupted to Erōgē.

* Bibl. "they hurried him out from there"; cf. following

ύπ' αἰσχύνης τε τοῦ συμβεβηκότος δεινοῦ καὶ τοῦ μηκέτ' αὐτῷ παρρησίαν εἶναι τὸ κελευόμενον ἐποίει, τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον διανοίας καὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀσεβημάτων ταλαίπωρον οὕτως 227 καὶ οἰκτρὰν ὑπομείνας δίκην. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα διῆγεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἰδιώτην ἀποζῶν βίον, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ 'Ιωθάμου τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντος, ἔπειτα ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ ἀθυμίας τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀπέθανεν ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑξήκοντα,

τούτων δε βασιλεύσας πεντήκοντα δύο. εκηδεύθη

δὲ μόνος ἐν τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ κήποις.

228 (xi. 1) 'Ο δὲ τοῦ 'Ιεροβάμου παῖς Ζαχαρίας εξ μῆνας' βασιλεύσας τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν δολοφονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ φίλου τινὸς Σελλήμου' μὲν τοὔνομα 'Ιαβήσου δὲ υἱοῦ, δς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν μετ' αὐτὸν παραλαβὼν οὐ πλείονα χρόνον ἡμερῶν αὐτὴν

229 κατέσχε τριάκοντα. ὁ γὰρ στρατηγὸς Μαναῆμος κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὢν ἐν Θαρσῆ πόλει καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ζαχαρίαν ἀκούσας, ἄρας μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ῆκεν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν, καὶ συμβαλὼν εἰς μάχην ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Σέλλημον καὶ βασιλέα κατα-

1 μησὶ ROSPE.

² Σελήμου M: Σελλούσμου SP: Σελίσμου E: Sellismo Lat.: Σελλούμου ex cod, Vat. Hudson.

So the Targum renders Heb. wayyēšeb b*bêth ha-hophšīth (A.V. "and dwelt in a several [i.e. separate] house "); LXX 2 Kings, transliterating the obscure word hophšīth (usu. "free"), has καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν οἴκῳ ἀφφουσώθ, 2 Chron. ἐν οἴκῳ ἀφφουσών ἐκάθητο.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 226-229

at the terrible thing that had happened to him and because he no longer had the right to speak out, he did as he was told; so miserable and pitiable a penalty did he pay for thinking to reach a station higher than man's and for the impieties toward God which were caused thereby. And so for a time 2 Chron. he dwelt outside the city, a living the life of a private xxvi. 21. citizen, for his son Jotham had taken over the government; and then, from grief and despondence at what had happened to him, he died at the age of sixty-eight years, of which he had reigned fifty-two.

He was buried alone in his own gardens.d

(xi. 1) Now Zacharias, the son of Jeroboam, had shallum reigned over the Israelites six months when he was (Sellemos) treacherously put to death by one of his friends, Menahem (Manaemos) of Israel. the royal power after him but held it no longer than 2 Kings thirty days. For, when Manaemos, the general, who was at that time in the city of Tharse, heard of Zacharias's fate, he set out with his entire army and came to Samaria, and, engaging Sellemos in battle, slew him and made himself king; from there he

^b A medieval Jewish commentator (cited by Rappaport, p. 63) uses Heb. hedyôt " private citizen," derived from Gr. ίδιώτης, to render hophsith, as Josephus does here.

According to 2 Kings xv. 2=2 Chron. xxvi. 3 he was 16 years old at his accession; adding 52 years for his reign,

we get 68 years.

· Cf. Luc. Σελλήμ; bibl. Shallum, LXX Σαλλούμ.

Bibl. Jabesh (Yābēs), LXX Ἰαβείς.

· Cf. LXX Mavanu; bibl. Menahem (Menahem).

d 2 Kings "with his fathers in the city of David"; 2 Chron. "with his fathers in the field of burial belonging to the kings, for they said, He is a leper."

^A Bibl. Tirzah (Tirṣāh), LXX Θαρσειλά (v.l. Θερσιλά), Luc. Θερσά; cf. Ant. viii. 299 note a.

στήσας έαυτὸν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Θαψὰν παραγίνεται πόλιν. 230 οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτῆ τὰς πύλας μοχλῷ κλείσαντες οὐκ εἰσεδέξαντο τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δ' ἀμυνόμενος αὐτοὺς τὴν πέριξ ἐδήου χώραν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος

231 λαμβάνει πολιορκία. φέρων δε χαλεπως επί τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Θαψιατῶν¹ πραχθεῖσι πάντας αὐτοὺς διεχρήσατο μηδε νηπίων φεισάμενος, ὤμότητος ὑπερβολὴν οὐ καταλιπὼν οὐδε ἀγριότητος · ἃ γὰρ οὐδε τῶν ἀλλοφύλων τινὰς συγγνωστὸν διαθεῖναι γενομένους ὑποχειρίους, ταῦτα τοὺς ὁμοφύλους

232 οὖτος εἰργάσατο. βασιλεύσας οὖν τῷ τρόπῳ τοὐτῳ ό Μαναῆμος ἐπ' ἔτη μὲν δέκα σκαιὸς καὶ πάντων ἀμότατος διέμενεν ἄν. στρατεύσαντος δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν Φούλου² τοῦ 'Ασσυρίων βασιλέως εἰς μὲν ἀγῶνα καὶ μάχην οὐκ ἀπαντῷ τοῖς 'Ασσυρίοις, πείσας δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου λαβόντα ἀναχωρῆσαι δια-

233 λύεται τὸν πόλεμον. τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο συνήνεγκε τὸ πληθος Μαναήμω πραχθὲν κατὰ κεφαλὴν δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα. τελευτήσας δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα κηδεύεται μὲν ἐν Σαμαρεία, καταλείπει δὲ τῆς βασιλείας τὸν υἱὸν Φακέαν διάδοχον, δς τῆ τοῦ πατρὸς κατακολουθήσας ὤμότητι δυσὶν ἔτεσι μόνοις 234 ἦρξεν. ἔπειτα δολοφονηθεὶς ἐν συμποσίω μετὰ

> 1 Θαψίων RO. 2 Φούλλου MSP: Φίλου O: Phoiulus Lat.

^b Amplification of 2 Kings xv. 16, "Then Menahem smote Tiphsah and all that were therein... and all the women

with child he ripped up."

^a Bibl. Tiphsah (*Tiphsaḥ*), Lxx Θερσά (v.l. Θαρά), Luc. Ταφῶε. On the basis of the Luc. reading, many scholars assume that the bibl. text should read Tappuah on the boundary of Ephraim and Manasseh (Joshua xvii. 8).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 229-234

went to the city of Thapsa. But those within the city shut their gates with bars and refused to admit the king. Thereupon he avenged himself upon them by ravaging the country round about, and after a siege took the city by storm. Then, resenting the actions of the inhabitants of Thapsa, he did away with all of them, not sparing even infants and not stopping short of the utmost extremes of cruelty and savagery; those things which it would be unforgivable to do even to aliens if taken captive, such things did he do to those of his own race.b Having become king in this way, Manaēmos continued to reign for ten years as a perverse and excessively cruel man.c However, when Phūlos, the king of Assyria, came Menahem against him with an army, he would not meet the to Assyria. Assyrians in the contest of battle, but persuaded the 2 Kings xv. 19. king to accept a thousand talents of silver and retire, and so brought the war to an end. This sum was contributed to Manaemos by the people, who were taxed at fifty drachmas o a head. After this he Pekahiah died and was buried in Samaria; he left as his suc-(Phakeas) and Pekah cessor on the throne his son Phakeas, who followed (Phakeas) his father's example of cruelty but ruled only two 2 Kings years, for he was then treacherously put to death, xv. 22. while at a banquet with his friends, through a con-

Scripture does not represent him as worse than his predecessors.

d Bibl. Pul, LXX Φουά; this was Tiglath-Pileser III (746-728 B.C.), the latter name being given further on in Scripture. 2 Kings xv. 29 (§ 235).

· Bibl. "shekels," LXX σίκλους. Josephus elsewhere equates the shekel with the tetradrachm, e.g. Ant. iii. 195,

Bibl. Pekahiah (Peqahyāh), LXX Pakerias, Luc. (vid.) Φακεία.

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φίλων ἀπέθανε, Φακέου τινός, δς ἢν χιλίαρχος, ἐπιβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ, παιδὸς δὲ 'Ρομελία. κατασχών δὲ καὶ οὖτος ὁ Φακέας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτεσιν 235 εἴκοσιν ἀσεβής τε ἢν καὶ παράνομος. ὁ δὲ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων βασιλεὺς Θαγλαθφαλλάσαρ¹ τοὔνομα ἐπιστρατευσάμενος τοῖς 'Ισραηλίταις καὶ τὴν πέραν τοῦ 'Ιορδάνου χώραν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῆ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καλουμένην καὶ Κύδισαν² καὶ "Ασωρα, τοὺς³ οἰκήτορας αἰχμαλωτίσας μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ 'Ασσυρίων βασιλέως ἐν τούτοις ἡμῦν δεδηλώσθω.

236 (2) Ἰωθαμος δὲ ἸΟζία παῖς ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν ἀστῆς γεγονὼς καλουμένης δὲ Ἰεράσης. οὖτος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς ἀπελείπετο, ἀλλ' εὐσεβὴς μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, δίκαιος δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους

- τά πρός τόν θεόν, δίκαιος δε τὰ πρός άνθρώπους 237 ὑπῆρχεν, ἐπιμελὴς δε τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅσα γὰρ ἐπισκευῆς ἔδεῖτο καὶ κόσμου, ταῦτα φιλοτίμως ἐξειργάσατο, στοὰς μεν τὰς ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἱδρύσας καὶ προπύλαια, τὰ δε καταπεπτωκότα τῶν τειχῶν ἀνεστησε, πύργους παμμεγέθεις καὶ δυσαλώτους οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, εἴ τι κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν
 - 1 Θεγλαφαράσσαρ Μ: Θελλαφαλασσάρ SP: Θαγλαφαλασάρ Ε: Theglaphaassar Lat.: Θαιγλαφαλασάρ (et -φαρασάρ) Zonaras.

2 Κύδισσα RO.

³ Bekker: καὶ τοὺς codd. E Lat.

4 έπιμελητής MSP.

b So Lxx; bibl. Remaliah (Remalyāhû).

6 Heb. šāliš " commander of a third part" (A.V. "cap-

tain "), LXX τριστάτης; cf. § 73 note a.

^d Bibl. Tiglath-Pileser, LXX Θεγλαθφαλλασάρ (with many v.ll.); cf. § 232 note d.

^a Bibl. Pekah (Peqaḥ), LXX Φακεέ, Luc. Φακεαί.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX, 234-237

spiracy formed against him by a certain Phakeas, the son of Romelias, b who was the captain of a thousand. This Phakeas, who also held power for twenty years, was an impious and lawless man. Now the king of Assyria, named Thaglathphallasar,d marched against the Israelites and subdued all of Galadene and the country across the Jordan and the adjoining country, called Galilee, and Kydisa f and Asora 9; and, having taken the inhabitants captive, he transported them to his own kingdom. With these words, then, let us end our account of the king of Assyria.

(2) And Jotham, the son of Ozias, reigned over Jotham the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, his mother, a native of Judah. of that city, being called Jerase. This king lacked xxvii. 1; 2 Kings no single virtue, but was pious toward God and just xv. 32. toward men; he also took care of the needs of the city, for all the places that were in need of repair or adornment he completely reconstructed at great expense; he erected porticos and gateways in the temple area, and set up those parts of the walls that had fallen down, and built very large and impregnable towers, and to any other matters which had been neglected throughout his entire kingdom

Bibl. Gilead, cf. Ant. i. 324.

¹ Bibl. Kedesh, Lxx Κένεζ; cf. Ant. v. 63 note c.

Bibl. Hazor (Hāsôr), LXX 'Ασώρ; cf. Ant. v. 199 note d. Scripture mentions three other cities.

h Gr. Jöthamos; Lxx Ἰωαθάμ (v.l. Ἰωναθάν).
 i Bibl. Jerushah (Y^erūšāh), Lxx 2 Chron. Ἰερουσσά,

2 Kings 'I covoá.

Bibl. (2 Chron.) "He built the high gate of the house of the Lord, and on the wall of Ophel he built much. And he built cities in the hills of Judah, and in the forests he built castles and towers."

JOSEPHUS

238 ημέλητο, πολλην έπιστροφην έποιείτο. στρατευσάμενος δε και έπι τους 'Αμμανίτας και κρατήσας
αὐτῶν τῆ μάχη προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς φόρους κατὰ
πᾶν ἔτος αὐτῷ τελεῖν έκατὸν τάλαντα και σίτου
κόρους μυρίους τοσούτους¹ δε και κριθης. ηὕξησε
δ' οὕτω την βασιλείαν, ὥστε ἀκαταφρόνητον μεν
αὐτην έκ τῶν πολεμίων είναι, τοῖς δ' οἰκείοις
εὐδαίμονα.

239 (3) ³Ην δέ τις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν προφήτης Ναοῦμος ὅνομα, ὃς περὶ τῆς ᾿Ασσυρίων καταστροφῆς καὶ τῆς Νίνου προφητεύων ἔλεγεν ὡς² ἔσται
Νινευὴ³ κολυμβήθρα ὕδατος κινουμένη· '' οὕτως καὶ
ὁ δῆμος ἄπας ταρασσόμενος καὶ κλυδωνιζόμενος
οἰχήσεται φεύγων λεγόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ' στῆτε
καὶ μείνατε καὶ χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄργυρον ἀρπά-

καὶ μείνατε καὶ χρυσόν αύτοῖς καὶ ἄργυρον άρπά240 σατε.' ἔσται δ' οὐδεὶς βουλησόμενος· σώζειν γὰρ
αὐτῶν' ἐθελήσουσι τὰς ψυχὰς μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ κτήματα·
δεινὴ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔρις ἔξει καὶ θρῆνος
πάρεσίς τε τῶν μελῶν, αι τε ὄψεις ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου
241 μέλαιναι τελέως αὐτοῖς γενήσονται. ποῦ δὲ ἔσται

¹ Ε Lat.: τοὺς αὐτοὺς codd.

² οὖτως ώς R: οὖτως MSP: haec Lat.

³ ex Lat. Hudson: Νινύα P: Νινύαs rell. (Νινευή infra MSP).

⁴ Niese: αὐτῶν codd.

<sup>a Scripture says that they paid tribute "in that year . . .
the second year and the third."
Bibl, adds "of silver."</sup>

The kor was about 11 bushels, cf. Ant. viii. 40 note a.

^d The Targum also seems to bring Nahum fairly close in time to Jonah, as does Josephus, of. § 242 note b. One rabbinic tradition places Nahum in the reign of Manasseh and makes his prophecy apply to the descendants of Sennacherib.

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he gave his constant attention. He also marched against the Ammanites and, having defeated them in battle, imposed a yearly a tribute upon them of a hundred talents b and ten thousand kors c of wheat and as many of barley. So greatly did he strengthen his kingdom that it was not lightly regarded by his enemies, while to his own people it brought happiness.

(3) d There was at that time a certain prophet, Nahum named Naum, who prophesied the downfall of purophesies Assyria and Nineveh, saying that Nineveh would be Nineveh. a troubled pool of water '; " so also all the people, (Heb.Lxx.9) being disturbed and agitated, shall go away and flee. one saying to another, 'Stop and remain and seize gold and silver for yourselves.' But there will be no one willing, for they will wish to save their own lives rather than their possessions.9 For terrible strife of one with another will come upon them, and lamentation and loosening of their limbs, and their eyes h will be darkened with fear. Where will be the habita-

· Gr. Naumos; bibl. Nahum (Naḥûm), LXX Ναούμ.

/ Lit. "moving pool of water"; Heb. "like a pool of water from of old" (?), LXX, reading mêmêha "its waters" for mîmê hî "from of old" (?), has ὡς κολυμβήθρα ὕδατος τὰ ὕδατα αὐτῆς. Weill assumes that κινουμένη in Josephus's text is an attempt to render the obscure mîmê hî', which Targum and A.V. translate as above.

This last sentence is based on the obscure Heb. phrase 'én maphnéh'' there is no one turning '' (?; A.V. "none shall look back"), ικι οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐπιβλέπων. Josephus apparently takes it, as the Targum does, to mean "none takes time to

stand still."

" Or " faces."

' Bibl. "and the faces of them all gather redness" (?; Targum "blackness"), LXX καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον πάντων ώς πρόσκαυμα χύτρας "and the face of all is like a fire-blackened pot" (reading pārûr " pot" for pâ'rûr " redness" or blackness ").

τὸ κατοικητήριον τῶν λεόντων καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σκύμνων; λέγει δέ σοι ὁ θεός, Νινευή, ὅτι ' ἀφανιῶ σε καὶ οὐκέτι λέοντες ἐκ σοῦ πορευόμενοι ἐπιτάξουσι

242 τῷ κόσμῳ.'' καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις προεφήτευσεν οὖτος ὁ προφήτης περὶ Νινευῆς, ἃ λέγειν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην, ἴνα δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὀχληρὸς δοκῶ παρέλιπον. συνέβη δὲ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα περὶ Νινευῆς μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων

ἀποχρώντως ἡμιν δεδήλωται.

243 (xii. 1) 'Ο δὲ Ἰωθαμος μετήλλαξεν ἔτη βιώσας εν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα βασιλεύσας δ' εξ αὐτῶν εκκαίδεκα, θάπτεται δ' εν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις. ἔρχεται δ' εἰς τὸν υίὸν αὐτοῦ ᾿Αχάζην ἡ βασιλεία, ος ἀσεβέστατος εἰς τὸν θεὸν γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς πατρίους παραβὰς νόμους, τοὺς Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέας εμιμήσατο, βωμοὺς εὐ Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναστήσας καὶ θύων επ' αὐτῶν τοῖς εἰδώλοις, οῖς καὶ ἴδιον ώλοκαύτωσε παῖδα κατὰ τὰ Χαναναίων ἔθη, καὶ

244 τούτοις ἄλλα παραπλήσια διεπράσσετο. ἔχοντος δ' οὕτως καὶ μεμηνότος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλεὺς ᾿Αράσης¹ καὶ Φακέας ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν (φίλοι γὰρ ἦσαν), καὶ συνελάσαντες αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐπολιόρκουν χρόνον, διὰ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητα

1 'Paaon's RO: Rasen Lat.

⁶ Bibl. pasturage (A.V. "feeding-place"), LXX νομή.
⁶ Nineveh fell in 607/6 B.c. Josephus thus dates the prophecy in the last year of the Israelite kingdom (722 B.c.).
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tion of lions and the mother a of young lions? God says to thee, Nineveh, 'I will blot thee out, and no more shall lions go forth from thee to rule the world." And many more things beside did this prophet prophesy about Nineveh, which I have not thought it necessary to mention, but have omitted in order not to seem tiresome to my readers. But all the things that had been foretold concerning Nineveh came to pass after a hundred and fifteen years.b And now, concerning these matters, what we have written may suffice.

(xii. 1) And Jotham passed away at the age of Jotham is forty-one years, of which he had reigned sixteen, and by Ahaz, was buried in the royal sepulchres. The kingdom 2 kings then some to his core Achard who in action and the second to his core and the second to his then came to his son Achaz, who in acting most 2 Chron. impiously toward God and violating his country's xxvii, 9. laws imitated the kings of Israel, for he set up altars in Jerusalem and sacrificed on them to idols, to which he even offered his own son as a whole burnt-offering according to the Canaanite custom, and he committed other offences similar to these. But, while he was Syria and thus acting like a madman, there came against Judah. Israel attack him Arases, the king of Syria and Damascus, and 2 Kings Phakeas, the king of Israel—for they were friends,— 2 Chron. and, after driving him into Jerusalem, they besieged xxviii. 5. it for a long time, but because of the strength of its

d Gr. Achazes, variant Achazos; bibl. Ahaz ('Āḥāz), LXX

2 Kings 'Αχάζ, 2 Chron. 'Αχάς.

^f Bibl. Rezin (Resin), LXX 'Paaσσών.

Bibl. Pekah, cf. § 234 note a.

According to 2 Kings xv. 33=2 Chron. xxvii. 1 he was 25 years old at his accession; adding 16 years for his reign, we get 41 years.

Scripture (2 Chron.) mentions an altar of incense set up in the valley of Hinnom, as well as molten images to the Baalim (LXX γλυπτά έν τοις είδώλοις).

245 μηδεν ἀνύοντες. ὁ δε τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς λαβὼν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ἐρυθρῷ θαλάσση πόλιν Ἡλαθοὺς¹ καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀποκτείνας ἐγκατώκισεν αὐτῷ Σύρους. τοὺς δ' ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς πέριξ Ἰουδαίους διαφθείρας καὶ λείαν πολλὴν ἀπελάσας εἰς Δαμασκὸν μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀν-

246 έζευξεν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν² βασιλεὺς γνοὺς τοὺς Σύρους ἐπ' οἴκου κεχωρηκότας καὶ νομίσας ἀξιόμαχος εἶναι τῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεῖ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξήγαγε, καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐνικήθη κατὰ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ῆν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν αὐτοῦ

- 247 πολλοίς ἄμα καὶ μεγάλοις εξχεν· δώδεκα γὰρ μυριάδες κατ' ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀνηρέθησαν, ὧν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ζαχαρίας τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέκτειν' ἐν τῆ συμβολῆ τοῦ βασιλέως ᾿Αχάζου ᾿Αμασίαν ὁνομα, καὶ τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῆς βασιλείας ἀπάσης Ἐρικὰμ καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἰούδα ψυλῆς στρατηγὸν Ἐλικὰν αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβεν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος ψυλῆς γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἀπήγαγον, καὶ πολλὴν λείαν διαρπάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς Σαμάρειαν.
 - 1 Αιλάθ ex Lat. Hudson.
 2 Ἱεροσολύμων PE Lat.
 3 Cocceji: Ζαχαρίαν (ν ex σ corr.) M: Ζάχαριν vel Ζαχάριν rell.

⁴ Naber: 'Αμίας M: 'Αμασίας rell. ⁵ 'Ερκὰμ RO.

6 Έλκὰν M: Ἑλικὰν O: Helicam Lat.

⁷ ἔλαβον ROS².
⁸ ἀνεχώρουν MSP.

So Heb.; Lxx, reading 'Edômîm "Edomites" for 'Arāmîm "Syrians," has Ἰδουμαΐοι.

Bibl. Zichri, LXX Έζεκρεί, v.l. Ζεχρί.

^a Bibl. Elath, Lxx Aὶλάθ, v.l. Aἰλάμ; cf. Ant. viii. 163 note e.

^d Bibl. Maaseiah, Lxx Maaσίas, v.ll. 'Aμασίαs (as in Josephus), Maασαίαs.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 245-247

walls accomplished nothing. However, the king of Syria took the city of Elathūs a on the Red Sea and, after killing its inhabitants, settled Syrians therein.b And, when he had in like manner done away with the Jews in the garrisons and in the surrounding country, and had carried off much spoil, he withdrew with his army to Damascus. But the king of Jerusalem, on learning that the Syrians had returned home, and thinking himself a match for the king of Israel, led out his force against him and, after joining battle, was defeated because of the anger which God felt at his many great impieties. One hundred and twenty thousand of his men were slain that day by the Israelites, whose general Zacharias killed in the battle the son of King Achaz, named Amasias, and took captive & Erikam, the governor of the entire kingdom, and Elikan, the chief officer h of the tribe of Judah; they also carried off the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin, and, having seized much spoil, retired to Samaria.

¹ Bibl. Azrikam, LXX Έζρικάν, v.ll. Έζρικαμάν, Έγδρει-

κάν κτλ.

Bibl. Elkanah, Lxx 'Elkará, v.l. Elkará.

A Bibl. " next to the king," LXX διάδοχον (Luc. δεύτερον)

τοῦ βασιλέως.

"Bibl. "And the Israelites carried away captive of their brethren 200,000 women, sons and daughters." Josephus appears to have read Binyāmin "Benjamin" for bānim "sons." Perhaps, however, he includes Benjamin because further on in Scripture (vs. 15), the captives are said to have been escorted to Jericho (a Benjamite city, cf. Joshua xviii. 11-12), "to their brethren."

^{*} Bibl. "killed." Josephus apparently takes the verb "captured" in the Heb. of 2 Chron. xxviii. 8 with the preceding sentence, as if referring to the two officers as well as the women and children.

248 (2) 'Ωδηδὰς¹ δέ τις, δς κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ προφήτης ὑπῆρχεν ἐν Σαμαρεία, τῷ στρατῷ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπαντήσας μεγάλη βοῆ τὴν νίκην αὐτοῖς οὐ διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν ἐδήλου γενέσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χόλον, δν εἶχεν ἐπ' 'Αχάζην τὸν

249 βασιλέα. καὶ κατεμέμφετο τῆ μὲν εὐπραγία τῆ κατ' αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀρκεσθέντας, ἀλλὰ τολμήσαντας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος συγγενεῖς ὅντας αἰχμαλωτίσαι. συνεβούλευέ τε αὐτοῖς ἀπολῦσαι τούτους εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπειθή-

250 σαντας γὰρ τῷ θεῷ δίκην ὑφέξειν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθῶν ἐπεσκέπτετο περὶ τούτων. ἀναστὰς δέ τις Βαραχίας ὄνομα² τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων ἐν τῆ πολιτεία καὶ ἄλλοι μετ' αὐτοῦ τρεῖς ἔλεγον οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν τοῖς ὁπλίταις εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, '' ἵνα μὴ πάντες ἀπολώμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· μόνον γὰρ ἀπόχρη τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμᾶς ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ὡς οἱ προφῆται λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καινότερα τούτων 251 ἀσεβήματα δρᾶν.'' ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται

251 ἀσεβήματα δρᾶν.'' ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται συνεχώρησαν ἐκείνοις ποιεῖν δ ἐδόκει συμφέρειν. παραλαβόντες οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι ἄνδρες τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔλυσάν τε καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἠξίωσαν καὶ δόντες ἐφόδια εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπέλυσαν ἀβλαβεῖς, οὐδὲν δ' ἦττον καὶ τέσσαρες³ αὐτοῖς συνῆλθον καὶ μέχρις Ἱεριχοῦντος προπέμψαντες οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς Σαμάρειαν.*

ολύμων ανέστρεψαν εις Δαμαρειαν.

1 ' Ωβηδὰς SP: ' Ωβήλας M: ' Ωδίδας Ε Lat. 2 ὀνόματι MSP.

 ³ τέσσαρας σταδίους RO.
 ⁴ τὴν Σαμάρειαν(-ειας ex -ειαν corr. P: -εων O) χώραν ROSP.
 132

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 248-251

(2) But a certain Odēdas, who was at that time a The prophet prophet in Samaria, met the army before the walls, bukes the and in a loud voice declared that their victory had Israelites. 2 Chron. come about, not through their own might, but through xxviii. 9. the wrath which God felt at King Achaz. And he rebuked them because they had not been content with their success against Achaz, but had dared to take captive people of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, b who were their kinsmen. He also advised them to let the captives go and return to their homes unharmed, saying that, if they disobeyed, they should suffer punishment at the hands of God. Thereupon the people of Israel came together in assembly and deliberated about these matters. And there arose one of the men most respected in the state, named Barachias, c and three others d with him, who said that they would not allow the soldiers to bring the captives into the city, "lest we should all be destroyed by God; for we have committed quite enough sins against Him, as the prophets say, without committing fresh impieties in addition." On hearing these words, the soldiers agreed to let them do what they thought expedient. And so the aforementioned men took over the captives and released them; and they treated them with care and gave them provisions for their homeward journey, after which they sent them away unharmed. And, what was more, the four men went with them, escorting them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and then returned to Samaria.

Bibl. Oded, Lxx 'Ωδήδ.

d Named in Scripture.

Benjamin is not mentioned in Scripture, cf. § 247 note i.
 So most LXX MSS. (cod. B Zaχaρίas); bibl. Berechiah (Berekyāhú).

252 (3) 'Αχάζης δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα παθὼν ὑπὸ τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν πέμψας πρὸς τὸν τῶν 'Ασσυρίων βασιλέα Θαγλαθφαλλασάρην συμμαχίαν αὐτῷ¹ παρασχεῖν παρεκάλει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τοὺς 'Ισραηλίτας καὶ Σύρους καὶ Δαμασκηνούς, χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, ἔπεμψε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ

253 λαμπρὰς δωρεάς. ὁ δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀφικομένων ὡς αὐτὸν ἦκε σύμμαχος ᾿Αχάζη, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σύρους τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθησε καὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν κατὰ κράτος εἶλε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ᾿Αράσην ἀπέκτεινε. τοὺς δὲ Δαμασκηνοὺς ἀπψκισεν εἰς τὴν ἄνω Μηδίαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν ᾿Ασσυρίων μεταστήσας τινὰς εἰς τὴν Δαμασκὸν

254 κατώκισε. την δε των 'Ισραηλιτων γην κακώσας πολλούς εξ αὐτης αἰχμαλώτους συνέλαβε. ταῦτ' αὐτοῦ διαπραξαμένου τοὺς Σύρους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρας τὸν χρυσὸν ὅσος ἢν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς θησαυροῖς καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἴ τι κάλλιστον ἀνάθημα, τοῦτο βαστάσας ἡκεν ἔχων εἰς Δαμασκὸν καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ πάντων αὐτῷ χάριν ἔχειν

255 όμολογήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἦν δ' οὕτως ἀνόητος καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀσυλλόγιστος οῦτος ὁ βασιλεύς, ὥστ' οὐδὲ πολεμούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων ἐπαύσατο τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν προσκυνῶν, ἀλλὰ διετέλει τούτους σεβόμενος ὡς παρεξομένους

¹ αὐτὸν RO.

 ² "Αχαζος Ε: rex Hierosolymorum Lat.: βασιλεύς 'Αχάζης Hudson.
 ³ δς ROM.
 ⁴ καὶ τὰ MSP Lat.: καὶ Ε.

¹³⁴

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 252-255

(3) a But King Achaz, after suffering this defeat at Ahaz bribas the hands of the Israelites, sent to Thaglathphal- Assyrians lasares, the king of Assyria, asking him to give aid as to attack an ally in the war against the Israelites, the Syrians Israel. and Damascenes, and promising to give him much 2 Kings xvi, 7. money; he also sent him splendid gifts. And so, after the envoys had come to him, he went to the help of Achaz, and, marching against the Syrians, ravaged their country, took Damascus by storm, and killed their king Arases. He then transported the Damascenes to upper Media, and brought over some of the Assyrian tribes and settled them in Damascus. He also did much damage to the country of the Israelites and took many of them captive. After he had inflicted these things on the Syrians, King Achaz took all the gold that was in the royal treasuries and the silver that was in the temple of God and the finest dedicatory-offerings and, carrying them with him, came to Damascus and gave them to the Assyrian king in accordance with their agreement,d and, after acknowledging his thanks for everything, returned to Jerusalem. But so stupid and unmindful of his own Abaz's good was this king that not even when he was at war 2 Kings with the Syrians did he cease to worship their gods, xvi. 10. but, on the contrary, continued to reverence them as

a Josephus omits the Edomite and Philistine invasions of Judah, 2 Chron. xxviii. 17-18.

b Bibl. "to Kir" (Qîrāh); some LXX MSS. read "to Cyrene"; Luc., reading giryāh "city," has ἀπωκίσατο την πόλιν "removed the city."

Addition to Scripture.

d In Scripture Ahaz sends these gifts to Tiglath-Pileser before the latter's capture of Damascus: moreover it mentions only the silver and gold found in the temple and the roval treasury.

256 αὐτῷ τὴν νίκην. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ πάλιν τοὺς ᾿Ασσυρίων πρέατο τιμαν θεούς καὶ πάντας εώκει μαλλον

τιμήσων ἢ τὸν πατρῷον καὶ ἀληθῶς θεόν, ος αὐτῷ 257 καὶ τῆς ἦττης ὀργιζόμενος ἦν αἴτιος. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δ' όλιγωρίας και καταφρονήσεως ήλθεν ώς και τέλεον ἀποκλείσαι τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰς νενομισμένας ἀπαγορεῦσαι θυσίας ἐπιφέρειν, καὶ περιδῦσαι τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτόν. ταῦθ' ὑβρίσας τὸν θεὸν ἐτε-λεύτησεν ἔτη μὲν βιώσας εξ καὶ τριάκοντα, βασιλεύσας δ' έξ αὐτῶν έκκαίδεκα, τὸν δ' υίὸν Ἐζεκίαν1 διάδοχον καταλιπών.

258 (xiii. 1) 'Απέθανε δ' ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ό τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεύς Φακέας ἐπιβουλεύσαντος αὐτῶ φίλου τινός 'Ωσήου τοὔνομα, δς κατασχών την βασιλείαν επ' έτη εννέα πονηρός τε ην και των

259 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὀλίγωρος. στρατεύει δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων βασιλεὺς Σαλμανάσσης' καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ (τὸν γὰρ θεὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ஹ΄Ωσῆος³ εὐμενη καὶ σύμμαχον) ὑπήκοον ἐποιήσατο καὶ 260 φόρους επέταξεν αὐτῷ τελεῖν ώρισμένους. ἔτει δὲ

1 Ίεζεκίαν RO.

² Σαλμανάσσαρις MSP: Σαλμανασσής M marg.: Σαλμανασάς E: Salamanassar Lat. 4 ύπήκοον om. RO.

3 Tows MISP.

which says that Ahaz made certain changes in the temple

" for the king of Assyria."

Josephus loosely combines 2 Kings and 2 Chron. According to 2 Chron. Ahaz gathered together and cut in pieces the temple vessels and shut up the doors of the temple; the passage in 2 Kings seems to mean that he set aside the former bronze altar for occasional use, and used the new Syrian altar

^a Josephus freely paraphrases the scriptural account (2 Kings xvi. 10-11) of the altar at Damascus, of which Ahaz sent a copy to Urijah the priest for imitating at Jerusalem.

^b An unscriptural detail probably based on 2 Kings xvi. 18,

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 256-260

if they would grant him victory. a And, after being defeated a second time, he began to honour the gods of the Assyrians, b and seemed ready to honour any god rather than his fathers' God, the true one, who in His wrath had been the cause of his defeat. To such lengths of contempt and despite of God did he go that he shut up the temple completely and forbade the offering of the customary sacrifices, and stripped it of its dedicatory-offerings.c After outraging God in this way, he died at the age of thirty-six years, d of which he had reigned sixteen, leaving his son Hezekiah e as his successor.

(xiii. 1) At the same time also died Phakeas, the Pekah king of Israel, the victim of a conspiracy formed (Phakeas) is succeeded against him by one of his friends, named Oseos, by Hoshes who held the royal power for nine years; he was a 2 Kings wicked man and contemptuous of his duty to God. h xv. 30, And there came against him Salmanasses, the king of Assyria, who defeated him-for Oseos did not have God propitious to him or as his ally i, and made him subject and imposed a fixed tribute

for the sacrifices of the people, and also dismantled the layers and the "Sea" in the temple court.

d According to 2 Kings xvi. 2=2 Chron. xxviii. 1 he was 20 years old at his accession; adding 16 years for his reign, we get 36 years.

Gr. Ezekias as in Lxx; Heb. Hizqîyāhû.

Unscriptural detail.

Or Osēes, cf. § 277; bibl. Hoshea, Lxx 'Ωσῆε.

* Scripture adds that he was less wicked than his predecessors.

ⁱ Variant Salmanassaris; bibl. Shalmaneser, LXX Σαλ-

μανασάρ κτλ.

This reflection replaces the scriptural statement that Shalmaneser came against Hoshea because the latter had allied himself with Egypt and refused to pay the yearly tribute to Assyria.

137

τετάρτω τῆς βασιλείας 'Ωσήου ἐβασίλευσεν 'Εζε-κίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, 'Αχάζου υίὸς καὶ 'Αβίας άστης το γένος. φύσις δ' ην αὐτῷ χρηστη καὶ δικαία καὶ εὐσεβής¹ οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πρῶτον εἰς την βασιλείαν παρελθὼν οὔτ' ἀναγκαιότερον οὔτε συμφορώτερον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ὑπέλαβε τοῦ θρησκεύειν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλέσας τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοὺς ίερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ληουίτας έδημηγόρησεν έν

261 αὐτοῖς λέγων: "οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε μὲν ὡς διὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρός άμαρτίας τούμοῦ, παραβάντος τὴν πρός θεον οσίαν και τιμήν, πολλών επειράθητε και μεγάλων κακών, διαφθαρέντες ύπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἀναπεισθέντες ους αὐτὸς ἐδοκίμαζεν είναι θεους 262 τούτοις προσκυνείν παραινώ δε ύμιν έργω μεμαθη-

κόσιν ώς έστι δεινόν τὸ ἀσεβεῖν, τούτου μέν ήδη λήθην ποιήσασθαι, καθάραι δ' αύτους έκ των προτέρων μιασμάτων, τούς τε ίερεις και Ληουίτας συνελθόντας ουτως ανοίξαι το ίερον, καὶ καθάραντας αὐτὸ ταῖς ἐξ ἔθους θυσίαις εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ πάτριον ἀνακαλέσασθαι τιμήν. οὕτως γὰρ τὸν θεὸν εύμενη ποιήσαιμεν άφέντα την όργην.

263 (2) Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀνοίγουσί τε τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ ἀνοίξαντες τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ ηὐτρέπισαν, καὶ τὰ μιάσματα ἐκβαλόντες τὰς έξ έθους τῶ βωμῶ θυσίας ἐπέφερον. διαπέμψας

1 θεοσεβής MSPE: religiosa Lat.

² καὶ om. MSP. ⁴ ηὖτρέπισαν om. ROM Lat. καὶ συνελθόντας RO.

b Bibl. 3rd.

d Unscriptural detail.

a Bibl. "shut him up and bound him in prison."

⁶ Bibl. 2 Kings Abi, Lxx 'Aβού, Luc. 'Aβούθ; 2 Chron. Abijah ('Abîyāh), Lxx 'Aββά, v.l. 'Aβιά κτλ.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 260-263

on him. In the fourth by year of the reign of Oseos, Ahaz is on him. In the fourth year of the reign of Useos, Ahaz is Hezekiah began to reign in Jerusalem; he was the by son of Achaz and of Abia, a native of that city. Hezekiah. 2 Kings His character was that of a kindly, upright and pious xviii. 1; man. And therefore, on his first coming into power, 2 Chron. xxix. 1. he considered nothing more necessary or profitable to himself and his subjects than the worship of God, and, so he called together the people and the priests and the Levites, and addressed them in the following words: "You are not ignorant that it is on account of the sins of my father, who transgressed against the religion and worship of God, that you have experienced many great misfortunes, having been corrupted in mind by him and persuaded to bow down to those beings which he himself admitted as gods. But now that you have learned by experience how terrible a thing impiety is, I urge you to put it out of your minds from now on and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions; and in this manner let the priests and Levites come together and open the temple and, by purifying it with the accustomed sacrifices, restore it to the ancient service of our country, for in this way we might make God put aside His anger and become gracious."

(2) When the king had spoken these words, the Hezekiah priests opened the temple and, after opening it, purifies the made ready the vessels of God, and, having got rid 2 Chron. of all the pollutions, they offered up the accustomed sacrifices on the altar. Then the king sent messen-

· Josephus omits the list of names of Levites, 2 Chron.

¹ Scripture at this point, 2 Chron. xxix. 21, gives a long and detailed account of the sacrifices and Levitical ceremonies which Josephus postpones (cf. § 268), to introduce here the passage on the Passover celebration (2 Chron. xxx. 1).

δ' δ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν χώραν ἐκάλει τὸν λαὸν εἰς 'Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἐορτὴν ἄξοντα· πολὺν γὰρ ἐκλελοίπει χρόνον διὰ τὰς τῶν 264 προειρημένων βασιλέων παρανομίας. ἐξαπέστειλε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς 'Ἰσραηλίτας, προτρεπόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀφέντας τὸν ἄρτι βίον εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπανελθεῖν συνήθειαν καὶ σέβειν τὸν θεόν καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς παραγενομένοις εἰς 'Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν ἄγειν καὶ συμπανηγυρίζειν αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγε παραινεῖν,' οὐχ ὅπως ὑπακούσωσιν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ θέλουσι, τοῦ δ' ἐκείνοις' 265 συμφέροντος ἔνεκα· μακαρίους γὰρ ἔσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἰσραηλῖται παραγενομένων τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ δηλωσάντων αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου βασιλέως οὐ

μή μεταθέμενοι προς τήν εὖσέβειαν τοῦ θεοῦ, διέπτυον καὶ τελευταῖον συλλαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀπ266 έκτειναν. καὶ οὐδὲ μέχρι τούτων αὐτοῖς ἤρκεσε
παρανομοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χείρω τῶν προειρημένων
ἐπενοοῦντο καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν ἢ τοῖς
πολεμίοις αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενος τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁ θεὸς
ἐποίσσος ὑπονομονος καὶ σεοὶ μὰν σράτους αῦθο

μόνον οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ὡς ἀνοήτους ἐχλεύασαν,³ καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δ' ὁμοίως ταῦτα παραινοῦντας καὶ προλέγοντας ἃ πείσονται

έποίησεν ύποχειρίους. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων αὖθις 267 δηλώσομεν. πολλοὶ μέντοι τῆς Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ Ζαβούλου καὶ Ἰσσαχάρου πεισθέντες οἶς

> 1 παραινῶν MSP Lat. 2 ἐκείνων MSP. 3 διεχλεύασαν MSP.

Bibl. Passover (Pesah), LXX Φάσεκ, v.l. Φάσεχ; cf. § 271.
 The festival of Unleavened Bread immediately follows the Passover, cf. Ant. iii. 249.
 Or "fellowship" (with Judah).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 263-267

gers throughout his realm, summoning the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the festival of Unleavened Bread (Azyma), which had for a long time been allowed to lapse through the lawless action of the kings previously mentioned. He also sent messen- He invites gers to the Israelites, exhorting them to give up the Israelites. their present manner of life and return to their 2 Chron. ancient custom b and reverence God, for, he said, he xxx, 1. would permit them to come and celebrate the festival of Unleavened Bread and join in their festal assembly. This, he said, he was proposing, not that they might become subject to him against their will, but because it was for their own good and would, he added, make them happy. However, when the envoys came and brought them this message from their king, the Israelites were not only not persuaded, but even laughed at his envoys as fools; and, when their prophets exhorted them in like manner and foretold what they would suffer if they did not alter their course to one of piety toward God, they poured scorn d upon them and finally seized them and killed them. And not stopping even at these acts of lawlessness, they devised things still worse than those mentioned, and did not leave off until God punished them for their impiety by making them subject to their enemies. But of these things we shall write farther on.f However, many of the tribes of Manasseh. Zabulon and Issachar 9

e Addition to Scripture.

d Lit. "spat."

The killing of the prophets and the unmentioned acts are unscriptural details.

In §§ 277 ff.

Josephus omits those from Asher (2 Chron. xxx. 11) and Ephraim (vs. 18).

JOSEPHUS

οί προφήται παρήνεσαν εἰς εὐσέβειαν μετεβάλοντο. καὶ οὖτοι πάντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς Ἐζεκίαν

συνέδραμον, όπως τῷ θεῷ προσκυνήσωσιν.

268 (3) 'Αφικομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς 'Εζεκίας ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ¹ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἔθυσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ταύρους ἐπτὰ καὶ κριοὺς τοσούτους καὶ ἄρνας ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐρίφους τοσούτους. ἐπιθέντες δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῶν ἱερείων αὐτός τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες 269 τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καλλιερεῖν ἐφῆκαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔθυόν τε καὶ ώλοκαύτουν, οἱ δὲ Ληουῖται περιεστῶτες ἐν κύκλω μετὰ τῶν μουσικῶν ὀργάνων ἦδον ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἔψαλλον ὡς ἐδιδάχθησαν ὑπὸ Δαυίδου, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἱερεῖς βυκάνας ἔχοντες ἐπεσάλπιζον τοῖς ὑμνωδοῦσι. τούτων δὲ γινομένων' ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ρίψαντες αὐτοὺς ὅ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ 270 τὸ πλῆθος προσεκύνουν τὸν θεόν. ἔπειτα θύει μὲν βοῦς ἐβλομήκοντα κριοὺς ἑκατὸν ἄρνας διακοσίους.

210 το πληθος προσεκυνουν τον θεον. επείτα υθεί μεν βοῦς έβδομήκοντα κριοὺς έκατὸν ἄρνας διακοσίους, τῷ πλήθει δὲ πρὸς εὐωχίαν ἐχαρίσατο βοῦς μὲν έξακοσίους τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ θρέμματα τρισχίλια καὶ πάντα μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀκολούθως ἐποίησαν τῷ νόμῳ. τούτοις δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡδόμενος εὐωχεῖτο μετὰ τοῦ 271 λαοῦ, τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶν. ἐνστάσης δὲ

271 λαοῦ, τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν ὅμολογῶν. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς θύσαντες τὴν λεγομένην φάσκα, τὰς ἄλλας τὸ λοιπὸν θυσίας ἐπετέλουν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτά. τῷ δὲ πλήθει, πάρεξ ὧν ἐκαλ-

 1 καὶ om. ROE Zonaras. 2 γενομένων MSP Lat. 3 πάσχα MSP Lat.

^a According to Scripture the sacrifices here described were offered on the occasion of purifying the temple, before the celebration of Passover, cf. § 263 note f.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 267-271

heeded the prophets' exhortations and were converted to piety. And all these flocked to Jerusalem to

Hezekiah that they might worship God.

(3) When they came, Hezekiah went up to the Hezekiah's temple with the chiefs and all the people, and sacri-of the ficed as his own offering seven bullocks and as many Passover. rams, and seven lambs and as many kids. Then the xxix. 20. king himself and the chiefs placed their hands on the heads of the victims and allowed the priests to complete the sacrifice auspiciously.^b And so, while these sacrificed and offered up whole burnt-offerings, the Levites, who stood round about with their musical instruments, sang hymns to God and played their harps as they had been instructed by David, and the other priests blew the trumpets they carried, and accompanied those who sang. After this was done, the king and the people threw themselves on their faces and did obeisance to God. Then he sacrificed seventy oxen, a hundred rams and two hundred lambs. and presented the people c with six hundred oxen and three thousand cattle of other kinds, for them to feast on. And the priests performed all things in accordance with the law. With this the king was well pleased, and feasted with the people, acknowledging his thanks to God. Then, when the festival of Unleavened Bread came round, they sacrificed the Phaska, d as it is called, and offered the other sacrifices for seven days. To the people, beside the sacrifices 2 Chron. which they themselves had brought as auspicious xxx. 24.

It is not clear why Josephus sometimes (cf. § 271) uses καλλιερείν where LXX has θύειν " sacrifice."

Scripture seems to mean that these latter offerings (bibl. " consecrated offerings ") were brought by the people them-

d Variant Pascha; cf. § 263 note a.

λιέρησαν αὐτοί, ταύρους μὲν δισχιλίους θρέμματα δὲ ἐπτακισχίλια ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐχαρίσατο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐποίησαν· χιλίους μὲν γὰρ ταύρους ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς θρέμματα δὲ χίλια καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

272 καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπό Σολομῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀχθεῖσα ἡ ἐορτὴ τότε πρῶτον λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπετελέσθη. ὡς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτοῖς πέρας είχεν, ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν

έορτὴν αὐτοῖς πέρας εἶχεν, ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν 273 χώραν ἤγνισαν αὐτήν· καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὲ παντὸς ἐκάθαραν μιάσματος εἰδώλων, τάς τε καθημερινὰς θυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι δι- έταξε¹ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις τὰς δεκάτας ὥρισε παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους δίδοσθαι καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν καρπῶν, ἵν' αἰεὶ τῆ θρησκεία παραμένωσι καὶ τῆς θεραπείας ὧσιν ἀχώριστοι τοῦ 274 θεοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος συνεισέφερε παντοδαπὸν

274 θεοῦ. καὶ τὸ μεν πλήθος συνεισέφερε παντοδαπὸν καρπὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις, ἀποθήκας δὲ καὶ ταμιεῖα τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς κατασκευάσας ἐκάστω διένειμε τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Ληουιτῶν καὶ παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ γυναιξί· καὶ οὕτω πάλιν εἰς τὴν

275 ἀρχαίαν θρησκείαν ἐπανῆλθον. ταῦτα δὲ τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ὁ βασιλεὺς καταστησάμενος
πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκε πρὸς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καὶ
νικήσας κατέσχεν ἁπάσας τὰς ἀπὸ Γάζης μέχρι
Γίττης πόλεις τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δὲ τῶν ᾿Ασσυρίων
βασιλεὺς πέμψας ἤπείλει πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ καταστρέψεσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς φόρους, οὖς ὁ πατὴρ

276 αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐτέλει, τούτους ἀποδώσει. Ἐξεκίας δὲ³ τῶν μὲν ἀπειλῶν οὐκ ἐφρόντισεν, ἐθάρρει
¹ προσέταξε MSP.
² Niese: καταστρέψασθαι codd. Ε.
³ δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς MSP.

^a Cf. § 268 note b. ^b Bibl. 1000. ^c Bibl. 10,000.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 271-276

offerings, a the king presented two thousand b bullocks and seven thousand small cattle; the chiefs did the same and gave them a thousand bullocks and a thousand and forty c small cattle. And the festival, which had not been kept in this manner since the time of King Solomon, was then for the first time splendidly and magnificently celebrated. After the Hezekiah's observance of the festival had come to an end, they religious went throughout the country and sanctified it. And 2 Chron. the city also they purified of all pollution from idols; xxxi, 1. and the king decreed that the daily sacrifices should be offered at his own expense in accordance with the law, and ordained that the tithes and first-fruits should be given by the people to the priests and Levites in order that they might always apply themselves to their divine office and be uninterrupted in the service of God. And so the people brought in to the priests and Levites all kinds of fruit, for which the king built storerooms and chambers, and distributed them among the priests and Levites and their children and wives. And thus did they once more return to their ancient form of religion. When the king had Hezekiah's arranged these things in the manner described above, war with he waged war with the Philistines and, after defeating Philistines 2 Kings them, seized all the enemy's cities from Gaza to xviii, 8. Gitta.e Thereupon the king of Assyria sent and threatened to subdue his entire realm unless he would render the tribute which his father formerly paid. But Hezekiah gave no thought to these threats, f for

d Scripture adds "in the temple."

^f So 2 Chron.; according to 2 Kings Hezekiah submitted

and paid the tribute demanded.

[·] Bibl. Gath, cf. § 170 note c. Gath is not mentioned here in Scripture, which says, " he smote the Philistines unto Gaza and its borders."

δ' ἐπὶ τῆ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεία καὶ τῷ προφήτη 'Ησαΐα, παρ' οὖ πάντ' ἀκριβῶς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐπυνθάνετο. καὶ ὧδε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος

έχέτω τὰ περὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως.

277 (xiv. 1) Σαλμανάσσης δε δ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ ἡγγέλη αὐτῷ δ τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς 'Ωσήης' πέμψας κρύφα πρὸς Σώαν² τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ, παροξυνθεὶς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἔτει ἑβδόμω τῆς 'Ωσήου βασι278 λείας. οὐ δεξαμένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτεσι

278 λείας. οὐ δεξαμένου δ' αὐτον τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτεσι πολιορκήσας τρισὶν είλε κατὰ κράτος τὴν Σαμάρειαν, ἔνατον μὲν ἔτος 'Ωσήου βασιλεύοντος ἔβδομον δ' Ἐξεκίου τοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἄρδην ἡφάνισε καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν μετώκισεν εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ Περσίδα, ἐν οῖς καὶ τὸν βασιλέα 'Ωσήην ζῶντα

279 ἔλαβε. καὶ μεταστήσας ἄλλα ἔθνη ἀπὸ Χούθου τόπου τινός (ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῆ Περσίδι ποταμὸς τοῦτ' ἔχων τοὕνομα), κατώκισεν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν καὶ

280 την των 'Ισραηλιτων χώραν. μετώκησαν οθν αί δέκα φυλαί των 'Ισραηλιτων έκ της 'Ιουδαίας μετά έτων άριθμον ένακοσίων τεσσαράκοντα έπτὰ ἀφ' οθ

1 ex Lat. Zonara Niese: ὡς ͼἴη codd. E. 2 ed. pr.: Ἦναν codd. E: Soam Lat.: Σωβὰ Zonaras. 3 + ἐκ ταύτης MSPE Zonaras (vid.).

Samaria.

^a Bibl. So, Lxx Σωά (v.ll. Σωβά, Σηγώρ), Luc. 'Αδραμέλεχ.

<sup>b Bibl. (2 Kings xviii. 10) 6th.
c Bibl. "into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes."
d In Scripture Hoshea is imprisoned before the siege of</sup>

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 276-280

he had confidence in his piety toward God and in the prophet Isaiah, by whom he was accurately informed of future events. And so, for the present, this is all

that we have to say about this king.

(xiv. 1) Now when Salmanasses, the king of As-The end syria, was informed that Osēes, the king of Israel, of the Kingdom had secretly sent to Soas, the king of Egypt, in-of Israel. Kings viting him to make an alliance against the Assyrian xvii, 4, king, he was filled with wrath, and marched upon Samaria in the seventh year of the reign of Osees. But the Israelite king would not admit him, whereupon he besieged Samaria for three years and took it by storm in the ninth year of the reign of Osēēs and in the seventh by year of Hezekiah, king of Israel; and he utterly destroyed the government of Israel, and transported all its people to Media and Persia, and along with them carried off Osees alive.d And, after removing other nations from a 2 Kings region called Chuthos e-there is a river by this name in Persia-, he settled them in Samaria and in the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of Israel emigrated from Judaea nine hundred and

Bibl. Cuthah (Kûthāh), LXX Χουνθά, Luc. Χωθά, Scripture says, "from Babylon and from Cuthah and from Ava

and from Hamath and from Sepharvaim."

1 Unscriptural detail. Cuthah was situated in Mesopotamia, not far from Babylon, according to most modern scholars. But, according to Stenning in Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, i. 537, "Cuthah has been identified as the name of a country near Kurdistan . . . while others consider 'Cuthaeans' to be another form of 'Cossaeans,' a tribe dwelling in the Persian province Jutipa, the modern Khuzistan, E. of the Tigris." Possibly, however, Josephus connects Cuthah with the cities mentioned earlier in Scripture, 2 Kings xvii. 6, "by the river of Gozan and in the cities of the Medes."

χρόνου τὴν Αἴγυπτον έξελθόντες αὐτῶν οἱ πρόγονοι τήνδε² κατέσχον την χώραν³ στρατηγοῦντος Ἰησοῦ.• άφ' οῦ δ' ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ 'Ροβοάμου τοῦ Δαυίδου υίωνοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἱεροβοάμω παρέδοσαν, ως μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται, έτη έστὶ διακόσια 281 τεσσαράκοντα μηνες έπτα ημέραι έπτα. και τέλος μέν τούς 'Ισραηλίτας τοιοῦτο κατέλαβε παραβάντας τούς νόμους καὶ παρακούσαντας τῶν προφητῶν, οῗ

προύλεγον ταύτην αὐτοῖς τὴν συμφορὰν μὴ παυσα-282 μένοις των ἀσεβημάτων. ἦρξε δ' αὐτοῖς των κακων ή στάσις ην έστασίασαν πρός 'Ροβόαμον τόν Δαυίδου υίωνόν, Ίεροβόαμον τον τούτου δουλον αύτων ἀποδείξαντες βασιλέα, δς είς τὸ θεῖον έξαμαρτών έχθρον αὐτοῖς τοῦτ' ἐποίησε μιμησαμένοις την εκείνου παρανομίαν. άλλ' ό μεν ής ην άξιος δίκης ταύτην ὑπέσχεν.

283 (2) 'Ο δέ των 'Ασσυρίων βασιλεύς έπηλθε πολεμών τήν τε Συρίαν πάσαν καὶ Φοινίκην τὸ δέδ όνομα τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς Τυρίων ἀρχείοις

1 ἐξῆλθον RO Chronicon Paschale. 2 δν δέ RO: ἀφ' οδ δέ Chron. Pasch. + ταύτην RO: + ή δὲ M^1 : + ὧν δὲ M^2 : + ἀπὸ δὲ ed. pr. + έστιν έτων οκτακοσίων codd.

^a Text uncertain; variant (after "Judaea") " after 947 vears. From the time when their forefathers went out of Egypt and they occupied this country under the command of Joshua it was (an interval) of 800 years." The last figure is undoubtedly a scribal addition. In any case the chronology here is inconsistent with that given elsewhere in Josephus. According to Ant. viii. 61 Solomon began to build the temple 592 years after the exodus; adding 76 years for the rest of his reign (Ant. viii. 211) and 240 years, etc. (cf. note c) for the Israelite kingdom, we get 908 years, etc. instead of 947 vears.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 280-283

forty-seven years after their forefathers went out of Egypt and occupied this country under the command of Joshua a; and from the time when they revolted from Roboamos, the grandson of David, and gave the kingdom over to Jeroboam, as I have previously related, b it was an interval of two hundred and forty years, seven months and seven days.c To such an end, then, did the Israelites come because they violated the laws and disregarded the prophets who foretold that this misfortune would overtake them if they did not cease from their impious actions. The beginning of their troubles was the rebellion they undertook against Roboamos, the grandson of David, when they chose as their king his servant Jeroboam, who sinned against the Deity and thereby made Him their enemy, for they imitated his lawless conduct. But such was the punishment which he d deservedly suffered.

(2) And the king of Assyria came with an army Tyrian and invaded Syria and all of Phoenicia. Now the records of the name of this king is recorded in the Tyrian archives, Assyrian invasion,

b Ant. viii, 221 ff.

This is the actual total of the regnal years of the Israelite kings as given by Josephus, reckoned as follows:

Jeroboam Nadab Baasha Elah	22 2 24 2	22 21	(,,	11	287). ,,). 298). 307).	Jehoahaz Joash Jeroboam	16 ,, (,	nt. ix. 1	177).
Zimri Omri Ahab Ahaziah	7	days years	(,,	33 33 33 33	311). 312). 316).	Zachariah Shallnm Menahem Pekahiah	6 months (A) 1 month () 10 years ()	nt. ix.	
Jehoram Jehu	12 27	91 99	(Ant.	ix.	19). 27). 160).	Pekah Hoshea	00 /	2 22	,,). 258).

Total, 240 years 7 months 7 days.

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Apparently Jeroboam is meant.

άναγέγραπται· ἐστράτευσε γὰρ ἐπὶ Τύρον βασιλεύοντος αὐτῆς Ἐλουλαίου. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ τῶν χρονικῶν ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν Τυρίων ἀρχεῖα μεταφράσας εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν, ος οὕτως ἐδήλωσε· 284 "καὶ 'Ελουλαῖος θεμένων αὐτῷ Πύας¹ ὄνομα

284 "καὶ 'Ελουλαίος θεμένων αὐτῷ Πύας¹ ὄνομα εβασίλευσεν έτη τριάκοντα εξ. οὖτος ἀποστάντων Κιτιέων² ἀναπλεύσας προσηγάγετο αὐτοὺς πάλιν. επὶ τούτου Σελάμψας³ ὁ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων βασιλεὺς επῆλθε Φοινίκην πολεμῶν ἄπασαν, ὅστις σπεισάμενος εἰρήνην μετὰ πάντων ἀνεχώρησεν ὀπίσω·

285 ἀπέστη τε Τυρίων Σιδών καὶ "Αρκη καὶ ἡ πάλαι Τύρος καὶ πολλαὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις, αὶ τῷ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων έαυτὰς βασιλεῖ παρέδοσαν. διὸ Τυρίων οὐχ ὑποταγέντων πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑπέστρεψε, Φοινίκων συμπληρωσάντων αὐτῷ ναῦς 286 ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐπικώπους ὀκτακοσίους. αἷς ἐπι-

286 έξήκοντα καὶ ἐπικώπους ὀκτακοσίους. αἷς ἐπιπλεύσαντες οἱ Τύριοι ναυσὶ δεκαδύο τῶν νεῶν τῶν
ἀντιπάλων διασπαρεισῶν λαμβάνουσιν αἰχμαλώτους
ἄνδρας εἰς πεντακοσίους· ἐπετάθη δὴ πάντων
287 ἐν Τύρω τιμὴ διὰ ταῦτα· ἀναζεύξας δ' ὁ τῶν

1 Πύλας (M)SP.

² Niese: Κιτταίων codd.: Cetuteis Lat.

³ τούτου Σελάμψας Niese: τούτοις έλαμψας Ο: τούτους **άμψας (post τούτους duae litterae incertae) R: τούτους πέμψας MSPLV: contra quos denuo Salamanassis—insurgens Lat.
⁴ δι' å RO.

5 διὰ ταῦτα· ἀναζεύξας δ'] διὰ ταῦτ' ἀναζεύξας RO.

^b Cf. Ant. viii. 144, Ap. i. 116 note c.

· Variant Pylas.

^a The name appears as Luli in Assyrian sources, cf. A. T. Olmstead, History of Assyria, p. 265 and Cambridge Ancient History, iii. 382.

d Emended text; one Ms. "In these circumstances

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 283-287

for he marched upon Tyre in the reign of Elulaios.a This is also attested by Menander, b the author of a book of Annals and translator of the Tyrian archives into the Greek language, who has given the following account: "And Elulaios, to whom they gave the name of Pyas, reigned thirty-six years. This king, upon the revolt of the Kitieis (Cyprians), put out to sea and again reduced them to submission. During his reign Selampsas, the king of Assyria, came with an army and invaded all Phoenicia and, after making a treaty of peace with all (its cities), withdrew from the land. And Sidon and Arke f and Old Tyre and many other cities also revolted from Tyre and surrendered to the king of Assyria. But, as the Tyrians for that reason would not submit to him, the king turned back again and attacked them after the Phoenicians had furnished him with sixty ships and eight hundred oarsmen. Against these the Tyrians sailed with twelve ships and, after dispersing the ships of their adversaries, took five hundred of their men prisoners. On that account, in fact, the price of everything went up in Tyre. But the king of

Elampsas"; other MSS. "Against them sent (the king of Assyria, etc.)." Whether or not Menander so wrote the name is open to question, and Niese's emendation is to be accepted with hesitancy. Josephus, at any rate, has failed to comment on the form Selampsas and its connexion with the name Salmanasses used earlier in his text (§ 277) and directly after the excerpt (§ 287). Shalmaneser is evidently meant.

Lit. " backwards."

' Probably Arke in Lebanon; cf. Ant. i. 139 note b.

It is the merit of Grotius (ap. Hudson-Havercamp) to have seen the correct meaning of the phrase ἐπετάθη τιμή, translated by others as "the glory increased." But, as T. Reinach has further noted, the sentence belongs at the end of the quotation from Menander, since it states the results of the scarcity of water caused by the Assyrians.

JOSEPHUS

'Ασσυρίων βασιλεύς κατέστησε φύλακας ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑδραγωγείων, οἱ διακωλύσουσι Τυρίους ἀρύεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἔτεσι πέντε γενόμενον ἐκαρτέρησαν πίνοντες ἐκ φρεάτων ὀρυκτῶν.'' καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Τυρίων ἀρχείοις γεγραμμένα κατὰ Σαλμανάσσου τοῦ 'Ασσυρίων βασιλέως ταῦτ' ἐστίν.

288 (3) Οἱ δὲ μετοικισθέντες εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν Χουθαῖοι (ταύτη γὰρ ἐχρῶντο μέχρι δεῦρο τῷ προσηγορία διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Χουθᾶ καλουμένης χώρας μεταχθῆναι, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Περσίδι καὶ ποταμὸς τοῦτ' ἔχων ὄνομα) ἔκαστοι κατὰ ἔθνος ἵδιον θεὸν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν κομίσαντες (πέντε δ' ἦσαν), καὶ τούτους καθὼς ἤν πάτριον αὐτοῖς σεβόμενοι παροξύνουσι τὸν μέγητον θεὸν εἰς ὀγὴν καὶ χόλον.

289 λοιμόν γάρ αὐτοῖς ἐνέσκηψεν, ὑφ' οὖ φθειρόμενοι καὶ μηδεμίαν τῶν κακῶν θεραπείαν ἐπινοοῦντες, χρησμῷ θρησκεύειν τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, ὡς τοῦτο σωτήριον αὐτοῖς ὄν, ἔμαθον. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὸν ᾿Ασσυρίων βασιλέα πρέσβεις ἐδέοντο ἱερεῖς αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας

290 πολεμήσας ἀποστείλαι. πέμψαντος δέ, τά τε² νόμμιμα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον ὁσίαν διδαχθέντες ἐθρήσκευον αὐτὸν φιλοτίμως καὶ τοῦ λοιμοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐπαύσαντο. χρώμενοί τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔθεσι διατελοῦσιν οἱ κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν Χουθαῖοι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλ-

λοιμὸς MSP Lat.
 δέ, τά τε Hudson: τά τε M: δὲ τὰ VE: τε τὰ rell.
 E Lat. Zonaras (vid.): ταχθέντες codd.

^a Cf. § 279 note f.

b Cf. ibid. note e.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 287-290

Assyria, on retiring, placed guards at the river and the aqueducts to prevent the Tyrians from drawing water, and this they endured for five years, and drank from wells which they had dug." This, then, is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning

Salmanasses, the king of Assyria.

(3) As for the Chuthaioi who were transported to The Samaria—this is the name by which they have been or called to this day because of having been brought Samaritans. over from the region called Chutha, which is in xvii, 24. Persia, as is a river by the same name—, a each of their tribes—there were five b—brought along its own god, and, as they reverenced them in accordance with the custom of their country, they provoked the Most High God to anger and wrath. For He visited upon them a pestilence by which they were destroyed; and, as they could devise no remedy for their sufferings, they learned from an oracle that they should worship the Most High God, for this would bring them deliverance.d And so they sent envoys to the king of Assyria, asking him to send them some priests from the captives he had taken in his war with the Israelites. Accordingly, he sent some priests, and they, f after being instructed in the ordinances and religion of this God, worshipped Him with great zeal, and were at once freed of the pestilence. These same rites have continued in use even to this day among those who are called Chūthaioi (Cuthim) in the Hebrew tongue, and Samareitai (Samaritans) by the Greeks; but they alter their

^c Bibl. " and the Lord sent lions against them." Josephus rationalizes, as usually.

d The reference to an oracle is unscriptural.

Bibl. " one of the priests."

' The Samaritans.

JOSEPHUS

291 λήνων Σαμαρείται, οι πρός μεταβολην συγγενεις μεν όταν εθ πράττοντας βλέπωσι τους 'Ιουδαίους' αποκαλουσιν ώς εξ 'Ιωσήπου φύντες και την αρχην εκείθεν της πρός αυτούς έχοντες οικειότητος, όταν δε πταίσαντας ίδωσιν, ουδαμόθεν αυτοίς προσήκειν λέγουσιν ουδ' είναι δίκαιον ουδεν αυτοίς ευνοίας η γένους, αλλά μετοίκους αλλοεθνεις αποφαίνουσιν αυτούς. περὶ μεν τούτων έξομεν ευκαιρότερον είπειν.

1 καὶ συγγένειαν ROSPV.
2 εὖ πράττοντας M²SP: εὖπραγοῦντας rell.
3 + συγγενεῖς Hudson (qui supra καὶ συγγένειαν leg.).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 291

attitude according to circumstance and, when they see the Jews prospering, call them their kinsmen, on the ground that they are descended from Joseph and are related to them through their origin from him, but, when they see the Jews in trouble, they say that they have nothing whatever in common with them nor do these have any claim of friendship or race, and they declare themselves to be aliens of another race. Now concerning these people we shall have something to say in a more fitting place. ^a

[.] Ant. xi. 19 ff., 84 ff., 114 ff., 174 ff., 340 ff., xii. 257 ff.

BIBAION I

(i. 1) Έζεκίου δὲ τοῦ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλέως τέταρτον ήδη και δέκατον έτος της ήγεμονίας έχοντος ό τῶν 'Ασσυρίων' βασιλεὺς Σεναχείριμος² ονομα στρατεύει μετά πολλης παρασκευης έπ' αὐτὸν κατὰ κράτος τε ἁπάσας αἰρεῖ τὰς πόλεις τὰς 2 τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος. μέλλοντος δ' άγειν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα φθάνει πρεσβευσάμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπακούσεσθαι καὶ φόρον δν αν τάξη τελέσειν υπισχνούμενος. Σεναχείριμος δὲ μαθών τὰ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἔγνω μη πολεμείν, άλλα την αξίωσιν προσδέχεται, καὶ άργυρίου μεν τάλαντα τριακόσια χρυσίου δε τριάκοντα λαβών φίλος αναγωρήσειν ωμολόγει, πίστεις δούς τοις πρεσβευταις ενόρκους ή μην άδικήσας 3 μηδέν αὐτὸν οὕτως ἀναστρέψειν. πεισθείς και κενώσας τους θησαυρούς πέμπει τὰ χρήματα, νομίζων ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου³ 4 καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀγῶνος. ὁ δ' 'Ασσύριος λαβών ταθτα των μεν ωμολογημένων οὐδεν εφρόν-

Βαβυλωνίων RO.
 Niese: Σενάχειρος RO: Σαναχείριβος M¹: Σεναχήριμος M²:
 Σενναχήριβος SP¹: Σενναχηρείμ P² Lat.: Σεναχήρειμος VE.

2 πολεμίου MSP.

Variant "Babylonia."

BOOK X

(i. 1) Now Hezekiah, the king of the two tribes, Hezekiah had occupied the throne for fourteen years when submits to Sennacherib the king of Assyria, a named Senacheirimos, b marched (Senaagainst him with a great armament and took by 2 Kings storm all the cities of the tribes of Judah and Ben-xviii. 13. jamin.c And he was about to lead his force against Jerusalem also, but, before he could do so, Hezekiah sent envoys to him d and promised to submit to him and pay whatever tribute he should impose. When Senacheirimos heard what the envoys had to say, he decided not to continue with the war, but acceded to the request and, on receiving three hundred talents of silver and thirty of gold, agreed to withdraw amicably, and gave sworn pledges to the envoys that he would do him no harm at all but would retire under these terms. So Hezekiah, being persuaded by this offer, emptied his treasuries and sent the money in the belief that he would be rid of the war f and the struggle for his throne. But, when the Assyrian received the money, he paid no regard to the agreement he had made; instead,

b Conjectured form; Mss. Senacheiros, Sennacheribos, etc.; bibl. Sennacherib (Sanhērîb), LXX Σενναχηρείμ (cf. B.J. v. 387).

^c Benjamin is not mentioned in Scripture.

d At Lachish, according to Scripture. Sennacherib's sworn pledge is a detail added by Variant " enemy." Josephus.

τισεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Αἰθίοπας, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν 'Ραψάκην μετὰ πολλῆς ἰσχύος σὺν καὶ δυσὶν ἄλλοις τῶν ἐν τέλει κατέλιπε πορθήσοντας τὰ 'Ιεροσόλυμα. τούτων δὲ

τὰ ὀνόματα Θαρατὰ καὶ ᾿Αράχαρις ἦν.

1α δνοματά Θαράτα και Άραχαρις ηρ.

5 (2) 'Ως δ' έλθόντες πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν 'Εζεκίαν ηξίουν
αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς λόγους. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ
δειλίας οὐ πρόεισι, τρεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους
φίλους αὐτῷ ἐξέπεμψε, τὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπίτροπον Ἐλιακίαν ὄνομα καὶ Σουβαναῖον¹ καὶ Ἰωαχον²
6 τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων. οὖτοι μὲν οὐν προελθόντες³ ἀντικρὺ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῆς στρατιᾶς
τῶν ᾿Ασσυρίων ἔστησαν, θεασάμενος δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ
στρατηγὸς Ἡρακης ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθόντας Ἐζεκία
λέγειν ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας Σεναχείριμος πυνθάνεται
αὐτοῦ τίνι θαρρῶν καὶ πεποιθὼς φεύγει δεσπότην
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκροάσασθαι μὴ θέλει καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν
οὐ δέχεται τῆ πόλει; ἢ διὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τὴν
αὐτοῦ⁴ στρατιὰν ἐλπίζων ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων αὐτῶν⁵ κατ-

4 έαυτοῦ MSP.
5 αὐτὸν SPLV.

¹ Σομναίαν MSP: Σωμνᾶν V: Σομανᾶν L marg.: Sobaneam Lat.

 ² Ἰώανον R: Ἰώαννον O: Ἰώ(α)σαφάτην LV: Ioan Lat.
 ³ ex Lat. Hudson: ἐλθόντες O: προσελθόντες rell.

^a Scripture does not mention Sennacherib's attack on the Egyptians at this point; it is found further on in 2 Kings xix. 8.

^b So Lxx; bibl. Rab-shakeh (in Assyrian a title, not a personal name, so also the two following).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 4-6

while he himself took the field against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left behind his general Rapsakes b with a large force, and also two other commanding officers, to sack Jerusalem. The names of these men were Tharata c and Aracharis.d

(2) When they arrived, they encamped before The the walls o and sent to Hezekiah and asked him to Assyrians parley with them. He, however, out of cowardice Jerusalem. did not himself come out but sent out three of the xviii. 17. friends who were closest to him, the steward of the kingdom,g named Eliakias,h and Sūbanaios i and Jōachos, who was in charge of the records. So these three came forward and stood facing the commanders of the Assyrian army; and, when the general Rapsakes saw them, he told them to go back to Hezekiah and say that the great king Senacheirimos was inquiring of him on what he so confidently relied that he avoided his master and was unwilling to listen to him and would not admit his army into the city. Was it perhaps, he asked, because of the Egyptians, and in the hope that the Assyrian army had been beaten by them? If this

^c Bibl. Tartan, LXX cod. B Θανθάν, cod. A et al. Θαρθάν, Luc. Τανθάν.

d Bibl. Rab-saris, Lxx 'Papeis, Luc. 'Papeis.

· Scripture specifies "by the conduit of the upper pool which is in the highway of the fuller's field."

Hezekiah's "cowardice" is an unscriptural detail.

Bibl. "who was over the house" (A.V. "household"), LXX ο οἰκονόμος " the steward."

A Bibl. Eliakim ('Ēlyāgîm), LXX 'Ελιακείμ; Josephus, like Luc., omits "the son of Hilkiah."

⁵ Variant Somnaias; bibl. Shebna, LXX Σόμνας; Scrip-

ture adds his title, "the scribe."

July Variants Joan(n)os, Jo(a)saphates; bibl. Joah, son of Asaph (Yô'āh ben 'Āsāph), LXX 'Iwoapar (v.l. 'Iwas vios Σαφάτ), Luc. Ίωὰχ υίὸς Σαφάν.

7 αγωνίσασθαι; εὶ δὲ τοῦτο προσδοκᾶ, δηλοῦν αὐτῷ ότι ανόητός έστι και όμοιος ανθρώπω δς καλάμω έπερειδόμενος τεθλασμένω πρός τῶ καταπεσεῖν έτι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα διαπαρεὶς ἤσθετο τῆς βλάβης. είδέναι δ' ὅτι καὶ βουλήσει θεοῦ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατείαν πεποίηται, δς αὐτῷ καταστρέψασθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλείαν δέδωκεν, ἴνα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 8 διαφθείρη. ταῦτα δὲ τὸν Ῥάψάκην έβραϊστὶ λέγοντα, της γάρ γλώττης είχεν έμπείρως, ό Έλιακίας, φοβούμενος μη τὸ πληθος επακοῦσαν είς ταραχήν έμπέση, συριστί φράζειν ήξίου. συνείς δ' ό στρατηγός την υπόνοιαν αυτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῶ δέος, μείζονι καὶ διατόρω τῆ φωνῆ χρώμενος ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ έβραϊστὶ λέγειν, " ὅπως ἀκούσαντες τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα πάντες τὸ συμφέρον 9 έλωνται παραδόντες αύτους ήμιν δηλον γάρ ώς τον λαὸν ύμεῖς τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς έλπίσι παρακρουόμενοι ματαίαις ἀντέχειν πείθετε. εἰ δὲ θαρρεῖτε καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν ἀπώσεσθαι νομίζετε, δισχιλίους έκ της έμοι παρούσης ιππους ετοιμός είμι ύμιν παρέχειν, οίς ισαρίθμους επιβάτας δόντες εμφανίσατε την αύτων δύναμιν· άλλ' οὐκ αν ους γε 10 μη έχετε τούτους δοίητε. τί τοιγαροῦν βραδύνετε

1 δηλοῦτε SP: δῆλον LV.

² Dindorf: λέγων codd. E Lat.

A Dindorf: δώητε codd.

³ ἔτοιμός εἰμι ὑμῖν παρέχειν Niese: ἔτοιμος εἴην ὑμῖν παρέχειν RO: εἰς ἐτοιμασίαν ὑμῖν παρέχειν ἔτοιμός εἰμι MSP: ἐτοιμασίαν παρέχει ὑμῖν LV.

^a Bibl. "thou trustest upon the staff of this broken (A.V. "bruised") reed, upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 7-10

was what he expected, they should, he said, make clear to him that he was very foolish and like a man who leans upon a broken reed and not only falls but also has his hand pierced, and feels the hurt. They should know, he said, that by the will of God, who had granted him to overthrow the kingdom of the Israelites also, he had made this expedition against Hezekiah in order that he might in the same way destroy those ruled by him. As Rapsakes spoke these words in Hebrew, with which language he was familiar, Eliakias was afraid that the eople might overhear them and be thrown into consternation, and so asked him to speak in Aramaic. But the The general, perceiving what was in the back of his Assyrian mind and the fear that held him, spoke in a very loud demands and clear voice and replied that he was speaking to the surrender of him in Hebrew c "in order that all may hear the Jerusalem, king's commands and choose a course to their ad- xviii, 23. vantage by surrendering to us. For it is clear that both you and the king are beguiling the people with vain hopes in persuading them to resist. If, however, you are confident and think you can repulse our force, I am ready to furnish you with two thousand of the horses that are with me, in order that you may mount on them the same number of riders and so show your strength.d But you cannot furnish riders whom you do not have. Why, then,

Bibl. "in the Judaean (A.V. "Jews'") language," LXX 'Ιουδαϊστί.

b Josephus, like the LXX, uses ovpior! "in the Syrian language" (so A.V. renders), "Syria" and "Syrian" being the Greek names for Aram and Aramaean or Aramaic.

^d In Scripture this proposal is made earlier (vs. 23), before the Jews request Rab-shakeh to speak Aramaic (vs. 26).

παραδιδόναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς κρειττοσι καὶ ληψομένοις ὑμᾶς καὶ μὴ θέλοντας; καίτοι τὸ μὲν έκούσιον τῆς παραδόσεως ἀσφαλὲς ὑμῖν, τὸ δ' ἀκούσιον πολεμουμένοις ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ συμφορῶν

αἴτιον φανεῖται."

11 (3) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ὅ τε δῆμος καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων λέγοντος ἀπήγγειλαν 'Εζεκία. ὁ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀποδὺς ἐσθῆτα, ἀμφιασάμενος δὲ σάκκους καὶ σχῆμα ταπεινὸν ἀναλαβών, τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευε καὶ βοηθῆσαι τῷ μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἐλπίδα ἔχοντι σωτηρίας ἠντιβόλει.

12 πέμψας δε καὶ τῶν φίλων τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἱερεων πρὸς Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφήτην ἢξίου δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ποιησάμενον θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν νεμεσῆσαι μὲν ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλπίσιν ἐλεῆσαι δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ² λαόν.

13 ὁ δὲ προφήτης ταῦτα ποιήσας χρηματίσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ παρεθάρρυνεν αὐτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φίλους, προλέγων ἀμαχητὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡττηθέντας ἀναχωρήσειν αἰσχρῶς καὶ πολεμίους ἡττηθέντας ἀναχωρήσειν αἰσχρῶς καὶ

πολεμίους ήττηθέντας άναχωρήσειν αἰσχρῶς καὶ 14 οὐχὶ μεθ' οἶου νῦν εἰσι θράσους· τὸν γὰρ θεὸν προνοεῖν ὅπως διαφθαρῶσι· καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ᾿Ασσυρίων Σεναχείριμον διαμαρτόντα τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πραγμάτων καὶ ἐπανερχόμενον³ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπολεῖσθαι σιδήρω προύλεγεν.

15 (4) "Ετυχε δ' ύπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ γεγραφώς

1 φαίνεται MSP. 2 Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.

³ Ernesti: παρερχόμενον codd. Ε: remearet Lat.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 10-15

do you hesitate to surrender to those who are stronger than yourselves and will take you whether you like it or not? Nevertheless a voluntary surrender means safety for you, while an involuntary one after your defeat will prove to be dangerous and the cause of misfortunes."

(3) When the people and the envoys had heard Isaiah forethese words of the Assyrian general, they reported Assyrian them to Hezekiah. And he thereupon took off his retreat. royal garments, put on sackcloth and assumed an xviii, 37. attitude of humility; then, falling on his face in the manner of his country, he supplicated God and entreated Him to help one who had no other hope of salvation. b He also sent some of his friends and some of the priests to the prophet Isaiah and asked him to pray to God and, when he had offered sacrifices for the common safety, to exhort Him to show His wrath at the hopes of the enemy, but to take pity on His own people. And, when the prophet had done these things and received an oracle from God, he encouraged both the king himself and the friends who were with him by foretelling that the enemy would be defeated without a battle and retire ignominiously, with none of the self-confidence which they now showed, for God would see to it that they should be destroyed; and he also foretold that Senacheirimos, the king of Assyria, would himself fail in his attempt against Egypt and on his return to his own land would perish by the sword.

(4) Now it happened that about this time the king Hezekiah

· Josephus greatly shortens Rab-shakeh's speech.

b Bibl." he rent his clothes and covered himself with sackcloth and went into the house of the Lord."

Sacrifices are not mentioned in Scripture.

τῶ Ἐζεκία ὁ ᾿Ασσύριος ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αίς ἀνόητον μέν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὑπολαμβάνοντα τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶ διαφεύξεσθαι δουλείαν, έθνη πολλά καὶ μεγάλα κεχειρωμένω, ἠπείλει δὲ πανωλεθρία διαφθερεῖν¹ αὐτὸν παραλαβών, εἰ μὴ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξας ἐκὼν αὐτοῦ δέξεται τὴν στρατιὰν είς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. 16 ταθτ' ἀναγνούς καταφρονεί διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοθ θεοθ πεποίθησιν, τὰς δ' ἐπιστολὰς πτύξας εἰς τὸν ναὸν έσω κατέθετο. πάλιν δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ ποιησαμένου περί της πόλεως καὶ της άπάντων σωτηρίας, 'Hoatas ὁ προφήτης ἐπήκοον αὐτὸν έφασκε γεγονέναι καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν μὴ πολιορκηθήσεσθαι ύπὸ τοῦ 'Ασσυρίου,' τῶ δὲ μέλλοντι πάντων άδεεις τους ύπ' αυτώ γενομένους γεωργήσειν μετ' ειρήνης και των ιδίων επιμελήσε-17 σθαι κτημάτων οὐδὲν φοβουμένους. ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος καὶ ὁ τῶν ᾿Ασσυρίων βασιλεύς διαμαρτών της έπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους έπιβολης άπρακτος ανεχώρησεν έπ' οίκου δι' αιτίαν τοιαύτην. πολύς αὐτῷ χρόνος ἐτρίβετο πρὸς τὴν Πηλουσίου πολιορκίαν, καὶ τῶν χωμάτων ήδη μετεώρων οντων, α προς τοις τείχεσιν ήγειρε, καὶ όσον ούπω μέλλοντος προσβαλείν αὐτοίς, ἀκούει τὸν τῶν

SE: δέξηται rell.
 MSP: Σύρου rell.: Assyriis Lat.

5 M: aveis RO: av eivai adeeis SP: aveivai LV Lat.

6 τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶ Niese: τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ codd.

7 Μ: γενομένων rell.

8 + τε SPLV: ἀοργητὶ RO. ex Lat. Dindorf: ἐπιβουλῆs codd.

¹ Niese: διαφθείρειν codd. E.

⁴ τῷ δὲ μέλλοντι MSP: μέλλοντι ROL: μέλλοντα V: μέλλειν $\tau \epsilon$ Niese.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 15-17

of Assyria had written a letter to Hezekiah, in which Senna-cherib. he said that he was foolish to suppose that he would 2 Kings escape being made his servant, since he had subdued many great nations, and he threatened to destroy him utterly and completely after capturing him, unless he opened the gates and willingly admitted his army into Jerusalem. When Hezekiah read these words, he made light of them because of his confidence inspired by God, but he folded up the letter and laid it away within the temple. And, when he offered a second prayer to God on behalf of the city and the safety of all, the prophet Isaiah told him that He had hearkened to his prayer, and that at the present time he would not be besieged by the Assyrian, while in the future his subjects, relieved of all apprehension, would till their land in peace and look after their own possessions without fear of anything.^b A little while after Sennscherib's this the king of Assyria failed in his attack upon the failure in Egyptians and returned home without accomplish- 2 Kings ing anything for the following reason. After he had xix. 9. spent a great deal of time on the siege of Pelusium.c and the earthworks which he was raising against the walls had already reached a great height,d and he was on the point of attacking, he heard that Thar-

Variant "Syrian."Text slightly uncertain.

d Unscriptural detail.

Pelusium is substituted by Josephus for bibl. Libnah (cf. § 81 note) from the text of Herodotus who is quoted directly below. (According to the Assyrian records Senna-cherib defeated the Egyptians and Ethiopians at Elteqeh in the Philistine plain.)

Αἰθιόπων βασιλέα Θαρσίκην πολλήν ἄγοντα δύναμιν ἐπὶ συμμαχία τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἥκειν διεγνωκότα ποιήσασθαι την πορείαν δια της έρήμου και έξαίφνης είς την των 'Ασσυρίων έμβαλειν. 18 ταραχθείς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων ὁ βασιλεύς Σεναχείριμος ἄπρακτος, ως ἔφην, ἀνεχώρησε, καταλιπών τὸ Πηλούσιον. περὶ τούτου τοῦ Σεναχειρίμου καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῆ δευτέρα τῶν ἱστοριῶν αὐτοῦ φησίν ως ούτος δ βασιλεύς έπι τον των Αίγυπτίων έλθοι βασιλέα ίερέα ὄντα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, πολιορκῶν δὲ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης ηὔξατο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τῷ θεῷ, ῷ γενόμενος ἐπήκοος ὁ θεὸς πληγὴν 19 ενσκήπτει τῷ "Αραβι (πλανᾶται γὰρ² κάν τούτῳ οὖκ 'Ασσυρίων λέγων τὸν βασιλέα ἀλλ' 'Αράβων) μυῶν γὰρ πλῆθός φησι μιᾳ νυκτὶ τὰ τόξα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅπλα διαφαγεῖν τῶν ᾿Ασσυρίων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἔχοντα τόξα τὸν βασιλέα τὴν στρατιὰν 20 ἀπάγειν ἀπό τοῦ Πηλουσίου. καὶ Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὕτως ἱστορεῖ, Βηρωσὸς δὲ ὁ τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ συγγραψάμενος μνημονεύει τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Σεναχειρίμου, καὶ ὅτι τῶν ᾿Ασσυρίων ἦρχε καὶ ὅτι πάση έπεστρατεύσατο τη 'Ασία καὶ τη Αἰγύπτω³ λέγων ούτως.4

¹ ἄπρακτος, ώς ἔφην...φησὶν] ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερέα τὸν Ἡφαίστου στρατεῦσαι ἔλεγεν ROM Lat.; quae in codd. SPLV extant a librariis ex coniectura invecta esse putat Niese.

² + 'Ηρόδοτος SPLV. ³ και τα Αινύπτω οπ. ΒΟ

καὶ τῆ Αἰγύπτω om. RO.
 λέγων οὕτως om. LV fort. recte.

^a Bibl. Tirhakah, LXX Θαρά (v.l. Θαρακά), Luc. Θαρθάκ.
^b Herod. ii. 141. For "without accomplishing anything
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sikes, the king of Ethiopia, was coming to the aid of the Egyptians with a large force and had decided to make the journey through the desert and fall upon the Assyrians suddenly. And so, being alarmed at this news, King Senacheirimos left Pelusium and withdrew, as I said, without accomplishing anything. Concerning this Senacheirimos, Herodotus also tells us, in the second book of his History, b that this Herodotus's king came against the king of Egypt, who was a sennapriest of Hephaestus, and besieged Pelusium, but he cherib's abandoned the siege for the following reason. The of Egypt. king of Egypt prayed to God, and God hearkened to his prayer and visited a plague upon the Arab-at just this point he is in error, calling him king of the Arabs instead of king of the Assyrians c—for, he says, in one night a host of mice ate through the bows and other weapons of the Assyrians, and, as the king on that account had no bows, he withdrew his army from Pelusium. This, then, is the account which Herodotus gives. But Berosus, who wrote the History of Chaldaea, also mentions King Senacheirimos and tells how he ruled over the Assyrians and how he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt d; he writes as follows

... in the second book of his History" the variant in Josephus reads "to march against the priest of Hephaestus; he says," etc. Niese suspects that there was a lacuna at this point in Josephus's text and that the words translated above have been interpolated by a scribe.

On first mentioning Sennacherib, however, Herodotus

calls him "king of the Arabs and Assyrians."

d The variant omits "and Egypt."

'The variant omits "he writes as follows." It is more likely, however, that a quotation from Berosus originally followed and has been lost from Josephus's text.

21 (5) Υποστρέψας δ' ό Σεναχείριμος ἀπό τοῦ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πολέμου εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, κατέλαβεν¹ ἐκεῖ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ στρατηγῷ 'Ραψάκη δύναμιν διὰ λοιμοῦ κινδυνεύουσαν'² τοῦ γὰρ³ θεοῦ λοιμικὴν ἐνσκήψαντος⁴ αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ νόσον, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην νύκτα τῆς πολιορκίας διαφθείρονται μυριάδες ὀκτωκαίδεκα καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι

22 σὺν ἡγεμόσι καὶ ταξιάρχοις. ὑπὸ ταύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς εἰς φόβον καὶ δεινὴν ἀγωνίαν καταστὰς καὶ δείσας περὶ τῷ στρατῷ παντὶ φεύγει μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν τὴν

23 Νίνου προσαγορευθεῖσαν. καὶ διατρίψας ἐν αὐτῆ
ὀλίγον χρόνον δολοφονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
παίδων 'Ανδρομάχου' καὶ Σελευκάρου' τελευτᾶ τὸν
βίον καὶ ἀνετέθη' τῷ ἰδίῳ ναῷ 'Αράσκη λεγομένῳ.
καὶ οἱ μὲν φυγαδευθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τοῦ πατρὸς
ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τὴν 'Αρμενίαν ἀπῆραν, δια-
δέχεται δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν μετ' αὐτοὺς κατα-

¹ Zonaras: καταλαβών codd. E.
 ² διά λοιμοῦ κινδυνεύουσαν ex Lat. add. Hudson.
 ³ γὰρ ex Lat. add. Hudson.

M Zonaras: ἐκπέμψαντος ROSPLV: πέμψαντος Ε.
 ⁶ Dindorf: ταξιάρχαις codd.

Niese: αὐτοῦ codd. E.
 'Αδραμελέχου LV: Adramelech Lat.
 Σαρασάρου LV: Seleusaro Lat.
 ° ἀνηρήθη LV Zonaras.

b Variant " sent down."

^a The words "in danger from a plague," omitted from the MSS., have been supplied by Hudson from the Latin.

^e Josephus, as usual, rationalistically interprets the scriptural expression, "the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians," etc., as a reference to 168

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(5) When Senacheirimos returned to Jerusalem A plague from his war with Egypt, he found there the force Assyrians, under Rapsakes in danger from a plague, a for God 2 Kings had visited b a pestilential sickness upon his army, and on the first night of the siege one hundred and eighty-five thousand men had perished with their commanders and officers. By this calamity he was thrown into a state of alarm and terrible anxiety, and, fearing for his entire army, he fled with the rest of his force to his own realm, called the kingdom of Ninos.d And, after remaining there a short while, Murder of he was treacherously attacked by his elder sons cherib.

Andromachos and Seleukaros, and so died; and Kings he was laid to rest g in his own temple, called Araske. h xix. 37. And these two were driven out by their countrymen for the murder of their father, and went away to Armenia i; and the successor to the throne was

the (bubonic) plague, also indicated in Herodotus's story of the mice. But cf. B.J. v. 388 (Josephus's speech to the Jews of Jerusalem), where he speaks of the "angel of the Lord" destroying the Assyrian host. There he retains the biblical expression for rhetorical effect, or perhaps, as Rappaport thinks, because "he avoids rationalizing when addressing the Jews."

d Bibl. Nineveh, cf. Ant. ix. 208 note a.

Bibl. Adrammelech, Lxx 'Αδραμέλεχ (cf. v.l. in Jos.). ¹ Bibl. Sharezer, LXX Σαράσαρ (cf. v.l. in Jos.), Luc.

Σαράσα.

Or perhaps "his image was set up"; the variant "he was slain" is probably a scribal alteration based on Scripture. which says that he was killed in the temple, but says nothing of his burial.

A Bibl. Nisroch, LXX Έσδράχ (v.l. Νεσεράχ κτλ.), Luc. 'Aopa'x. Scripture gives this as the name of Sennacherib's god. The bibl. form Nisroch is undoubtedly a corruption of an Assyrian name, the original of which is not certain.

Heb. and LXX Ararat, Targum Qardu, A.V. Armenia.

φρονῶν τοῦ Σεναχειρίμου 'Ασαραχόδδας.' καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς 'Ασσυρίων στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Ιερο-

σολυμίτας τέλος τοιοῦτο συνέβη γενέσθαι.

24 (ii. 1) Έζεκίας δ' ό βασιλεύς παραδόξως άπαλλαγείς τῶν φόβων χαριστηρίους σὺν ἄπαντι τῷ λαῷ θυσίας ἐπετέλεσε τῷ θεῷ, μηδεμιᾶς ἄλλης αἰτίας τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν διαφθειράσης τοὺς δὲ φόβῳ τῆς ὁμοίας τελευτῆς ἀπαλλαξάσης ἀπὸ τοῦς τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἢ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦς

25 θεοῦ. πάση δὲ χρησάμενος σπουδῆ καὶ φιλοτιμία περὶ τὸν θεόν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ νόσῳ χαλεπῆ περιπεσὼν ἀπέγνωστο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν, χρηστὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ³ οὐδὲν προσεδόκων⁴ οὐδ³⁵ οἱ φίλοι. τῆ δὲ νόσῳ προσετίθετο καὶ ἀθυμία δεινὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἀπαιδίαν λογιζομένου, καὶ ὅτι μέλλοι τελευτᾶν ἔρημον καταλιπὼν τὸν οἷκον καὶ

26 τὴν ἀρχὴν γνησίας διαδοχῆς. κάμνων οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐννοίας μάλιστα καὶ ὀδυρόμενος ἱκέτευε τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ ζωῆς ὀλίγον χρόνον προσεπιδοῦναι μέχρι τέκνων γονῆς, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἢ πατὴρ γένηται 27 τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὸν ἐᾶσαι καταλιπεῖν. ἐλεήσας δ'

27 τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὸν ἐᾶσαι καταλιπεῖν. ἐλεήσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως ἀποδεξάμενος, ὅτι

1 τῶν . . . Σεναχειρίμου om. Lat., haud dubie corrupta.
2 Ναχορδᾶς (-άς P) SPL marg.: υἰὸς ᾿Αραχοδᾶς V.
3 αὐτοῦ OP².
5 ,οὐδ᾽ Naber: οὐδὲ γὰρ codd.

^a Bibl. Esarhaddon, Lxx 'Ασορδάν (v.l. 'Ασοραδδάν κτλ.).
^b The text is obscure. According to Scripture, Esarhaddon was a son of Sennacherib, but it is not known where Josephus derived his information about the "sons of Senacheirimos next in line," or even that Adrammelech and Sharezer were the two elder sons. The passage from Berosus (in Alexander Polyhistor, ap. Eusebius, Chronicon) cited by Reinach does not throw light on the matter. Josephus, however, is right in indicating that Esarhaddon 170

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 23-27

Asarachoddas,a who disregarded the rights of the sons of Senacheirimos next in line.^b To such an end was the Assyrian expedition against Jerusalem fated to come.

(ii. 1) Having been thus wonderfully delivered Hezekiah's from the fate which he feared, King Hezekiah to-and its gether with all the people offered sacrifices of thanks-miraculous giving to God, for the destruction of some of the enemy and the removal of the rest from Jerusalem had had no other cause than the aid given by their ally God.c But, though he showed all zeal and devo- 2 Kings xx. tion in the worship of God, he was smitten by a severe *xxviii, 1. illness, and all hope for him was given up by the physicians, nor did his friends have any expectation of a change for the better in his condition.d And the illness was aggravated by the dreadful despair of the king himself when he considered his childlessness and that he was about to die leaving his house and his realm unprovided with a legitimate successor. And so, suffering chiefly from this thought and lamenting it, he supplicated God to give him a little longer time to live, until he should beget children, and not let him depart this life before becoming a father. Then God took pity on him and granted his request, since

was a younger son, cf. A. Olmstead, History of Assyria, pp. 337 f.

The preceding is an addition to Scripture.

d Text slightly uncertain. The detail about Hezekiah's friends and physicians is not found in Scripture, which says merely, "And the prophet Isaiah, the son of Amoz, came to him and said, Thus saith the Lord, Set thine house in order for thou art about to die and shalt not live."

 Hezekiah's concern about a successor is an unscriptural detail; it has a parallel in rabbinic tradition, according to which Isaiah rebuked Hezekiah for failing to beget children,

cf. Ginzberg iv. 273.

JOSEPHUS

μη διά το μέλλειν στέρεσθαι των έκ της βασιλείας άγαθων ωδύρετο την ύπονοηθείσαν τελευτην έτι τε γρόνον ζωής αὐτῶ δεηθείη παρασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παίδας αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τοὺς ὑποδεξομένους τὴν ήγεμονίαν εκείνου, πέμψας 'Ησαΐαν τὸν προφήτην έκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ ὅτι καὶ² διαφεύξεται τὴν νόσον μετά τρίτην ήμέραν καί βιώσεται μετ' αὐτὴν έτη πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ παίδες αὐτῷ γενήσονται. 28 ταῦτα τοῦ προφήτου φήσαντος κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς νόσου καὶ τὸ παράδοξον των ἀπηγγελμένων ἀπιστων σημειόν τι καὶ τεράστιον ήξίου ποιήσαι τὸν 'Ησαΐαν, ἵν' αὐτῷ πιστεύση λέγοντι ταῦτα ήκοντι παρά τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ γαρ παράλογα καὶ μείζω τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῖς ὁμοίοις 29 πιστοῦται πράγμασιν. ἐρωτήσαντος δ' αὐτὸν τί βούλεται σημείον γενέσθαι, τὸν ήλιον ήξίωσεν, έπειδή σκιὰν ἐπὶ δέκα βαθμούς ἀποκλίνας ἤδη πεποίηκεν εν τῆ οἰκία, επὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναστρέψαι τόπον ποιήσας αὐτὴν πάλιν παρασχείν. τοῦ δὲ

Niese: δὲ ROLV: om. MSP.
 καὶ om. MSP Lat.
 ἐπηγγελμένων M Lat. fort. recte.

προφήτου τὸν θεὸν παρακαλέσαντος ὥστε τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτ' ἐπιδεῖξαι τῶ βασιλεῖ, ἰδὼν ὅπερ

According to Scripture (and rabbinic tradition) God prolonged Hezekiah's life for the sake of his ancestor David. Josephus apparently extends this to mean God's care for the continuance of David's line.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 27-29

he bewailed the death of which he had a presentiment, and had prayed to Him to give him yet a little while to live, not because he was about to be deprived of the benefits of the kingship, but because he wished sons to be born to him who should succeed to his royal power a; and so He sent the prophet Isaiah and told him to inform the king that within three days he should be rid of his illness and should live another fifteen years, and that sons would be born to him. When the prophet at God's command told him these things, he would not believe him because of the severity of his illness and because the news brought to him b surpassed belief, and so he asked Isaiah to perform some sign or miracle in order that he might believe in him when he said these things, as in one who came from God. For, he said, things that are beyond belief and surpass our hopes are made credible by acts of a like nature.c When the prophet inquired what sign he wished to have performed, he asked him to cause the sun, which in declining had already cast a shadow of ten degrees in the house, to return to the same place and again cast one there.d And, when the prophet exhorted God to show this sign to the king, he saw what he wished and was at

Variant "the things promised him."

^c That is, incredible statements can be accepted only when

supported by equally incredible acts.

What house (or chamber?) is meant is not clear. Scripture reads "let the shadow return backward ten degrees," apparently referring to a sun-dial. Josephus's text (which, incidentally, seems to be corrupt) may refer to the shadow cast by the sun on the steps of Hezekiah's palace. Too much importance, however, should not be given to the word $\beta a\theta\mu o\nu s$ (usually ="steps"), which Josephus has taken from the LXX where it renders Heb. ma'alôth presumably meaning "degrees" (marked on a sun-dial). ήθελεν εὐθὺς λυθεὶς τῆς νόσου ἄνεισιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν

καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσκυνήσας εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο.

30 (2) Ἐν τούτω δὲ τῷ χρόνω συνέβη τὴν τῶν 'Ασσυρίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι· δηλώσω δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἐτέροις. ὁ δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεύς Βαλάδας ὄνομα πέμψας πρός τον 'Εζεκίαν πρέσβεις δῶρα κομίζοντας² σύμμαχόν τε αὐτὸν 31 είναι παρεκάλει και φίλον. δ δε τους πρεσβευτάς ήδέως ἀποδεξάμενος έστιασάμενός τε καὶ τοὺς θησαυρούς επιδείξας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων παρασκευήν και την άλλην πολυτέλειαν, όσην έν λίθοις είχε καὶ χρυσώ, δώρά τε δούς κομίζειν τώ 32 Βαλάδω πρός αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσεν. Ἡσαΐου δὲ τοῦ προφήτου πρός αὐτὸν ἀφικομένου καὶ πυνθανομένου πόθεν είεν οι παρόντες, εκ Βαβυλώνος έλεγε παρά τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν⁴ ἐλθεῖν αὐτούς∙ ἐπιδεῖξαι δὲ πάντ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἰδόντες τὸν πλοῦτον, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν έκ τούτου στοχαζόμενοι σημαίνειν έχωσι 33 τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ προφήτης ὑποτυχών "ἴσθι," φησίν, " ώς μετ' ολίγον χρόνον εἰς Βαβυλῶνά σου τοῦτον μετατεθησόμενον τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τοὺς έκγόνους εὐνουχισθησομένους καὶ ἀπολέσαντας τὸ

1 λυθείσης SPL.

² Ε: κομίσοντας vel κομίσαντας codd.

³ ἐστιασάμενός τε] καὶ ἐστιασάμενος MSP: ἐστιασάμενος LV: om. E Lat.

4 κυρίου αὐτῶν] θεοῦ ROM: suo rege Lat.: βασιλέως ed. pr.

5 od ROLV: om. E.

^a Hezekiah's prayer is an addition to Scripture (unless possibly based on 2 Chron. xxxii. 26 describing his self-humbling). On the other hand, Josephus omits the scriptural detail of his cure by means of a "cake of figs" applied to the boil (2 Kings xx. 7).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 29-33

once freed from his illness; then he went up to the temple and did obeisance to God and offered prayers

to Him.a

(2) Now it happened at this time that the empire The king of the Assyrians was destroyed by the Medes, but I of Babylon sends shall write about this in another place. b And the Hezekiah king of Babylon, named Baladas, e sent envoys bear-gifts. ing gifts to Hezekiah and invited him to become his xx. 12; ally and friend.^d Thereupon he gladly received the xxxix. 1. envoys and feasted them; he also showed them his treasures and his array of arms and the rest of his wealth, all that he had in precious stones and in gold; then, having given them gifts to bring to Baladas,f he sent them back to him. But the prophet Isaiah came to him and inquired where the visitors were from, and he said that they had come from Babylon on behalf of their master, g and that he had showed them everything in order that they might surmise his power from what they saw of his wealth and be able to report it to their king.h The prophet however replied, "Know that in a short time this wealth Isaiah of yours shall be taken away to Babylon and your predicts the Babylonian offspring shall be made eunuchs and, after losing exile.

b The reference seems to be to § 74 where there is brief mention of the fall of Assyria, but no detailed account.

Bibl. 2 Kings Berodach-baladan, Isaiah Merodach-

baladan, LXX Μαρωδαχβαλ(α)δάν.

d The proposed alliance is an unscriptural detail. Scripture says that Baladan sent presents "for he heard that Hezekiah was ill."

. The feasting of the envoys is an unscriptural detail.

¹ The presents for Baladan are also an unscriptural detail. Variant (for "on behalf of their master") "from God," possibly correct if there is an allusion to 2 Chron, xxxii, 31.

A The reason given by Hezekiah is an addition to Scripture.

ανδρας είναι τῷ Βαβυλωνίω δουλεύσοντας βασι-34 λεί. ' ταθτα γάρ προλέγειν τον θεόν. ὁ δ' Έζεκίας λυπηθείς έπι τοις είρημένοις έφη μεν οὐκ αν βούλεσθαι τοιαύταις συμφοραίς το έθνος αὐτοῦ περιπεσείν, έπεὶ δ' οὐκ είναι δυνατὸν τὰ τῷ θεῷ δεδογμένα μεταβαλείν, ηὔχετο μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωης εἰρήνην ὑπάρξαι. μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ τῶν

35 Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως Βαλάδα Βηρωσός. " ων δ' ούτος ό προφήτης όμολογουμένως θείος καὶ θαυμάσιος την αλήθειαν, πεποιθώς τω μηδέν όλως ψευδές είπειν απανθ' όσα προεφήτευσεν έγγράψας βίβλοις κατέλιπεν έκ τοῦ τέλους γνωρισθησόμενα τοῖς αὖθις ἀνθρώποις. καὶ οὐχ οὖτος μόνος ὁ προφήτης, άλλά καὶ άλλοι δώδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν, καὶ πᾶν εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον γίνεται παρ' ήμιν κατά την έκείνων αποβαίνει προφητείαν. ἀλλά τούτων μέν αὖθις έξαγγελοῦμεν

36 (iii. 1) Ἐπιβιούς δ' δυ προειρήκαμεν χρόνου δ βασιλεύς Ἐζεκίας καὶ πάντα τοῦτου ἐν εἰρήνη διαγαγών τελευτά πεντηκοστόν μέν καὶ τέταρτον

> 1 yévos M¹SP: gentem Lat. ² post Βηρωσός laeunam statuit Niese. 3 είτε άγαθον είτε] είτε Ο: εί τι R.

b Josephus omits the bibl. account of Hezekiah's public works, 2 Kings xx. 20, as well as other details given in

2 Chron. xxxii. 28 ff. The number "twelve" is puzzling, since there were at least 15 other prophets (Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and the 12 minor prophets) according to Josephus's view. The reference, however, may be to the 12 "prophetic" books (exclusive of Isaiah) mentioned in Ap. i. 40, "The prophets

Bibl. "Good is the word of the Lord which thou hast spoken."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 33-36

their manhood, be servants to the king of Babylon." 2 Kings xx. For God, he said, foretold these things. Thereupon xxxix. 6. Hezekiah, being grieved at his words, said that he would be unwilling to have his nation meet with such misfortunes, but, since it was not possible to alter God's decrees, he prayed that there should be peace during his own lifetime. b Now Berosus also mentions Baladas, the king of Babylon. As for the prophet, he was acknowledged to be a man of God and marvellously possessed of truth, and, as he was confident of never having spoken what was false, he wrote down in books all that he had prophesied and left them to be recognized as true from the event by men of future ages. And not alone this prophet, but also others, twelve in number, did the same, and whatever happens to us whether for good or ill comes about in accordance with their prophecies. But of each of these we shall give an account hereafter.d

(iii. 1) Now Hezekiah lived on for the length of Hezekiah's time we stated above e and passed all of it in peace, death, accession of and died after completing the fifty-fourth f year of Manasseh.

subsequent to Moses wrote the history of their own times in thirteen books," cf. Dr. Thackeray's note ad loc. It must, of course, be further assumed that Josephus is inexact in saying "of these we shall give an account hereafter," if he is here referring to these "prophetic" books, since he has already dealt with the "prophetic" books, Joshua to Chronicles, included in the 13. But there seems to be no other explanation of the "other 12 prophets."

d Cf. preceding note. Jeremiah and Ezekiel are men-

tioned in §§ 79 ff. · § 27.

According to 2 Kings xviii. 2=2 Chron. xxix. 1, he was 25 years old at his accession, added to which the 29 years of his reign give 54.

έτος τῆς ζωῆς διανύσας, εἴκοσι δὲ βασιλεύσας καὶ 37 ἐννέα. διαδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Μανασσῆς ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Ἐψίβας¹ τοὕνομα πολίτιδος δὲ γεγονώς, ἀπέρρηξεν ἑαυτὸν τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐτράπετο, πᾶν εἶδος πονηρίας ἐπιδειξάμενος ἐν τῷ τρόπω καὶ μηδὲν ἀσεβὲς παραλιπών, ἀλλὰ μιμούμενος τὰς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν παρανομίας, αἶς² εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξαμαρτόντες ἀπώλοντο· μιᾶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐτόλμησε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν 38 ἄπασαν. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καταφρονήσεως ὁρμώμενος πάντας³ τοὺς δικαίους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν προφητῶν

Έβραίοις ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν προφητῶν ἔσχε φειδὼ καὶ τούτων δέ τινας καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπέσφαξεν, ὥστε αἴματι ῥεῖσθαι τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. 39 λαβὼν οὖν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς πέμπει προφή-

τας πρός τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸ πληθος, δι' ὧν αὐτοῖς τας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸ πληθος, δι' ὧν αὐτοῖς ἠπείλησε τὰς αὐτὰς συμφοράς, αἷς συνέβη περιπεσεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν Ἰσραηλίτας εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξυβρίζοντας. οἱ δὲ τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οὐκ ἐπίστευον, παρ' ὧν ἢδύναντο κερδησαι τὸ μηδενὸς πειραθηναι κακοῦ, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ἔμαθον ἀληθη τὰ παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν.

Conj.: Αἰχίβας RO: 'Αχίβας (-ας M) MSP: Έχειβας L:
 Έχιβας V: Echib Lat.
 α ROM.

3 πάντας ωμώς MSP Exc.: καὶ πάντας LV.

 ^a Gr. Manassës (as in most LXX MSS.); Heb. Menaššéh.
 ^b Conjectured form (ef. Luc.); MSS. Aichiba, Achiba, etc.;

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 36-39

his life and reigning for twenty-nine years. But, on ² Kings xx. succeeding to his throne, his son Manasseh, ^a whose xxxii. 33. mother, a native of that city, was named Epsiba, b broke away from his father's practices and took the opposite course, exhibiting every form of wickedness in his conduct and leaving no impious act undone, but imitating the lawless deeds of the Israelites wherein they sinned against God and so perished. He even dared to pollute the temple of God as well as the city and the entire country.c For, setting out with a contempt of God, he killed d all the righteous men among the Hebrews, nor did he spare even the prophets, some of whom he slaughtered daily, so that Jerusalem ran with blood.e Thereupon God, being wrathful at these things, sent prophets to the king and the people, and through these threatened them with the same calamities which had befallen their Israelite brothers when they outraged Him. They were not, however, persuaded by these words, from which they might so have profited as not to experience any misfortune, but had to learn from deeds the truth of what the prophets said.

bibl. Hephzibah (Hephṣî-bāh), Lxx 'Οψειβά (v.ll. 'Αψειβά, 'Οφσιβά), Luc. 'Εψιβά.

⁶ Josephus omits the bibl. details of his practice of magic, passing his son through fire, etc.

The variant adds "cruelly."

* Scripture says, 2 Kings xxi. 16, that Manasseh shed much innocent.blood until he filled Jerusalem from one end to the other, but does not specifically include the prophets. It is probable that Josephus is alluding to a tradition, similar to those found in the apocryphal Martyrdom of Isaiah (cf. R. Charles ed., Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, ii. 155 ff.) and in rabbinic literature (cf. Ginzberg iv. 278 ff.) concerning the killing of Isaiah "by sawing him in two" (cf. Ep. Heb. xi. 37) at the order of Manasseh.

40 (2) 'Ως γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπέμενον, πόλεμον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκίνει παρὰ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως, δς στρατιὰν πέμψας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐλεηλάτησε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Μανασσῆν δόλω ληφθέντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀχθέντα πρὸς ἣν ἠβούλετο τιμωρίαν εἶχεν ὑπο-

41 χείριον. ο δὲ Μανασσης τότε συνείς εν οἴοις κακοῖς εστι καὶ πάντων αἴτιον έαυτον νομίζων εδεῖτο τοῦ θεοῦ παρέχειν¹ αὐτῷ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ ελεήμονα τὸν πολέμιον. χαρίζεται δὲ τοῦτο τῆς ἱκεσίας επακούσας ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὁ Μανασσῆς ἀπολυθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων

42 βασιλέως ἀνασώζεται. γενόμενος δ' εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τῶν μὲν προτέρων ἀμαρτημάτων περὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἐσπούδαζεν, εἰ δυνατὸν αὐτῷ γένοιτο, τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκβαλεῖν, ὧν μεταβουλεύειν² ὥρμησε καὶ πάσῃ χρῆσθαι περὶ αὐτὸν δεισιδαιμονίᾳ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἤγνισε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκάθηρε καὶ πρὸς μόνῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν τῷ χάριν τε τῆς σωτηρίας ἐκτίνειν³ τῷ θεῷ καὶ διατηρεῖν αὐτὸν εὐμενῆ παρ'4

43 ὅλον τὸν βίον. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πράττειν καὶ τὸ πληθος εδίδασκε μεμαθηκώς οἶα παρὰ μικρὸν εχρήσατο συμφορᾶ διὰ τὴν εναντίαν πολιτείαν. επισκευάσας δὲ καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὰς νομίμους θυσίας επετέλει,

44 καθώς διέταξε Μωυσής. διοικησάμενος δε τὰ περί την θρησκείαν δν δεῖ τρόπον καὶ τής τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀσφαλείας προενόησεν, ὥστε τὰ παλαιὰ τείχη μετὰ πολλής ἐπισκευάσας σπουδής καὶ ἔτερον

¹ παρασχείν MSPLVE Exc.

^{*} ὧν μεταβουλεύειν ed. pr.: ὧν ἐπιβουλεύειν codd.: θεῷ δὲ δουλεύειν ex Lat. conj. Niese.

³ εκτείνειν ROM. ⁴ Niese: προς codd.: in Lat.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 40-44

(2) For, as they persisted in their ways, God danasseh stirred up the king of Babylonia and Chaldaea a to by the make war upon them, and, sending an army into Babylon-Judaea, he ravaged their country and got their ² Chron. king, Manasseh, who had been captured by cunning xxxiii, 11. and brought to him, into his power to punish in whatever way he wished. Then at last did Manasseh realize in what a bad plight he was, and, believing himself to be the cause of it all, he prayed to God to make the enemy humane and merciful to him. And God hearkened to his supplication and granted this, and so Manasseh was set free by the king of Babylonia and was safely restored to his own land. When he came to Jerusalem, he strove to cast from His repent. his mind, if that were possible, the very memory of ance and his former sins, of which he was anxious to repent, b 2 Chron. and to show God the utmost reverence; and he xxxiii, 13. sanctified the temple and purified the city, and thereafter his only care was to show his gratitude to God for having been saved, and to keep His favour throughout his whole life. And he taught the people to do the same, having learned how close he had been to disaster because of following the opposite way of life. He also repaired the altar and offered up the customary sacrifices, as Moses had ordained. And, when he had regulated the form of worship in the proper manner, he also provided for the security of Jerusalem, and so repaired the old walls with great care and added a new one to them; he also

^a Bibl. "king of Assyria." Josephus's alteration to "king of Babylonia and Chaldaea" is based on the scriptural statement that the Assyrian king took Manasseh to Babylon. (Actually it must have been the Assyrian king Esarhaddon.)

Text uncertain.

αὐτοῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν ἀναστῆσαί τε καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοτάτους τά τε πρὸ τῆς πόλεως φρούρια τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις καὶ δὴ καὶ σιτίων καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰς αὐτὰ

45 χρησίμων συγκομιδη² όχυρώτερα ποιήσαι. ἀμέλει δὲ τῆ πρὸς ταῦτα μεταβολῆ χρησάμενος οὕτω τὸν μεταξὸ διῆγε βίον, ὡς μακαριστὸς εἶναι καὶ ζηλωτὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου λογιζόμενος³ ἀφ' οῦ τὸν

46 θεον εὖσεβεῖν ἤρξατο. ζήσας οὖν ἔτη έξήκοντα έπτὰ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον βασιλεύσας ἔτη πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα. καὶ θάπτεται μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παραδείσοις, ἡ βασιλεία δὲ εἰς τὸν υίὸν αὐτοῦ παραγίνεται ᾿Αμμῶνα⁴ μητρὸς Ἐμασέλμης⁶ μὲν ὄνομα τετυχηκότα ἐκ δὲ πόλεως Ἰαταβάτης⁶ ὑπαργούσης.

47 (iv. 1) Ουτος μιμησάμενος τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα, ἃ νέος ὢν ἐκεῖνος ἐτόλμησεν, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκετῶν ἀπέθανεν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτοῦ βιώσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι, βασιλεύσας 48 δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν δύο. μετῆλθε δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς

1 και add. Niese.

² συγκομιδή add. Niese: εἰσκομιδή add. Cocceji.
 ³ λογιζομένου Niese.
 ⁴ "Αμωσον Μ.
 ⁶ 'Εμαλσέμης Μ: 'Εμασέμης SP: Maselmis Lat.
 ⁶ 'Ιαζαβάτης R: 'Ιαβάτης MSP: Iecabath Lat.

According to 2 Kings xxi. 1=2 Chron. xxxiii. 1, he was 12 years old at his accession, added to which the 55 years of

his reign give 67.

^a The words "by bringing in" are added conjecturally.
^b Text uncertain; if we adopt Niese's emendation, it would read (after "such a way") "as to be blessed and enviable, counting from the time" etc.

^d 2 Kings "and he was buried in the garden of his house, in the garden of Uzzah"; 2 Chron. "and they buried him in his house" (LXX "in the garden of his house").

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 44-48

erected very high towers and made the fortresses before the city stronger in various ways, especially by bringing in a provisions and all sorts of things needed in them. In fact he underwent such a change of heart in these respects and lived the rest of his life in such a way as to be accounted a blessed and enviable man after the time b when he began to show piety toward God. And so he departed this Manasseh's life at the age of sixty-seven years, after reigning accession fifty-five. And he was buried in his own gardens, and the kingdom passed to his son Ammon, whose xxi. 18; mother, named Emaselme, was a native of the city 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20. of Jatahate.

(iv. 1) This king imitated those deeds of his Murder of father which he had recklessly committed in his 2 Kings xxi. youth, and, after a plot was formed against him by 20;2 Chron. his own servants, was put to death in his house at the age of twenty-four years, of which he had reigned for two. But the people punished his murderers

 Bibl. Amon ('Amôn), LXX 'Aμώς (v.l. 'Αμμών), Luc. (2 Kings) 'Αμών.

Bibl. Meshullemeth, LXX Μεσολλάμ (v.l. Μασσαλάμειθ

κτλ.), Luc. Μασθαλάμ (vid.).

⁹ Variants Jazabatē, Jabatē; bibl. Jotbah (Yāṭ*bāh), Lxx 'Ιεσεβάλ, v.ll. 'Ιετεβάλ, 'Ιετεβά, Luc. 'Ετεβάθα. The site has not been identified, but is commonly assumed to have been in Judaea. I suggest that Heb. Yatebah is the original of the name of the Galilaean city Jotapata (cf. B.J. iii. 158 ff.), and that the Talmudic form of this name, Jodephath, reflects the Greek and not the original Heb. form. This does not necessarily mean that Jotbah here is to be identified with Jotapata, as there may have been two cities by this name. Such duplication of place-names is not infrequent in ancient Palestine.

According to 2 Kings xxi. 19=2 Chron. xxxiii. 21, he was 22 years old at his accession, added to which the 2 years

of his reign give 24.

φονείς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συνθάπτουσι τὸν 'Αμμῶνα, την δέ βασιλείαν τω παιδί αὐτοῦ Ἰωσία παραδιδουσιν οκταετεί την ηλικίαν όντι, ω μήτηρ έκ 49 πόλεως μεν ην Βοσκέθ, ' Ιέδις' δε τούνομα. την δε φύσιν αὐτὸς ἄριστος ὑπῆρχε καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὖ γεγονώς, τῶν Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ζηλωτής ἐπιτηδευμάτων και σκοπώ και κανόνι της όλης περί 50 τον βίον επιτηδεύσεως εκείνω κεχρημένος. γενόμενος δε ετών δυοκαίδεκα την ευσέβειαν και την δικαιοσύνην ἐπεδείξατο τὸν γὰρ λαὸν ἐσωφρόνιζε καὶ παρήνει της περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων δόξης ὡς οὐχὶ θεων όντων αποστάντας σέβειν τὸν πάτριον θεόν, τά τε των προγόνων ἐπισκοπων ἔργα τὰ μὲν άμαρτηθέντα διώρθου συνετώς ώσανεί πρεσβύτατος καὶ νοῆσαι τὸ δέον ίκανώτατος, ὅσα δ' εὕρισκεν εὖ γεγονότα καί κατά χώραν εφύλαττε τε καί εμι-51 μείτο. ταθτα δ' έπραττε, σοφία και έπινοία της φύσεως χρώμενος καὶ τῆ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων πειθόμενος συμβουλία καὶ παραδόσει· τοῖς γὰρ νόμοις κατακολουθών, οὕτως περὶ τὴν τάξιν τῆς πολιτείας8 καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας εὐοδεῖν τε συνέβαινε καὶ¹⁰ διὰ τὸ¹¹ τὴν τῶν πρώτων¹² παρανομίαν

1 Βοσκέθι (-εθί LV) SPLV Lat.

² Ἰεδης M: Ἰεδείς SP¹: Ἰεδις P²: Ἐδείς, in marg. Βαβουρῶ Ἰεδια L: Ἐδις V.

³ ζηλωτης add. Dindorf: ante Δανίδον lacunam statuit Niese.
 ⁴ Niese: ὡς ἄν ὁ ROM: ὡς ἄν rell.
 ⁵ καὶ om. SP.

τως ROLV: ὅντως SP: velut Lat.
 πόλεως ROLV: civitatis Lat.

⁹ τῆς om. RO. ¹⁰ καὶ addidi. ¹¹ τὸ om. RO. ¹² τούτων SPL¹V: priorum rerum Lat.: τῶν προγόνων conj. Niese.

Gr. Josias; Heb. Υδείγαλι, Lxx Ἰωσείας.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 48-51

and buried Ammon with his father; then they gave Accession of Josiah, the kingship to his son Josiah, a boy of eight years, 2 Kings xxii, whose mother, named Jedis, came from the city 1; 2 Chron. of Bosketh. He was of an excellent character and xxxiv. 1. well-disposed to virtue and emulous d of the practices of King David, whom he made the pattern and rule of his whole manner of life. Now, when he was twelve years old, he gave proof of his piety and righteousness, for he sought to bring the people to their senses and urged them to give up their belief in idols, which he said were not really gods, and to worship the God of their fathers; and, reviewing the acts of his forefathers, he wisely corrected the errors they had made, just as if he were a very old man and quite competent to see what needed to be done; but whatever practices he found that were good and in place he kept and imitated. These things he did by using his natural wisdom and discernment and being guided by the counsel and traditions of the elders f; for it was by following the laws that he succeeded so well in the ordering of his government g and in piety toward the Deity, and also because the lawlessness of the former (kings) no

^b Bibl. Jedidah (Yedîdāh), LXX Ἰεδεία, v.l. Ἰεδδία.

^c Bibl. Boscath, LXX Βασουρώθ. It is grouped with Lachish and Eglon (i.e. near the Philistine border) in Jos. xv. 39, but the exact site has not been identified.

d "Emulous" is supplied conjecturally. Niese believes

that there is a lacuna in the text after "virtue."

⁶ Bibl. (2 Chron.) "In the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young, he began to seek the God of David his father, and in the twelfth year (Lxx adds "of his reign") he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places" etc. Josephus's "twelve years old" is apparently based on a misunderstanding of this verse.

' The variant omits " being guided by the (counsel of) the

Variant "city." elders."

52 μη τυγχάνειν άλλ' έξηφανίσθαι περιιών γάρ δ βασιλεύς καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἄπασαν τά τε άλση τὰ τοῖς ξενικοῖς ἀνειμένα θεοῖς ἐξέκοψε καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῶν κατέσκαψεν, εἴ τι δ' ἀνάθημα τούτοις ύπο των προγόνων ανέκειτο περιυβρίζων 53 κατέσπα. καὶ τούτω τῷ τρόπω τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ τῆς περί αὐτοὺς δόξης εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐπέστρεψε καὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἐπέφερε θυσίας αὐτοῦ τῷ βωμώ καὶ τὰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις. ἀπέδειξε δέ τινας κριτάς καὶ ἐπισκόπους, ώς ἂν διοικοῖεν τὰ παρ' έκάστοις πράγματα, περί παντός τὸ δίκαιον ποιούμενοι καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἔλασσον αὐτὸ περιέποντες. 54 διαπέμψας δὲ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, χρυσὸν καὶ άργυρον τούς βουλομένους εκέλευε κομίζειν είς έπισκευήν τοῦ ναοῦ όσον τις η προαιρέσεως η 55 δυνάμεως έχει. κομισθέντων δε των χρημάτων, της έπιμελείας του ναού και της είς τούτο δαπάνης προέστησε τόν τ' έπὶ τῆς πόλεως 'Αμασίαν καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Σαφαν καὶ τὸν γραφέα τῶν ὑπομνη-56 μάτων 'Ιωάτην καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα 'Ελιακίαν, οῖ

1 ἐπέφερον MSP.

² ἐκέλευσε MSP.

^a Text slightly uncertain.

b The sacrifices and offerings are not mentioned in

μηδεν ύπερθέσει μηδε ἀναβολή δόντες, ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν χρήσιμα παρασκευάσαντες εἴχοντο τῶν ἔργων. καὶ ὁ μὲν

^c Nothing is said in Scripture about Josiah's appointment of judges. Has Josephus here confused him with Jehoshaphat? Cf. Ant. ix. 2 ff. (=2 Chron. xix. 5 ff.).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 52-56

longer existed but had been rooted out. a Going Josiah's round the city and the entire country, the king cut 2 Chron. down the groves dedicated to foreign gods and razed xxxiv. 3. their altars, and whatever dedicatory-offerings to them had been set up by his forefathers he treated with contempt and pulled down. And in this way he turned the people away from their belief in these gods to the service of God, and he offered up on His altar the customary sacrifices and the whole burntofferings.b He also appointed certain judges and overseers who, in administering the affairs of individuals, were to put justice above everything else and treat it no less carefully than their own lives. Then he sent throughout the entire country, bidding those who wished to bring gold and silver for the repair of the temple to do so, each according to his inclination or ability. When the money was brought, he gave the superintendence of the temple and the expenses connected with it in charge to Amasias,d the governor of the city, Sapha,e the scribe, and Joates, the keeper of the records, and the high priest Eliakias, who, without allowing any postponement or delay, took hold of the work by providing master-builders and all things necessary for the repairing. And so the temple, having been

d So Luc. (vid.); bibl. Maaseiah (Ma'asêyāhû), LXX Maagá, v.ll. Maagías.

[·] Bibl. Shaphan, LXX 2 Kings Σαφφάν (v.ll. Σεφφάν, Σαπφάν), Luc. 2 Kings and Lxx 2 Chron. Σαφάν.

¹ Bibl. Joah (Yô'āh), LXX 'Ιουάχ, v.l. 'Ιωάς. Bibl. Hilkiah (Hilqîyāhû), LXX Χελκείας.

^{*} The phrase μηδέ ἀναβολῆ δόντες "without allowing any delay" is reminiscent of Thucydides vii. 15 and, with variations, appears several times in Ant. xvii.-xix.; cf. Dr. Thackeray's preface to Vol. IV. pp. xiv ff.

ναὸς οὕτως ἐπισκευασθεὶς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως

εὐσέβειαν φανεράν ἐποίησεν.

57 (2) "Ογδοον δ' ήδη καὶ δέκατον τῆς βασιλείας έτος έχων πέμπει πρός Ελιακίαν τον άρχιερέα, κελεύων τὸ περισσὸν τῶν χρημάτων χωνεύσαντα ποιήσαι κρατήρας καὶ σπονδεῖα καὶ φιάλας εἰς τὴν διακονίαν, έτι δέ καὶ όσος αν ή χρυσος έν τοῖς θησαυροίς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ τοῦτον προκομίσαντα² είς τούς κρατήρας όμοίως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σκεύη

58 δαπανήσαι. προκομίζων δέ τον χρυσον ο άρχιερεύς Έλιακίας έντυγγάνει ταις ίεραις βίβλοις ταις Μωυσέος εν τῷ ναῷ κειμέναις καὶ προκομίσας δίδωσι τῷ γραμματεῖ Σαφᾶ. ὁ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς παραγίνεται πρός τον βασιλέα καὶ πάντα όσα κελεύσειε γενέσθαι τέλος έχοντα έδήλου, παρανέγνω δ' αὐτῶ

59 καὶ τὰς βίβλους. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ περιρρηξάμενος την έσθητα, τὸν ἀρχιερέα καλέσας Ἐλιακίαν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων φίλων τινας επεμψε πρός την προφητιν 'Οολδά, γυναϊκα δέ Σαλλούμου των έν δόξη τινός καὶ δι'

1 n MSPLV.

⁵ Σαλλάμου R: Σελούμου LVE: Salomi Lat.

" Variant " or."

² Bekker: προσκομίσαντας vel προσκομίσαντες codd. βίβλους Hudson: βίβλους αὐτῶν codd.
 'Ολδα Ο: 'Ολδαν LVE Zonaras: Oldam Lat.

Or "use it," cf. following note.
 This reference to the purchase (or fashioning) of temple vessels may be based on a misunderstanding of 2 Kings xxii. 9 where the Lxx reads "they smelted (the Heb. may mean "they poured out"; A.V. "they have gathered together," and so Targum) the silver found in the temple." 188

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 56-59

repaired in this fashion, made clear the piety of the

king.

(2) Now he had already been reigning eighteen Hilkiah years when he sent to the high priest Eliakias, telling discovers a him to melt what was left over of the money and with book of Moes' laws it make mixing-bowls and libation-cups and bowls in the for the temple service, and, in addition, bring out temple. 2 Kings xxii whatever gold and a silver might be in the treasuries 3; 2 Chron. and spend it b similarly for mixing-bowls and such xxxiv. 8. vessels.c But, in bringing out the gold, the high priest Eliakias came upon the sacred books d of Moses, which had been placed in the temple, and he brought them out and gave them to Sapha, the scribe. And, when he had read them, he came to the king and informed him that everything which he had ordered to be done had been brought to completion. Then he also read the books aloud to Josiah conhim. When the king had heard them read, he rent sults the prophetess his garments and, calling the high priest Eliakias, Huldah sent him and the scribe himself and some of his 2 Kings xxii. closest friends to the prophetess Oolda, the wife 11; 2 Chron. of Sallūmos, a man of high repute and illustrious xxxiv. 19.

1

Scripture says explicitly, however, that the money (or silver)

was used for buying stone and timber.

d Scripture throughout this chapter speaks of "a book" of the law of Moses (or "of the Lord"), not of "books." Josephus evidently understands Scripture to mean the entire Pentateuch. Most modern scholars, however, assume that the book of Deuteronomy is here meant, and that in substantially, its present form it was written not long before the reign of Josiah, as the religious reforms prescribed in Deuteronomy seem to have been accepted by Josiah as a program of action.

.e. Shaphan; Scripture also mentions Shaphan's son

Ahikam, as well as two others.

f Bibl. Huldah (Huldah), LXX "Ολδα.

Bibl. Shallum, LXX Σελλήμ.

εὐγένειαν ἐπιφανοῦς, καὶ προσελθόντας ἐκέλευε λέγειν ίλάσκεσθαι τον θεον και πειρασθαι ποιείν εὐμενη δέος γὰρ είναι, μὴ παραβάντων τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους των προγόνων αὐτων² κινδυνεύσωσιν ανάστατοι γενέσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκπεσόντες ἐπ' άλλοτρίας έρημοι πάντων καταστρέψωσιν οἰκτρῶς

60 τον βίον. ἀκούσασα δ' ή προφήτις παρά των πεμφθέντων ταῦτα αὐτῶν δι' ὧν' ἐπέστειλεν δ βασιλεύς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτούς ἀπελθόντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λέγειν ὅτι τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἤδη κατ' αὐτῶν ψηφον ήνεγκεν, ην ούχ ίκεσίαις άν τις άκυρον ποιήσειεν, ἀπολέσαι τὸν λαὸν καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκβαλείν και πάντων άφελέσθαι των νῦν παρόντων άγαθών, παραβάντας τούς νόμους καὶ τοσούτω μεταξύ χρόνω μη μετανοήσαντας, των τε προφητων τουτο παραινούντων σωφρονείν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ 61 τοις ἀσεβήμασι τιμωρίαν προλεγόντων ήν, ίνα

πεισθώσιν ότι θεός έστι και οὐδεν εψεύδετο τούτων ων αὐτοῖς διὰ των προφητών κατήγγειλε, πάντως αὐτοῖς ποιήσειν. δι' αὐτὸν μέντοι δίκαιον γενόμενον εφέξειν έτι τὰς συμφοράς, μετὰ δὲ τὴν έκείνου τελευτήν τὰ κατεψηφισμένα πάθη τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπιπέμψειν.

62 (3) Οί μεν οὖν τῆς γυναικὸς προφητευσάσης έλθόντες απήγγειλαν τῶ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ περιπέμψας

1 ἐπιφανῶν LVE. 2 αὐτοὶ conj. N 3 αὐτῶν δι' ὧν M corr.: δι' αὐτῶν ὧν codd. ² αὐτοὶ conj. Niese. 4 απέστειλεν SPL. 5 νε Bekker. 6 ἐποίσειν Naber.

a Scripture says merely that he was "keeper of the wardrobe."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 59-62

family, commanding them to go to her and tell her to appease God and attempt to win His favour, for, he said, there was reason to fear that, since their forefathers had transgressed against the laws of Moses, they themselves might be in danger of being driven away, and, after being cast out of their own country into a foreign land where they would be destitute of all things, might there miserably end their lives. b When the prophetess heard these things from the men through whom the king had sent the message,c she told them to go back to the king and say that the Deity had already given His sentence against them and that no one could make it ineffective even by supplications; this sentence was to destroy the people and drive them out of their country and deprive them of all the good things which they now had, because they had transgressed against the laws and during so long an interval of time had not repented, although the prophets exhorted them to act thus wisely and foretold the punishment for their impious deeds, which, she said, He would certainly inflict on them in order that they might believe that He was God and was not speaking falsely about any of the things which He had announced to them through the prophets. However, she said, for the sake of Josiah, who was a righteous man, He would put off these calamities for a time, but after his death would send down on the multitude the sufferings Hc had decreed against them.d

(3) And so, after the woman had prophesied, they The public came and reported her words to the king. There-reading of

<sup>The reference to Josiah's fear of exile is an addition to Scripture.
Text uncertain.
Josephus amplifies the scriptural text of Huldah's reply.</sup>

πανταχοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἐκέλευε¹ συνελθεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τούς θ'² ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ληουίτας, πᾶσαν³

63 ήλικίαν προστάξας παρεῖναι. ἀθροισθέντων δὲ αὐτοῦν πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀνέγνω τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους, ἔπειτα στὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐν μέσω τῷ πλήθει ὅρκους ποιήσασθαι καὶ πίστεις ἠνάγκασεν ἢ μὴν θρησκεύσειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ φυλάξειν τοὺς Μωυσέος

64 νόμους. οἱ δὲ προθύμως τ' ἐπήνεσαν καὶ τὰ παραινεθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ποιήσειν ὑπέστησαν, θύοντές τε παραχρῆμα καὶ καλλιεροῦντες ἤδη τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευον εὐμενῆ καὶ ἵλεων αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν.

- 65 τον δε άρχιερέα προσέταξεν εἴ τι περισσον ὑπο τῶν προγόνων σκεῦος τοῖς εἰδώλοις καὶ ξενικοῖς θεοῖς κατασταθεν ἦν ἐν τῷ ναῷ, τοῦτο ἐκβαλεῖν. συναθροισθέντων δε πολλῶν καταπρήσας αὐτὰ τὴν σποδον αὐτῶν διέσπειρε καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν εἰδώλων οὐκ ὄντας ἐκ τοῦ ᾿Ααρῶνος γένους ἀπέκτεινε.
- 66 (4) Ταῦτα δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις διαπραξάμενος ἡκεν εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ κατασκευασθέντα ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ Ἱεροβοάμου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τιμὴν τῶν ξενικῶν θεῶν ἠφάνισε καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, δν κατεσκεύασε

67 πρῶτος Ἱεροβόαμος, κατέκαυσε. ταῦτα δὲ προφήτην κατελθόντα πρὸς Ἱεροβόαμον, θυσιάζοντος

¹ ἐκέλευσε MSPLVE.

² θ' ex Lat. add. Niese.

³ πᾶσάν τε MSP Lat.

⁴ θρησκεύσειν . . . φυλάξειν Niese: θρησκεύσαι . . . φυλάξαι codd. Ε.

⁵ κατέσκαψε M: πυρὶ παραδέδωκε RO.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 62-67

upon he sent round to all parts, commanding the Moses' laws. people to gather in Jerusalem, as also the priests 2 Kings and Levites, and ordering those of every age to be 2 Chron. present. When these had been assembled, he first read them the sacred books and then, standing on the tribune a in the midst of the people, he compelled them to take an oath and pledge that they would truly worship God and keep the laws of Moses. And they eagerly assented and undertook to do what the king urged upon them, and straightway sacrificed and, while singing the sacred hymns, b supplicated God to be favourable and gracious to them. Then he ordered the high priest to cast out any vessels that were left of those that had been set up in the temple by their forefathers to the idols and strange gods. And, when many of these had been collected, he burnt them and scattered their ashes; he also killed the priests of the idols, who were not of the family of Aaron.c

(4) When he had carried out these reforms in Josiah burns Jerusalem, he went into the country and utterly the bones of destroyed everything that had been built there by prophets. King Jeroboam in honour of the foreign gods, and 2 Kings xxiii, 15. he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon the altar which Jeroboam had been the first to build. Now a prophet had come to Jeroboam and foretold,

Bibl. "by (Heb. 'al can mean either "by" or "on") a pillar."-

The exact meaning of καλλιερούντες (usually =" sacri-

fice auspiciously ") is uncertain here, cf. Ant. ix. 268 note.

^e Bibl. (2 Kings) "he made an end of (A.V. "put down"; LXX κατέκαυσε "burned"—a corruption of κατέπαυσε "made an end of ") the idolatrous priests." Josephus in the foregoing account of Josiah's reforms omits many of the details given in 2 Kings xxiii. 4 ff.

JOSEPHUS

αὐτοῦ καὶ παντὸς ἀκούοντος τοῦ λαοῦ, προκαταγγεῖλαι γενησόμενα, ὅτι τις ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους Ἰωσίας τοὕνομα ποιήσει τὰ προειρημένα. συνέβη δὲ ταῦτα λαβεῖν τέλος μετὰ ἔτη τριακόσια καὶ ἐξηκονταέν.

- 68 (5) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσίας πορευθεὶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ὅσοι τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὴν δουλείαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἸΑσσυρίων διέφυγον, ἀφεῖναι μὲν τὰς ἀσεβεῖς πράξεις καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους θεοὺς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἔπεισε, τὸν δὲ πάτριον καὶ μέγιστον θεὸν
- 69 εὐσεβεῖν καὶ τούτῳ προσανέχειν τὰς οἰκίας τε καὶ τὰς κώμας ἠρεύνησε καὶ τὰς πόλεις, μή τις ἔνδον ἔχοι τι τῶν εἰδώλων ὑπονοῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῖς βασιλευομένοις ἐφεστῶτα ἄρματα, ἃ κατεσκεύασαν οἱ πρόγονοι, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον ἦν ῷ 70 προσεκύνουν ὡς θεῶ ἐβάστασε καὶ καθαρίσας οὕτω
 - 10 προσεκύνουν ώς θεῷ ἐβάστασε· καὶ καθαρίσας οὕτω τὴν χώραν ἄπασαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν λαὸν συν-

γενησόμενα ·Cocceji : τὰ γενησόμενα codd.
 post προειρημένα deesse verba ἐν τοῖς ἄνω δεδηλώκαμεν aut sim. conj. Cocceji.

^a Ant. viii. 231 ff. (1 Kings xiii. 1 ff.).

b The actual period of time, according to modern reckoning, is nearer 300 years. Josephus's figure, moreover, is not consistent with the chronology given earlier. According to Ant. ix. 280, the kingdom of Israel, from the accession of Jeroboam until its end in the 7th year of Hezekiah (Ant. ix. 277), lasted 240 years (+7 months, 7 days). Josephus reckons 22 years more to Hezekiah's reign (Ant. x. 36), 55 to Manasseh's (Ant. x. 46), 2 to Amon's (Ant. x. 47), and 18 to Josiah's up to the discovery of the Mosaic law (Ant. x. 57). Thus we get 97 added to 240, which equals 194

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 67-70

as he was sacrificing and in the hearing of all the people, that these things would come to pass, namely that someone of the line of David, named Josiah, would do the things described above.a And, as it happened, these prophecies were fulfilled after three

hundred and sixty-one years.b

(5) After these events King Josiah went also to Josiah the other Israelites, those who had escaped from reforms the captivity and servitude under the Assyrians, and Cf. 2 Chron. persuaded them to give up their impious practices xxxiv. 6. and abandon their worship of foreign gods and, instead, to show piety toward the Almighty God of their fathers and remain faithful to Him. He also searched the houses and villages and cities, suspecting that someone might have some idolatrous object within.c Furthermore he removed the chariots 2 Kings placed for the king's officers, which his forefathers xxiii. 11. had built, and many other such things which they worshipped as gods; and having thus purified the entire country, he called the people together at Jerusalem

337 years for the interval between the beginning of Jeroboam's reign and the fulfilment of the prophesy about the altar.

The foregoing is an amplification of Scripture, which says merely that he cleansed the cities of Manasseh, Ephraim and Simeon with their surroundings and cut down all the idols in Israel. But the house-to-house search for idols is mentioned also in rabbinic tradition, cf. Ginzberg iv. 282.

d Lit. "for those ruled over"; the translation of βασιλευο-μένοις given in the text is based on the supposition that Josephus is carelessly paraphrasing 2 Kings xxiii. 11 which reads, "And he made an end of (Lxx "burned") the horses which the kings of Judah placed for the sun at the entrance of the house of the Lord near the chamber of Nathan-melech the eunuch (A.V. "chamberlain")." It is unnecessary to suppose, with Weill, that βασιλευομένοις is a corruption of βασιλείοις " palace."

εκάλεσε κάκει την άζύμων έορτην και την πάσχα λεγομένην ήγαγεν εδωρήσατό τε τῷ λαῷ εἰς τὸ πάσχα νεογνούς ερίφους και ἄρνας τρισμυρίους,

- 71 βοῦς δ' εἰς ὁλοκαυτώματα τρισχιλίους. παρεῖχον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οἱ πρῶτοι διὰ τὸ πάσχα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἄρνας δισχιλίους ἐξακοσίους, καὶ τοῖς Ληουίταις πεντακισχιλίους ἄρνας ἔδοσαν οἱ προ-72 εστῶτες αὐτῶν, βοῦς δὲ πεντακοσίους. καὶ γενομένης οὕτως ἀφθόνου τῆς τῶν ἱερείων εὐπορίας τὰς
- μένης ουτως άφθόνου τῆς τῶν ὶερείων εὐπορίας τὰς θυσίας ἐπετέλουν τοῖς Μωυσέος νόμοις, ἐκάστω⁶ τῶν ἱερέων ἐξηγουμένων καὶ διακονουμένων τοῖς ὅχλοις, καὶ τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἄλλην οὕτως ἀχθῆναι τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐορτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Σαμουήλου τοῦ προφήτου χρόνων αἴτιον ἢν τὸ πάντα κατὰ νόμους καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν παρατήρησιν τῆς πατρίου συνηθείας τὰ ἐπιτελεσθῆναι. ζήσας δ' ἐν εἰρήνη μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ

'Ιωσίας ἔτι δὲ καὶ πλούτω καὶ τῆ παρὰ πᾶσιν εὐδοξία κατέστρεψε τούτω τῷ τρόπω τὸν βίον.

74 (ν. 1) Νεχαώ ό των Αίγυπτίων βασιλεύς έγείρας

δισμυρίους RO.
 ΄ όλοκαύτωσιν SP.
 ΄ Ιουδαίων ex Lat. conj. Hudson: 'Εβραίων Naber.

6 έκάστου MSPV Lat.

7 Νεχαῶς Ο (et Rinfra): Νεχαοὺς Μ: Νεχαὼς LV: Νεχαὸς Ε.

¹ καὶ τὴν] καὶ LVE Lat.: τὴν καὶ Dindorf fort. recte.
² εἰς τὸ πάσχα ex Lxx conj. Hudson: τὸ πάσχα codd., secl. Dindorf.

a Or possibly (reading τὴν καὶ) "also called," cf. Ant. xx. 106 where the two festivals are identified. On the other hand, in Ant. iii. 249 Josephus more accurately distinguishes between the Festival of Unleavened Bread and the Passover which immediately precedes it. Both festivals are mentioned in 2 Chron. =1 Esdras, while the Passover alone is mentioned 196

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 70-74

and there celebrated the festival of Unleavened His celebra-Bread and that called a Passover (Pascha). He also Passover, presented gifts to the people for the Passover (con- ² Kings sisting of) thirty ^b thousand young kids and lambs, ² Chron. and three thousand oxen for the whole burnt-xxxv. 1; 1 Esdras i. 1. offerings. And the chief priests c as well furnished to the (other) priests for the Passover two thousand six hundred lambs,d and to the Levites their leaders gave five thousand lambs and five hundred oxen. And so, there being such an abundance of victims, they performed the sacrifices in accordance with the laws of Moses, the priests directing each step e and ministering to the multitude. No other festival had been celebrated by the Hebrews in such a manner since the time of the prophet Samuel, which was due to the fact that everything was carried out in accordance with the laws and with the observance of their fathers' ancient customs. Now Josiah after this lived in peace and, moreover, enjoyed wealth and the good opinion of all men, but ended his life in the following manner.

(v. 1) Nechao, the king of Egypt, having raised in 2 Kings. The details of the sacrifice in Josephus are based

on the account in 2 Chron. = 1 Esdras.

b Variant 20.

^e Cf. 2 Chron. xxxv. 8=1 Esdras i. 8 which speaks of the victims given to the people and the priest's by Josiah's "princes," including Hilkiah and other priests in charge of the temple. It is therefore unnecessary to emend "chief priests" (lit. "first of the priests") in Josephus's text to "chief Jews" or "chief Hebrews," as Hudson and Naber

Scripture adds " and 300 oxen."

Or "expounding to everyone"; variant "each of the priests expounding" etc. This detail seems to be based on the Luc. reading (κατὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν) in 1 Esdras i. 10.

¹ So Lxx; variants Nechaüs, Nechaös, etc.; bibl. Necho.

στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤλασε ποταμόν, Μήδους πολεμήσων καὶ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους, οἱ τὴν ᾿Ασσυρίων κατέλυσαν ἀρχήν τῆς γὰρ ᾿Ασίας βασιλεῦσαι

ρίων κατέλυσαν ἀρχήν· τῆς γὰρ ᾿Ασίας βασιλεῦσαι 75 πόθον εἶχε. γενομένου δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ Μένδην¹ πόλιν (ἦν δ' αὕτη τῆς Ἰωσίου βασιλείας), μετὰ δυνάμεως εἶργεν αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ποιεῖσθαι χώρας τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μήδους ἔλασιν. πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα πρὸς αὐτὸν Νεχαὼ οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατεύειν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὡρμηκέναι μὴ παροξύνειν δ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν, ὥστε πολεμεῖν

76 αὐτῷ κωλύοντι βαδίζειν ἐφ' οῦ διέγνωκεν. Ἰωσίας δὲ οὐ προσίετο τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Νεχαῶνος, ἀλλ' οὕτως εἶχεν ὡς μὴ συγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκείαν δι-έρχεσθαι, τῆς πεπρωμένης, οἶμαι, εἰς τοῦτ' αὐτὸν παρορμησάσης, ἵνα λάβῃ πρόφασιν κατ' αὐτοῦ.

77 διατάσσοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐφ' ἄρματος ἀπὸ κέρως ἐπὶ κέρας ὀχουμένου τοξεύσας τις αὐτὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔπαυσε τῆς πρὸς τὴν μάχην σπουδῆς· τῷ τραύματι γὰρ περιαλγὴς ῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἀνακληθῆναι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. τελευτῷ δ' ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἐκεῦ

¹ Μήδην O: Medin Lat.
² + ἀλαζονείας ROM.
³ ἐκείνης SPLV Lat.

⁶ Bibl. (Heb. 2 Chron. and Lxx 1 Esdras) "against Car-

chemish on the Euphrates"; cf. § 84 note b.

° Bibl. Megiddo, LXX Μαγεδώ (v.ll. Μαγεδδώ, Μαγεδών).

^b Bibl. (2 Kings and Lxx 2 Chron.) "the king of Assyria." Josephus's correction is in accord with historical fact, since the Medes and Babylonians together had practically destroyed the Assyrian power a few years before Necho's invasion of Syria (608 B.c.). On this occasion, moreover, the Egyptians were probably aided by the remnants of the Assyrian army, cf. A. Olmstead, History of Assyria, p. 639.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 74-77

an army, marched toward the Euphrates a river to Josiah's make war on the Medes and Babylonians b who had battle with overthrown the Assyrian empire, for he had the Necho, king desire to rule Asia. When he came to the city of 2 Kings Mendē c—this was in Josiah's kingdom c—the latter xxiii. 29; Chron. came with an army to prevent him from marching xxxv. 20; against the Medes through his country. So Nechao i. 25 (Lxx sent a herald to him, saying that he was not tak-23). ing the field against him, but was making for the Euphrates, and he bade Josiah not provoke him into making war on him by preventing him from going where he had made up his mind to go. Josiah, however, paid no attention to Nechao's request, but acted as though he would not permit him to traverse his territory; it was Destiny, d I believe, that urged him on to this course, in order to have a pretext for destroying him. For, as he was marshalling his force and riding in his chariot from one wing to another,e an Egyptian archer shot him and put an end to his eagerness for battle, and, being in great pain from his wound, he ordered the call to be sounded for the army's retreat, and he returned to Jerusalem. There he died from his wound f

Josephus's form Mendē is puzzling. The only city by this name (a Greek form) was in Egypt, as Josephus himself knew (cf. B.J. iv. 659); and it is, moreover, difficult to believe that he could have been mistaken about the reading of Megiddo-a well-known name-in his bibl, text. Herodotus (ii. 159) speaks of a victory of Necho over the Syrians in Magdolos (cf. Migdal, an Egyptian border-city mentioned in Jer. xliv. I and xlvi. 14), but it is hardly likely that Josephus confused this with Mende. We must, it seems, assume that Mendē is a scribal corruption of Megiddo.

⁴ The variant, "fated boastfulness," hardly makes sense.

• Unscriptural details.

Variant "and he died from that wound."

τὸν βίον καὶ κηδεύεται ἐν ταῖς πατρώαις θήκαις μεγαλοπρεπως, βιώσας μεν έτη τριακονταεννέα,

78 βασιλεύσας δὲ τούτων εν καὶ τριάκοντα. πένθος δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶ μέγα τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἤχθη, πολλαῖς ήμέραις όδυρομένου καὶ κατηφοῦντος Ἱερεμίας

δ' ὁ προφήτης ἐπικήδειον αὐτοῦ συνέταξε μέλος 79 θρηνητικόν, ὁ καὶ μέχρι νῦν διαμένει. οὖτος ὁ προφήτης καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τῆ πόλει δεινὰ προεκήρυξεν, εν γράμμασι καταλιπών καὶ τὴν νῦν εφ' ήμων γενομένην άλωσιν τήν τε Βαβυλώνος αίρεσιν. ού μόνον δε ούτος προεθέσπισε ταύτα τοίς όγλοις. άλλά και ό προφήτης Ἰεζεκίηλος, δς πρώτος περί

80 τούτων δύο βίβλους γράψας κατέλιπεν. ήσαν δέ οί δύο τω γένει ίερεις, άλλ' ό μεν Ίερεμίας έν [Ιεροσολύμοις διηγεν από τρισκαιδεκάτου έτους της Ἰωσίου βασιλείας έως οὖ κατεσκάφη ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ ναός. τὰ μέντοι γε συμβάντα περὶ τοῦτον τὸν προφήτην κατά χώραν δηλώσομεν.

81 (2) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἰωσίου, καθώς προειρήκαμεν, τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται

1. θρηνητικόν secl. Niese, Naber. βιβλία MSPLVE Zonaras.

^a According to 2 Kings xxii. 1=2 Chron. xxxiv. 1 he was 8 years old at his accession, added to which the 31 years of

his reign give 39.

b This statement is based on 2 Chron. xxxv. 25, "And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah, and all the singing men and women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day . . . and behold, they are written in the lamentations." Josephus, like the rabbis (cf. Ginzberg vi. 378), regarded this verse as a reference to the book of Lamentations, traditionally ascribed to Jeremiah.

^c This reference to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus is suspected by Ussani (cited by R. Eisler, The Messiah Jesus, p. 609) of being an interpolation. This suspicion, however,

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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 77-81

and was buried magnificently in the tombs of his fathers, having lived thirty-nine years, a of which he reigned thirty-one. Great was the mourning for him observed by all the people, who bewailed him and grieved for many days. And the prophet The Jeremiah composed a song of lament for his funeral, prophets which remains to this day.b This prophet also an- and Ezekiel. nounced the misfortunes that were to come upon the city, and left behind writings concerning the recent capture of our city, c as well as the capture of Babylon. And not only this prophet predicted these things to the multitude, but also the prophet Ezekiel, who left behind two books which he was the first to write about these matters.º These two men were both priests by birth, but Jeremiah lived in Jerusalem from the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign f until the city and the temple were demolished. What happened to this prophet, however, we shall relate in the proper place.9

(2) When Josiah died, as we have already said, Accession of his son, Jōachazos h by name, succeeded to the king-Jehoahazos).

is hardly justified. Josephus naturally thought of the book of Lamentations (which, like his contemporaries, he regarded as Jeremiah's work) as a prophecy of the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans as well as of that by the Babylonians.

d Gr. Jezekiēlos; Heb. Y'hezgēl.

Josephus probably thought of the book of Ezekiel as composed of two distinct parts of 24 chapters each. Cf. H. St. J. Thackeray, The Septuagint and Jewish Worship, p. 37, "This distinction of subject matter is well known to the rabbis who observed that Ezekiel opens with desolation and ends with consolation." Less probably he alludes to a pseudepigraphic book of Ezekiel, now lost, cf. Fabricius, Codex Pseudep. Vet. Test., 1713, i. 1117 f.

1 Jer. i. 2. g §§ 112, 116 ff.

A Variants Joazos, Jochazos; bibl. Jehoahaz (Yehô'āhāz). LXX 'Iwayas, v.l. 'Iwaya'.

'Ιωάχαζος' τοὔνομα τρίτον' καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἤδη ἔτος γεγονώς. καὶ οὖτος μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐβασίλευσε μητρὸς 'Αμιτάλης ἐκ³ πόλεως Λοβάνης'

λευσε μητρός 'Αμιτάλης ἐκ³ πόλεως Λοβάνης
82 ἀσεβης δὲ καὶ μιαρός τὸν τρόπον ὁ δὲ τῶν
Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ὑποστρέψας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης
μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἰωάχαζον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς 'Αμαθὰ
καλουμένην πόλιν, ἤτις ἐστὶ τῆς Συρίας, καὶ τὸν
μὲν ἐλθόντα ἔδησε, τῷ δὲ πρεσβυτέρω αὐτοῦ
ἀδελφῷ ὁμοπατρίω ὄντι 'Ελιακείμω τοὔνομα τὴν
βασιλείαν παραδίδωσι μετονομάσας αὐτὸν Ἰωάκειμον τῆ δὲ χώρα ἐπέταξεν ἔκατὸν ἀργυρίου
κειμον τῆς δὲ χώρα ἐπέταξεν ἔκατὸν ἀργυρίου
καιρον τοῦς δὲν καρον καιρον ἐκατὸν ἀργυρίου
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83 τάλαντα, εν δε χρυσίου. και τοῦτο μεν ετέλει δ Ἰωάκειμος τὸ πληθος τῶν χρημάτων, τὸν δε Ἰωάχαζον ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, δς και ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν αὐτῆ βασιλεύσας μῆνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας δέκα. ἡ δε τοῦ Ἰωακείμου μήτηρ ἐκαλεῖτο Ζαβουδᾶ, ἐκ πόλεως δ' ἦν ᾿Αβουμᾶς. ἐτύγχανε δ' ὧν τὴν φύσιν ἄδικος και κακοῦργος και μήτε πρὸς θεὸν ὅσιος μήτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιεικής.

84 (vi. 1) "Ετος δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας τέταρτον

1 'Ιώαζος RO: 'Ιώχαζος SP.
2 περὶ τρίτον MSP fort. recte.

³ ἐκ ex Lat. Niese: καὶ codd.
 ⁴ Hudson: Τομάνης RO: Τωμάνης SP: Τωμάνης LV: Thobana Lat. (καὶ . . . Τομάνης om. M).

Eλιακίμω R²OMSP: Eliachim Lat.
 Ἰωάκιμον RMSPV: Ioachim Lat.

^e Bibl. Riblah in the land of Hamath. On Riblah cf. § 135 note c, on Hamath cf. Ant. vii. 107 note c.

 ^a Cf. lxx (most mss.) 'Αμιτάλ (Cod. B 2 Kings 'Αμειταί'
 2 Chron. 'Αβειτάλ); bibl. Hamutal (Hamûţāl).

b Emended form; MSS. Tomane, Tomiane; bibl. Libnah, LXX Λοβενά, ν.ll. Λημνά, Λοβνά, κτλ. The name appears as Labinah in Ant. ix, 98, cf. note ad loc.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 81-84

dom in his twenty-third year. And so he reigned ² Kings xxiii. ³¹; in Jerusalem, his mother being Amitalē ^a of the ² Chron. city of Lobane b; he was of an impious and corrupt xxxvi. 1; Esdras nature. Now the king of Egypt, returning from the i. 34 (LXX battle, summoned Joachazos to him at the city called Amatha, which is in Svria, and, when he came, put Necho him in chains and gave the kingdom over to his Jehoiakim elder brother by the same father, after changing his (Joakeimos) name, which was Eliakeimos, to Joakeimos. He 2 Kings also imposed on the country a tribute of one hundred 2 Chron. talents of silver and one talent of gold. And this axxvi. 3; sum of money Joakeimos paid. As for Joachazos, i. 35. he carried him off to Egypt, which was where he died after reigning three months and ten days.g Now the mother of Joakeimos was called Zabūda,h and she came from the city of Abūma.i He proved to be unjust and wicked by nature, and was neither reverent toward God nor kind to man.

(vi. 1) In the fourth year of his reign someone

d Cf. LXX 'Ελιακείμ; bibl. Eliakim ('Ēlyāgim).

· Cf. LXX 'Ιωακείμ; bibl. Jehoiakim (Yehôyāqim).

So Heb.; LXX 2 Kings 100 talents of silver and 100 talents of gold, Luc. 2 Kings and 1 Esdras 100 talents of silver and 10 talents of gold.

Bibl. 3 months. Weill plausibly suggests that Josephus has here confused Jehoahaz with Jehoiachin who reigned 3 months and 10 days, according to 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9,

Bibl: Zebudah (Zebuddāh), LXX 'Ιελλά, v.l. 'Ιελδάφ, Luc.

'Αμιτάλ (vid.).

Bibl. Rumah, LXX Povuá, Luc. Λοβεννά. The Luc. readings here show confusion of Jehoiakim's mother with

that of Jehoahaz.

Josephus appears to use 715 "someone" as a tacit apology to Greek readers for the uncouth form of the Babylonian king's name.

ήδη έχοντος την Βαβυλωνίων ἀρχην παραλαμβάνει τις Ναβουχοδονόσορος¹ ὄνομα, δς ύπο τον αὐτον καιρον μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευης ἐπὶ Καρχαμισσὰν ἀναβαίνει πόλιν, ἔστι δ' αὕτη προς τῷ Εὐφράτη ποταμῷ,² διεγνωκὼς πολεμεῖν τῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Νεχαῶνι· ὑπὸ τούτῳ γὰρ ἡν ἄπασα ἡ Συρία. 85 μαθὼν δὲ τὴν τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου προαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν

85 μαθών δὲ τὴν τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου προαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατείαν ὁ Νεχαὼ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀλιγώ-ρησεν, ἀλλὰ σὺν πολλῆ χειρὶ τὸν Ναβουχοδονόσορον

86 ἀμυνούμενος³ ὥρμησεν⁴ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην. συμβολῆς δὲ γενομένης ἡττήθη καὶ πολλὰς ἀπέβαλε μυριάδας ἐν τῆ μάχη. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὁ Βαβυλώνιος τὴν ἄχρι Πηλουσίου παραλαμβάνει

- 87 Συρίαν πάρεξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. τέσσαρα δ' ἔτη βασιλεύοντος ἤδη τοῦ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου ὄγδοον ἦν τῷ Ἰωακείμῳ τῷ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔχοντι τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ στρατεύει μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, φόρους αἰτῶν τὸν Ἰωάκειμον ἢ πολεμήσειν ἀπειλῶν. ὁ δὲ δείσας τὴν ἀπειλὴν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος τῶν χρημάτων ἤνεγκεν αὐτῷ φόρους οῦς ἔταξεν ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία.
 - ¹ Ναβοκοδρόσορος Niese. ³ Cocceji: ἀμυνόμενος codd.

² ποταμῷ om. MSPLV. ⁴ ἐξώρμησεν SPLV.

^a Gr. Nabūchodonosoros, cf. LXX Ναβουχοδονοσόρ; Heb.

2 Kings Nebûkadneşşar, Jer. Nebûkadreşşar.

^c Josephus omits the detailed and poetic account of

Necho's defeat in Jer. xlvi.

^d Bibl. (2 Kings) "For the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that belonged to the king of Egypt."

^b Bibl. Carchemish, LXX Καρχαμείς, v.l. Χαρμείς. It was situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the modern *Jerablus* on the upper Euphrates, c. 60 miles N.W. of Aleppo (modern *Haleb*) in North Syria.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 84-87

called Nebuchadnezzar a became ruler of the Baby-Nebuchadlonians and at the same time went up with a great nezzar defeats armament against the city of Karchamissa b-this is Necho and on the Euphrates river—with the determination to imposes tribute on make war on the Egyptian king Nechaō, to whom all Jehoiakim. Syria was subject. When Nechaö learned of the xxiv. 1; Babylonian king's purpose and of the expedition Jer. xivi. 2 against him, he himself did not show indifference but 2). set out for the Euphrates with a large force to oppose Nebuchadnezzar. In the engagement that took place he was defeated and lost many myriads in the battle.c Then the Babylonian king crossed the Euphrates and occupied all Syria, with the exception of Judaea, as far as Pelusium.d In the fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, which was the eighth vear of Joakeimos's rule over the Hebrews, the Babylonian king marched against the Jews with a large force, demanding tribute of Joakeimos under threat of war. And so he, being alarmed at this threat, purchased peace by paying the money, and for three years brought him the tribute which he had imposed.

· According to 2 Kings xxiv. 1, Jehoiakim rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar after being subject to him for 3 years. Scripture implies that the rebellion took place at the end of Jehoiakim's 11 year reign and, therefore, that he had become subject to Nebuchadnezzar in the 8th (or 9th) year of his reign. However in § 84 Josephus has equated Nebuchadnezzar's 1st year with Jehoiakim's 4th. Therefore the 4th year of Nebuchadnezzar would be the 7th rather than the 8th of Jehojakim. Moreover, according to Jer. xxvi, 1 ff., which Josephus follows below, Jehoiakim's defiance of the Babylonians seems to have come at the beginning of his

Scripture does not mention the payment of tribute specifically but implies it in the phrase "became his

servant."

88 (2) Τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ στρατεύειν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀκούσας ἐπὶ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον καὶ τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ μὴ δοὺς διεψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος· οἱ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι

89 ποιήσασθαι την στρατείαν οὐκ ἐθάρρησαν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ προφήτης Ἱερεμίας κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν προύλεγεν, ὡς μάτην ταῖς παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐλπίσι προσανέχουσι, καὶ ὡς δεῖ τὴν πόλιν¹ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι, καὶ Ἰωάκειμον τὸν βασιλέα² χειρωθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

90 άλλὰ ταῦτ' εἰς³ οὐδὲν χρήσιμον, οὐκ ὄντων τῶν σωθησομένων,⁴ ἐλέγετο· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἀκούοντες παρημέλουν, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν λαμβάνοντες τὰ λεγόμενα ὡς οἰωνιζομένου κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ προφήτου τὸν Ἱερεμίαν ἤτιῶντο, καὶ ὑπάγοντες δίκῃ καταψηφισθῆναι πρὸς τιμωρίαν

91 ήξίουν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἤνεγκαν τὰς ψήφους κατ' αὐτοῦ οἳ καὶ ἀπέγνωσαν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οἱ δὲ σοφῆς ὄντες διανοίας ἀπέλυσαν τὸν προφήτην ἀπὸ τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνεβού-

92 λευσαν μηδέν διαθείναι κακόν τόν 'Ιερεμίαν. ἔλεγον γὰρ οὐ μόνον τοῦτον προλέγειν τῆ πόλει τὰ μέλλοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μιχαίαν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα κατηγγελκέναι καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, ὧν οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ

δεῖ . . πόλιν] πέπρωται τῆ πόλει LVE.
 Ἰωάκειμον τὸν βασιλέα V : Ἰωακείμῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ rell.
 εἰς om. RO.

4 συνθησομένων Ο: θησομένων Μ¹.
5 οι και RO: οι δ' (δέ) rell. Lat.

Text and meaning uncertain.

^a According to Scripture, the priests, the false prophets and the people opposed Jeremiah, while the nobles and elders supported him.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 88-92

(2) But in the third year, having heard that the Jeremiah Egyptians were marching against the Babylonian opposes alliance with king, he did not pay him tribute. However, he was Egypt and is disappointed of his hopes, for the Egyptians did not Jer. xxvi. 1 venture to undertake the campaign. And this was (LXX XXXIII. what the prophet Jeremiah foretold day after day, how that it was vain for them to cling to their hope of help from the Egyptians and that the city was destined to be overthrown by the king of Babylonia, and King Joakeimos to be subdued by him. These things, however, he spoke to no avail, since there were none who were destined to be saved, for both the people and their rulers disregarded what they heard a; and, being angered by his words, they accused Jeremiah of having as prophet used divination against the king, and, bringing him to trial, demanded that he be sentenced to punishment. And so all the others cast votes against him, thereby rejecting the advice of the elders, but these, being of wise understanding, released the prophet from the prison-hall c and advised the others to do Jeremiah no harm. For, they said, he was not the only one to foretell what would befall the city, but Michaias d before him had announced these things, as had many others, and none of them had suffered anything at

d So LXX (v.l. Merralas); bibl. Micah.

[·] Josephus is here evidently alluding to the αὐλὴ τῆς φυλακῆς as the LXX translates Heb. hasar ham-mattarah "court of the

prison" (in Zedekiah's palace) in Jer. xxxii. 2. It should not be surprising that Josephus seems to confuse some of the events of Jehoiakim's reign with those of Zedekiah's, since the chronology in both Heb. and Gr. texts of Jer. is confused. e.q. the narrative of Jehoiakim's reign is resumed after a passage dealing with that of Zedekiah. Weill understands by αὐλης here the court of the temple, cf. Jer. xxvi. (Lxx xxxiii.) 7 ff., but this is unlikely.

τῶν τότε βασιλέων οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ' ὡς προφήτης 93 τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῆς ἔτυχε. τούτοις καταπραΰναντες τὸ πληθος τοις λόγοις έρρύσαντο της κατεψηφισμένης αὐτοῦ κολάσεως τὸν Ἱερεμίαν, δς ἀπάσας τὰς αύτοῦ προφητείας συγγραψάμενος νηστεύοντος τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐκκλησιάζοντος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μηνὶ ἐνάτω τοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰωακείμου βασιλείας ἀνέγνω την βίβλον, ην περί των μελλόντων συμβήσεσθαι τη πόλει καὶ τῶ ναῶ καὶ τοῖς ὄγλοις ην συντεταγώς.

94 ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνουσι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ κελεύουσιν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Βαρούχον² έκποδών αύτους ποιήσαι, μή τισι δηλοι γένωνται, το δε βιβλίον αὐτοὶ φέροντες τῷ βασιλεί διδόασιν. ὁ δὲ παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων έκέλευσε τὸν αύτοῦ γραμματέα λαβόντα ἀναγνῶναι.

95 ἀκούσας δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεύς διέρρηξέ τε καὶ βαλών είς πῦρ ἡφάνισε, ζητηθέντας δὲ τόν τε Ἱερεμίαν καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Βαρούχον ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθηναι πρὸς αὐτὸν κολασθησομένους. οδτοι μεν οδν διαφεύγουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν οργήν.

96 (3) Μετ' οὐ πολύν δὲ χρόνον στρατευόμενον ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέα δέχεται κατά δέος τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου τούτου,5 οὐδὲν νομίζων πείσεσθαι δεινὸν μήτε ἀποκλείσας 97 μήτε πολεμήσας, είσελθων δ' είς αὐτὴν ό Βαβυ-

¹ Niese: αὐτοῦ codd. E. ² Βάρουχον MSPE.

³ ἀναχθῆναι SPL: adduci Lat.

⁴ τὸ δέος τὸ παρὰ (τὸ 1° om. L) MSPLV.

⁵ τούτους M: τούτου ώς SPLV.

⁶ μήτε . . . μήτε Dindorf: μηδέ (μηδ') vel μή . . . μηδέ codd.: ούτε . . . ούτε Ε.

⁶ αὐτὸν ROL2. 7 εἰσελθών ΜΙ, Lat.: ἀπελθών rell.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 92-97

the hands of those who were then kings, but had received honour as prophets of God. With these words they mollified the people and saved Jeremiah from the punishment to which he had been condemned. He then wrote down all his prophecies and, while Jeremiah the people kept a fast and were assembled in the prophecy temple, in the ninth a month of the fifth year of the of doom reign of Jōakeimos, he read the book which he had Jer. xxxvi. 9 composed concerning the things which were to befall (LXX xliii. 9), the city and the temple and the people. But, when the leaders heard it, they took the book from him and ordered both him and his scribe Baruch to take themselves off and not let themselves be seen by anyone; as for the book, they carried it off and gave it to the king. And he, in the presence of his friends, ordered his scribe to take it and read it aloud. But, when he heard what was in the book, the king became angry and destroyed it by tearing it apart and throwing it into the fire. Then he ordered that a search be made for both Jeremiah and his scribe Baruch and that they be brought to him for punishment. So then they escaped his wrath.b

(3) But not long after, when the king of Babylonia Jehoiakim brought an army against him, Jōakeimos, in fear of death by what had been foretold by this prophet, received Nebuchadhim, thinking that he would suffer no harm, as he 2 Kings had neither shut him out nor made war on him. On xxiv. 2; Chron, entering the city, however, the Babylonian king did xxxvi. 6;

a So Heb. and most LXX MSS.; LXX cod. B 8th.

b The form of this last sentence (οὖτοι μέν οὖν) suggests that the account of their escape has been lost from Josephus's text or perhaps was omitted by him because of his doubt as to the meaning of the bibl. phrase, Jer. xxxvi. (Lxx xliji.) 26, "And the Lord hid them" (Lxx "and they were hidden").



λώνιος οὐκ ἐφύλαξε τὰς πίστεις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντας τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀπέκτεινε μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωακείμου, δν ἄταφον ἐκέλευσε ριφῆναι πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν τὸν δὲ υίὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάχιμον κατέστησε βασιλέα τῆς

98 χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως. τοὺς δ' ἐν ἀξιώματι τρισχιλίους ὅντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν³ αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα· ἐν δὲ τούτοις ῆν καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἰεζεκίηλος παῖς ὤν. καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον Ἰωάκειμον τὸν βασιλέα κατέσχε βιώσαντα μὲν εξ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα δὲ τούτων ἔνδεκα, ὁ δὲ διαδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰωάχιμος ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Νοόστης ὁνομα πολίτιδος δέ, ἐβασίλευσε μῆνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας δέκα.

99 (vii. 1) Τὸν δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέα δόντα τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰωαχίμω παραχρῆμα ἔλαβε δέος ἔδεισε γὰρ μὴ μνησικακήσας αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναιρέσεως ἀποστήσῃ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ· πέμψας τοιγαροῦν δύναμιν ἐπολιόρκει τὸν Ἰωάχιμον ἐν τοῖς

1 δ Βαβυλώνιος om. MSPLV.

3 + αὐτοῦ RO: + αὐτοὺς rell.

^a Josephus, like the rabbis, here connects with the reign of Jehoiakim the deportation mentioned in Jer. lii. 28, "This is the people whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away captive in the seventh year, three thousand and twenty-three Jews." No deportation of Jews in the reign of Jehoiakim is mentioned in 2 Kings or 2 Chron.

b Cf. Jer. xxii. 19, "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem." According to 2 Kings Jehoiakim was buried with his fathers,

² Ἰωάκειμον RO Zonaras: Ἰωάκιμον Μ²: Ἰεχονίαν (infra Ἰωαχὶμ) L: Ἰεχωνίαν V: Ἰωακεὶμ E: Ioachu (infra Ioachim) Lat.

⁴ Nοστη̂s M: Nοοστη̂s SP: Noos Lat.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 97-99

not keep his pledges but killed the most vigorous and best favoured of the inhabitants of Jerusalem a together with King Joakeimos, whom he ordered to be cast out unburied before the walls, b and appointed Accession of his son Jōachimos c as king of the country and the (Joachimos) city. Those in power, three thousand in number, and deportation of Jews he took captive and carried away to Babylon. Now to Babylon. among them was the prophet Ezekiel, then a boy. e 2 Kings Such, then, was the end that overtook King Joakei-2 Chron. mos at the age of thirty-six years, f of which he had xxxvi. 8. reigned eleven. Joachimos, who succeeded him on the throne, had a mother named Nooste, a native of the city, and reigned three months and ten days.h

(vii. 1) But after the Babylonian king had given Nebuchadthe kingdom to Joachimos, a sudden fear seized him, ports more for he was afraid that Jōachimos might bear him a Jews to grudge for the killing of his father, and lead his 2 Kings country to revolt. He therefore sent a force which xxiv. 10. besieged Joachimos in Jerusalem. But he, being

nothing being said of the manner of his death; according to 2 Chron. he was carried in chains to Babylon. For rabbinic traditions, harmonizing these differences (which Josephus ignores), see Ginzberg iv. 285.

Bibl. Jehoiachin (Υ'hôyākîn), LXX 2 Kings Ἰωακείμ (ν.l. Ἰωαχείμ), 2 Chron. Ἰεχονίας. The MSS. of Josephus have

Ίεχονίας in § 229.

^a Cf. note a above. (Possibly the variant, adding αὐτοῦ his "in Josephus's text, is a scribal note indicating that the number is an addition to Scripture made by Josephus.)

· Cf. Ezekiel i. 1.

According to 2 Kings xxiii. 36=2 Chron. xxxvi. 5 Jehoiakim was 25 years old at his accession, added to which the 11 years of his reign give 36.

⁹ Bibl. Nehushta (Ν'ehuštā'), LXX Νεσθά, Luc. Νεεσθάν.

* So 2 Chron.; 2 Kings 3 months.

⁴ Nebuchadnezzar's motive is an unscriptural detail, to which there is a parallel in rabbinic tradition.

- 100 Ίεροσολύμοις. ὁ δὲ φύσει χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ δίκαιος ούκ ήξίου την πόλιν κινδυνεύουσαν δι' αὐτὸν περιοράν, άλλ' ἀπάρας την μητέρα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς παραδίδωσι τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου στρατηγοίς, όρκους παρ' αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
- 101 μηδέν μήτ' αὐτοὺς παθεῖν μήτε τὴν πόλιν. οὐδ' ἐνιαυτὸν³ ἡ πίστις ἔμεινεν οὐ γὰρ ἐφύλαξεν αὐτὴν ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς στρατηγοίς ἐπέστειλεν ἄπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῆ πόλει λαβόντας αίχμαλώτους νέους την ήλικίαν καὶ τεχνίτας δεδεμένους άγειν πρός αυτόν (ήσαν δέ οὖτοι πάντες εἰς μυρίους ὀκτακοσίους τριακονταδύο) καὶ τὸν Ἰωάχιμον μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν
- 102 φίλων. τούτους δή κομισθέντας πρός αύτον είχεν έν φυλακή τον δέ θείον τοῦ Ἰωαχίμου Σαχχίαν ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, ὅρκους παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβών ἡ μὴν φυλάξειν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν καὶ μηδέν νεωτερίσειν μηδέ τοις Αίγυπτίοις εὐνοήσειν.

103 (2) Σαχχίας δ' ήν μεν ετών είκοσι καὶ ένός, ὅτε την άρχην παρέλαβεν, όμομήτριος μεν 'Ιωακείμου

¹ ἐπάρας MSPLVE: sumens Lat.
 ² ὡς δ' ROSPLV.

b Unscriptural details; bibl. (2 Kings) "And Jehoiachin, the king of Judah, went out to the king of Babylon, he and

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³ οὐδ' ἐνιαυτὸν] οὐδενὶ (οὐδ' ἐνὶ SP) αὐτῶν ROSPLV. 1 Niese: aὐτον codd. 5 Σεδεκίαν L2V Lat.

According to Scripture Jehoiachin was a wicked king like his father, but rabbinic tradition states that through suffering he became pious.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 100-103

kind and just," did not think it right to suffer the city to be endangered on his account, and removed his mother and his relatives and delivered them to the commanders sent by the Babylonian king, after receiving their oath that neither these nor the city should suffer any harm. But their pledge was not kept for even as long as a year, for the Babylonian king did not observe it, but commanded his men to take captive all the young men and craftsmen in the city and bring them in chains to him-these came to ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two in all d -as well as Jōachimos with his mother and friends. And, when they had been brought to him, he kept Accession of them under guard, and appointed Jōachimos's uncle (Sacchias). Sacchias as king, after receiving his oath that he 2 Kings xxiv. 17 would surely keep the country for him and attempt 2 Chron. no uprising nor show friendliness to the Egyptians. f xxxvi. 10.

(2) Now Sacchias was twenty-one years old when Zedekiah is

he took over royal power, and he was a brother of warned by

his mother and his servants and his princes and his eunuchs (A.V. "officers"), and the king of Babylon took him in the eighth year of his reign."

Variant "was not kept to any of them." The detail "for even a year" is based on 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10 "at the return of the year (A.V. "when the year was expired") King Nebuchadnezzar sent and brought him to Babylon," etc.

d According to 2 Kings xxiv. 14-16 Nebuchadnezzar took 10,000 captives, as well as the king, his family and retinue, and 8000 warriors and craftsmen, that is more than 18,000 in all. Josephus here combines the 10,000 first mentioned with the 832 captives, mentioned in Jer. lii. 29, who were taken in the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar (that is, in the reign of Zedekiah, not Jehoiachin). Josephus omits the carrying off of the treasures of temple and palace, 2 Kings xxiv. 13.

Bibl. Zedekiah (Ṣidqîyāhû), LXX Σεδεκία (v.l. -ίας).

' Scripture (2 Chron.) says merely that Nebuchadnezzar "made him swear by God."

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τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ δικαίων καὶ τοῦ δέοντος ὑπερόπτης· καὶ γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἦσαν ἀσεβεῖς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ πᾶς ὅχλος ἐπ' ἐξουσίας

104 ὕβρίζεν² ἃ ήθελεν· διὸ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἱερεμίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν πολλάκις ἐμαρτύρατο, κελεύων τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀσεβείας καὶ παρανομίας καταλιπεῖν, προνοεῖν δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ μήτε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι, τῷ εἶναι³ ἐν αὐτοῖς πονηρούς, προσανέχειν μήτε τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις ἀπατῶσιν αὐτὸν πεπιστευκέναι, ὡς οὐκέτι πολεμήσει τὴν πόλιν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι στρατεύσουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ νικήσουσι· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγειν οὐδ' 105 οὕτως ὀφείλοντα γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Σαγχίας ἐφ' ὅσον

μεν ήκουσε τοῦ προφήτου ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐπείθετο αὐτῷ καὶ συνήνει πᾶσιν ὡς ἀληθεύουσι καὶ συμφέρον αὐτῷ πεπιστευκέναι διέφθειραν δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν οἱ φίλοι καὶ διῆγον ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ προφήτου 106 πρὸς ἄπερ ἤθελον. προεφήτευσε δὲ καὶ Ἰεζεκίηλος

106 πρὸς ἄπερ ἤθελον. προεφήτευσε δὲ καὶ Ἰεζεκίηλος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τὰς μελλούσας τῷ λαῷ συμφορὰς καὶ γράψας¹ ταῦτα ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ταῖς δὲ προφητείαις αὐτῶν Σαχχίας ἤπίστησεν ἐκ τοιαύτης

¹ οἱ κατὰ τὴν ed. pr.: τὴν codd.: νέοι τὴν conj. Niese.
² ἐξύβριζεν ROLV.

3 τῷ εἶναι] εἶναι γὰρ MSPLV Exc.
4 Bekker: συνήδει codd.

συμφέρειν MSP Exc.: quasi prodesset Lat.
 διέφθειρον RO.
 7 O Zonaras: ἀκούσας rell.: om. E Lat.

b Josephus forgets that he has already (§ 83) given Jehoiakim's mother's name as Zabudah (bibl. Zebudah),

^{*} i.e. Jehojachin's uncle; so Heb. and Luc. 2 Kings and Lxx 2 Chron.; according to Lxx 2 Kings Zedekiah was Jehojachin's son; according to Heb. 2 Chron. he was Jehojachin's brother.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 103-106

Joakeimos a by the same mother, but he was con-not to rebel temptuous of justice and duty, for those of his own Nebuchadage about him were impious, and the entire multi-tude had licence to act as outrageously as it pleased.d xxiv. 18; It was for this reason that the prophet Jeremiah 2 Chron. came to him and solemnly protested, bidding him Jer. xxxvii. leave off his various impieties and lawless acts, and 1). watch over justice and neither pay heed to the leaders, because there were wicked men among them, nor put faith in the false prophets who were deceiving him by saying that the Babylonian king would never again make war on the city and that the Egyptians would take the field against the Babylonian king and conquer him. For in this, he said, they spoke falsely and these things were not to be. Now Sacchias, so long as he listened to the prophet saving these things, believed him and agreed to everything as true and that it was to his interest to have faith in him; but his friends once more corrupted him and, winning him away from the prophet, led him wherever they pleased. Ezekiel too, in Babylon, prophesied the misfortunes that were to befall the people and wrote them down and sent them to Jerusalem. But Sacchias disbelieved their prophecies for the following reason.f Although

while according to 2 Kings Zedekiah's mother's name was Hamutal. He confuses Jehoiakim with his brother Jehoahaz whose mother's name (cf. $\S 81 = 2$ Kings xxiii. 31) was the same as Zedekiah's mother's. ${}^{\circ}$ Cf. $\S 120$ note c.

d Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14, "And also the chiefs of the priests (Lxx "the nobles and the priests") and the people

transgressed very much," etc.

" Or "frequently"; but πολλάκις here seems to have the force of πολλά which, with verbs of protesting, etc., means "solemnly" in Jos.

¹ This motivation is, of course, an invention of Josephus.

αίτίας τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα συμφωνοῦντας τοὺς προφήτας άλλήλοις είπειν συνέβη, ώς ή τε πόλις άλώσεται καὶ Σαχχίας αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος ἔσται, διεφώνησε δε 'Ιεζεκίηλος είπων ουκ όψεσθαι Βαβυλώνα τον Σαχχίαν τοῦ Ἱερεμίου φάσκοντος αὐτῷ ότι δεδεμένον αὐτὸν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἄξει βασιλεύς.

107 καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ταὐτὸν αὐτοὺς έκατέρους λέγειν καὶ περί ων συμφωνείν έδόκουν ως οὐδ' ἐκείνα ἀληθη λέγουσι καταγνούς ηπίστησε, καίτοι πάντ' αὐτῶ κατά τὰς προφητείας ἀπήντησεν, ἄπερ εὐκαιρό-

τερον δηλώσομεν.

(3) Την συμμαχίαν δὲ την πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους έπ' έτη όκτω κατασχών διέλυσε τας πρός αὐτοὺς πίστεις καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις προστίθεται, καταλύσειν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους έλπίσας, εί3 μετ'

109 ἐκείνων γένοιτο. μαθών δὲ τοῦτο ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεύς έστράτευσεν έπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν χώραν κακώσας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ φρούρια λαβὼν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἦκε τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν πολι-

110 ορκήσων αὐτήν. ὁ δ' Αἰγύπτιος ἀκούσας ἐν οἷς έστιν ό σύμμαχος αὐτοῦ Σαχχίας, ἀναλαβὼν πολλὴν δύναμιν ήκεν είς την Ιουδαίαν ώς λύσων την πολιορκίαν. ὁ δὲ Βαβυλώνιος ἀφίσταται τῶν [Γεροσολύμων, απαντήσας δέ τοις Αίγυπτίοις καὶ

² καταγνούς ἡπίστησε Hudson: καταγνούς SP: γνούς ROMLV: ἡπίστησε Ε.

¹ συμφωνούντας . . . άλλήλοις S: συμφωνούντα R: συμφωνοῦντα τοὺς προφήτας Ο: συμφωνοῦντα τοῖς προφήταις ἀλλήλοις Μ: συμφωνοῦντας τοῖς προφήταις άλλήλοις Ρ: σύμφωνα τοὺς προφήτας άλλήλοις LV: consone a prophetis Lat.

³ Cocceji: â M: aî rell.: av Hudson. 4 Cocceji: eyévovto codd.: om. Lat.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 106-110

in all other respects it appeared that the prophets Ezek, xii, 13; agreed with each other in what they said, namely (LXX XII. 3). that the city would be taken and Sacchias himself be made captive, still Ezekiel, in saving that Sacchias would not see Babylon, differed from Jeremiah who told him that the king of Babylon would take him there in chains. And, because they did not both say the same thing, he condemned as untrue even their statements about those things in which they seemed to agree, and refused to believe them.b Nevertheless everything happened to him in accordance with their prophecies, as we shall show in a more fitting place.c

(3) After maintaining his alliance with the Baby-Zedekiah's lonians for eight years, Sacchias broke his treaty alliance with them and went over to the Egyptians, hoping against to overthrow the Babylonians if he joined the other 2 Kings side.^d And, when the Babylonian king heard of xxiv. 20; Jer. lii. 3, this, he marched against him and, after ravaging his country and taking his fortresses, he came against the city of Jerusalem itself to besiege it. But, when Cf. Jer. the Egyptian king heard of the plight of his ally (LXX XIIV. 5), Sacchias, he raised a large force and came to Judaea to end the siege. Thereupon the Babylonian king left Jerusalem and went to meet the Egyptians and,

d Text slightly uncertain.

^e Ezek. xii. 13 "... and I will bring him to Babylon, to the land of the Chaldaeans, yet shall he not see it though he shall die there"; Jer. xxxiv. 3 "And thou shalt not escape out of his hand but shalt surely be taken and delivered into his hand; and thine eyes shall behold the king of Babylon and thy mouth shall speak to his mouth and thou shalt come to Babylon."

b Text slightly uncertain.

^{° § 141,} where the two passages are harmonized.

συμβαλών αὐτοῖς τῆ μάχη νικᾶ καὶ τρεψάμενος 111 αὐτοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ἐξ ὅλης διώκει τῆς Συρίας. ὡς δ' ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐξηπάτησαν οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται τὸν Σαχχίαν λέγοντες οὔτε τὸν Βαβυλώνιον ἔτι αὐτὸν πολεμήσειν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους, οῦς ἀναστήσειεν¹ ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, μετὰ πάντων ἥξειν² τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ σκευῶν, ὧν ἐσύλη-

112 σεν ό βασιλεὺς ἐκ τοῦ νεώ. τἀναντία δὲ τούτων καὶ ἀληθῆ παρελθών³ 'Ιερεμίας προεφήτευσεν, ὡς ποιοῦσι μὲν κακῶς καὶ ἐξαπατῶσι τὸν βασιλέα, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὄφελος, ἀλλὰ νικήσας αὐτοὺς ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐπιστρατεύσειν εἰς τὰ 'Ιεροσόλυμα μέλλει, καὶ πολιορκήσει τε καὶ τῷ λιμῷ διαφθερεῖ τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τοὺς περιλειφθέντας αἰχμαλώτους ἄξει, καὶ τὰς οὐσίας διαρπάσει, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πλοῦτον ἐκφορήσας ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμπρήσει καὶ κατασκάψει τὴν πόλιν, '' καὶ δουλεύσομεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ

113 ἐπ' ἔτη ἐβδομήκοντα. παύσουσι δ' ἡμᾶς τότε τῆς
ὑπ' αὐτοῖς δουλείας Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι
καταλύσαντες Βαβυλωνίους, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τήνδε ἀπολυθέντες οἰκοδομήσομεν τὸν ναὸν πάλιν καὶ τὰ

λυθέντες οἰκοδομήσομεν τὸν ναὸν πάλιν καὶ τὰ 114 Ἱεροσόλυμα καταστήσομεν." ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Ἱερεμίας ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων ἐπιστεύετο, οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ὡς ἐξεστηκότα τῶν φρενῶν

οῦς ἀναστήσειεν ex Lat. Niese: οὕτε ἀναστήσειν codd.
 Naber: δὲ (δ' LV) ἤξειν codd.: ἀνήξειν Niese.
 προελθών RO.
 ἀπ' ROLVE.

^a The defeat of the Egyptians is an addition to Scripture, but probably based on Jer. xxxvii. 7, "... Behold, Pharaoh's army, which is come to help you, shall return to Egypt," etc.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 110-114

encountering them in battle, defeated and put them to flight and drove them out of the whole of Syria.a Now, when the Babylonian king withdrew from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Sacchias by saying that the Babylonian king would not make war on him again and that his countrymen, whom the king had removed b from their own land to Babylonia, should come back with all the vessels of the temple, of which the king had despoiled it. But Jeremiah Jeremiah came forward and prophesied the truth, which was prophesies the fall of the contrary of this, namely that they were doing Jerusalem. the king a wrong and deceiving him, and that no 7 (LXX good would come to them from the Egyptians, but xliv. 7). that, when the Babylonian king had defeated them, he would lead an army against Jerusalem and besiege it and destroy the people by famine, carry off the survivors into captivity, plunder their possessions and, after carrying off the wealth in the temple, burn this itself and raze the city, "and we shall be slaves to The him and his descendants for seventy years. At that prophecy time, by overthrowing the Babylonians, the Persians years' and Medes will free us from servitude to them, Jer. xxix. 10 and, when we have been sent back by them to this (LXX XXXVI. land, we shall once more build the temple and restore Jerusalem." d In saving these things Jeremiah was believed by most of the people, but their leaders and the impious men ridiculed him as though he

^c The return of the vessels is an unscriptural detail.

^b Emended text; Mss. "and would not remove his countrymen."

The Medes and Persians are not mentioned in the prophecy of Jeremiah; this detail is probably based on 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, "... and they were servants to him [Nebuchadnezzar] and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia" (Lxx "the Medes").

αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐξεφαύλιζον. δόξαν δὲ αὐτῶ που¹ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα παραγενέσθα λεγομένην 'Αναθώθ σταδίους δ' ἀπέχουσαν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων εἴκοσι, συντυχών κατά την όδον των άρχόντων τις συλ-

λαβών κατέσχε, συκοφαντῶν ὡς πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυ-115 λωνίους αὐτομολοῦντα. ὁ δὲ ψευδῆ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἔλεγεν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ, βαδίζειν δ' αὐτὸν έφασκεν είς την πατρίδα. ὁ δ' οὐ πεισθείς άλλά λαβων αὐτὸν ήγαγεν εἰς δίκην πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ύφ' ων πασαν αικίαν και βασάνους ύπομείνας έφυλάττετο πρός τιμωρίαν. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα διηγεν ούτως, άδίκως πάσχων τὰ προειρημένα.

116 (4) "Ετει δ' ενάτω της Σαχχίου βασιλείας καὶ ήμέρα δεκάτη τοῦ δεκάτου μηνὸς στρατεύει τὸ δεύτερον ο τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεύς ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ προσκαθίσας αὐτῆ μῆνας ὀκτωκαίδεκα μετά πάσης πολιορκεί φιλοτιμίας. συνεπέθετο δέ είς ταὐτό πολιορκουμένοις τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις δύο τὰ μέγιστα τῶν παθῶν, λιμὸς καὶ φθορὰ λοιμική,

1 + καὶ RO. 2 συλλαβὼν MSPLV: vinctum Lat.

About 21 miles (an unscriptural detail, of course). On

the supposed site 'Anātā' cf. Basor nr. 63, Oct. 1936, pp. 22 ff.

Bibl. "in the gate of Benjamin" (in Jerusalem).

Heb. "master of the watch" (A.V. "captain of the ward"), LXX "a man with whom he lodged." His name is given in Scripture as Irijah (Yir'îyāh). This last detail is unscriptural.

J So LXX translates Heb. sārîm (A.V. "princes"); cf.

Or (punctuating differently) "he remained, so unjustly suffering," etc.

a Scripture at this point has "the land of Benjamin," but cf. Jer. i. 1, "The words of Jeremiah, the son of Hilkiah, of the priests who were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 114-116

were out of his mind. Now once, when he had de-Jeremiah is cided to go to his native place, called Anathoth, a imprisoned which is twenty stades b distant from Jerusalem, treason. there met him on the road c one of the magistrates, 212 (LXX xliv. who seized and held him, falsely charging him with 12). deserting to the Babylonians. But Jeremiah said that he was bringing a false accusation against him and asserted that he was travelling to his home. The other, however, was not convinced and took him and brought him to trial before the magistrates, at whose hands he suffered every form of indignity and ill-treatment and was kept under guard for punishment. And for some time he remained thus, suffering the unjust treatment 9 here described.

(4) In the ninth year of the reign of Sacchias, on Nebuchadthe tenth day h of the tenth month, the king of hesizer again Babylon marched a second time against Jerusalem Jerusalem. and, encamping before it, besieged it with the utmost xxv. 1; Jer. energy for eighteen months. And, as the inhabit-xxxix.1 ants of Jerusalem were under siege, they were lii. 4. attacked by two of the greatest of calamities, famine and pestilence, which fell upon them severely.

A So Heb. and LXX Jer. lii. and Heb. 2 Kings; the day of the month is not given in Heb. Jer. xxxix. or in Lxx Jer. xxxix. (xlvi.) and 2 Kings.

i So Heb. in all passages and most LXX Mss. in 2 Kings (v.ll. 12th month, 2nd month); LXX Jer. lii. 9th month.

Josephus forgets that he has already written about two campaigns against Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, the first in Jehoiakim's reign (§ 96), the second in Jehoiachin's reign

* Scripture states that the siege lasted from the 10th month of Zedekiah's 9th year to the 4th month of his 11th year (which equals 18 months).

Both famine and pestilence are mentioned in Jer. xxxviii.

2, only the famine in Jer. lii. and 2 Kings.

117 ἐνσκήψαντα σφοδρῶς. ἐν δὲ τῆ εἰρκτῆ τυγχάνων ό προφήτης Ἱερεμίας οὐχ ἡσύχαζεν, ἀλλὶ ἐκεκράγει καὶ ἐκήρυσσε παραινῶν τῷ πλήθει δέξασθαι τὸν Βαβυλώνιον ἀνοίξαντας τὰς πύλας σωθήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς πανοικὶ τοῦτο πράξαντας, εἰ δὲ μή, δια-

118 φθαρήσεσθαι. προύλεγεν δ΄ ώς εἶ μὲν ἐπιμένοι τις ἐν τῆ πόλει πάντως ἀπολεῖται θατέρῳ ἢ λιμῷ δαπανηθεὶς ἢ σιδήρῳ τῷ τῶν πολεμίων, εἶ δὲ φύγοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, διαδράσεται τὸν θάνατον.

119 οὐδὲ¹ ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ² ὅντες τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπίστευον οί³ ταῦτ' ἀκούοντες τῶν ἡγεμόνων,⁴ ἀλλὰ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀπήγγελλον ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κατηγοροῦντες ἠξίουν⁵ κτεῖναι τὸν προφήτην ὡς μεμηνότα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν προκατακλῶντα καὶ ταῖς τῶν χειρόνων καταγγελίαις τὸ πρόθυμον ἐκλύοντα τοῦ πλήθους· ἔτοιμον γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος κινδυνεῦσαι,⁵ ὁ δὲ παρήνει² πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φεύγειν, ἀλώσεσθαι λέγων τὴν πόλιν καὶ πάντας⁵ ἀπολεῖσθαι.

120 (5) 'O δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ χρηστότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ἰδία παρωξύνθη, ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀπεχθάνηται παρὰ τοιοῦτον καιρὸν ἀντιπράττων αὐτῶν τῆ προαιρέσει, τὸν προφήτην
 121 ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὅτι ἂν θέλωσιν. οί³ δὲ τοῦτο

¹ οὐδὲ] καὶ οἱ μὲν οὐδὲ (οὐδ' LV) SPLV: καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦ

πλήθους οὐκ Ε.
² δὲ οm. MSP: τοῦ πλήθους LV.

8 oi om. LV.

4 τῶν ἡγεμόνων] οἱ δὲ (δ' Ε) ἡγεμόνες LVE.

5 ήξίουν ex Lat. (poscebant) Niese: καὶ ἤτιῶντο ROM: κατητιῶντο rell.

9 ώς ROM.

 ⁶ Niese: κινδυνεύσειν SPLV: pugnare Lat.: om. ROM.
 ⁷ ex Lat. Niese: ἀπειλεῖ codd.
 ⁸ πάντως MSPLV.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 117-121

The prophet Jeremiah, however, who was in prison, Jeremiah did not remain quiet but cried his message aloud in prison urges and urged the people to open the gates and admit surrender. the Babylonian king; for, he said, if they did so, I(LXX XIV. they would be saved together with their families, 1). but if not, they would be destroyed. He also foretold that anyone who remained in the city would certainly perish in one of two ways, being made an end of either by famine or by the sword of the enemy, but that anyone who fled to the enemy would escape death. Nevertheless not even though they were in these straits did those of the leaders who heard his words believe him, but went in anger and reported them to the king and, denouncing Jeremiah, asked him to put the prophet to death as a madman who was breaking down their spirit beforehand and by his predictions of disaster was weakening the ardour of the people, who, they said, were ready to risk their lives for him and their country, while the prophet was urging them a to flee to the enemy, saying that the city would be taken and they would all b perish.

(5) Now the king himself, because of his goodness zedekiah and sense of justice, was in no way personally re-releases sentful but, in order not to incur the hostility of from principles. the leaders by opposing their wishes at such a time, 5 (LXX xlv. he gave them leave to do as they liked with the 5).

" Emended text: Mss. "threatened."

b Variant "certainly."

^c Cf. § 103 where Josephus, in agreement with Scripture, describes Zedekiah as a wicked king. According to rabbinic tradition "he was so good and pious that for his sake God relinquished his purpose of returning the world to its original chaos as a punishment for the evil-doing of a wicked generation" (Ginzberg iv. 294).

έφέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν εἰσελθόντες καὶ παραλαβόντες αὐτὸν εἴς τινα λάκκον βορβόρου πλήρη καθίμησαν, ὅπως ἰδίω θανάτω πνιγεὶς ἀποθάνη. ὁ δὲ πρὸὶ τοῦ αὐχένος ὑπὸ τοῦ

122 πηλοῦ² περισχεθεὶς ἐν τούτοις ἦν. τῶν δ' οἰκετῶν τις τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τιμῆ τυγχάνων Αἰθίοψ τὸ γένος τὸ περὶ τὸν προφήτην πάθος ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ, φάσκων οὐκ ὀρθῶς ταῦτα τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῦ πεποιηκέναι καταποντίσαντας εἰς βόρβορον τὸν προφήτην καὶ τοῦ διὰ τῶν δεσμῶν θανάτου πικρότερον οὕτως ἐσόμενον ἐπινοήσαντας

123 κατ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μετανοήσας ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοῦναι τὸν προφήτην τοῖς ήγεμόσιν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Αἰθίοπα τριάκοντα τῶν βασιλικῶν παραλαβόντα καὶ σχοινία καὶ πᾶν ὁ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ προφήτου σωτηρίαν ἐπινοεῖν χρήσιμον μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνελκύσαι τὸν Ἱερεμίαν. ὁ δ' Αἰθίοψ παραλαβὼν οῦς ἐπετάγη ἀνέσπασεν ἐκ τοῦ βορβόρου τὸν προφήτην καὶ διαφῆκεν ἀφύλακτον.
124 (6) Μεταπεμψαμένου δ' αὐτὸν κρύφα τοῦ βασι-

124 (6) Μεταπεμψαμένου δ' αὐτον κρύφα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τί δύναται φράζειν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σημαίνειν ἐρομένου, ἔχειν μὲν ἔλεγεν, οὐ πιστευθήσεσθαι δ' εἰπὼν οὐδὲ παραινέσας

usque ad Lat.: πρὸς Cocceji: ἀπὸ Niese.
 ex Lat. Cocceji: πλήθους codd. E.
 3 Ernesti: ἐν codd.

⁴ τὴν . . . σωτηρίαν ed. pr.: τῆ . . . σωτηρία codd.
⁵ ἐπινοεῖ MSP.

a Lit. "die by his own death."

b Emended text; the Ms. reading, "held fast by the multitude," is obviously corrupt.

O Josephus, unlike the LXX, takes the Heb. Ebed-melech ("servant of the king") as a noun phrase instead of a 224

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 121-124

prophet. As soon as the king had given them this leave, they went into the prison, took him away and let him down by ropes into a pit full of mud in order that he might suffocate and die by his own hand, as it were.a And so he remained there, held fast in the mud b up to his neck. But one of the king's servants, an Ethiopian by race, who enjoyed his favour, reported the sad plight of the prophet to the king and argued that his friends and the leaders had done wrong to sink the prophet in mud and devise for him a death that would be so much more painful than one by imprisonment in chains.d When the king heard this, he repented of having delivered the prophet to the leaders, and ordered the Ethiopian to take thirty of the king's men with ropes and whatever he might think of use o in rescuing the prophet, and draw up Jeremiah with all haste. So the Ethiopian took the men as instructed and pulled the prophet up out of the mud and released him from confinement.

(6) Now, when the king sent for him secretly and Zedekiah asked him what message he could give him from God consults and what course he could indicate in the present Jeremiah Jer, xxxviii, circumstances, the prophet replied that he had some-14 (Lxx ziv. thing to say but would not be believed if he spoke 14).

personal name. Scripture adds that he was a eunuch (LXX, however, omits this detail).

d Amplification. In Scripture the Ethiopian says merely that the nobles have done wrong to leave Jeremiah to starve.

· According to Scripture the king does not instruct the Ethiopian how to release Jeremiah, but the Ethiopian takes "old cast clouts and old rags" and lets them down to Jeremiah in order that he may put them under his armpits when he is drawn up.

Bibl. "And Jeremiah remained in the court of the

prison."

άκουσθήσεσθαι, "άλλὰ τί δή με κακὸν εἰργασμένον απολέσαι διέγνωσαν οί σοὶ φίλοι," φησί, " καὶ ποῦ νῦν εἰσιν οἱ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον οὐκέθ' ἡμῖν έπιστρατεύσειν³ φάσκοντες καὶ ἀπατῶντες ὑμᾶς: εὐλαβοῦμαι δὲ νῦν γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν, μή με

125 κατακρίνης θανάτω." τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὅρκους αὐτῷ δόντος ώς οὕτε αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀναιρήσει οὕτε τοις ήγεμόσιν εκδώσει, θαρσήσας τη δεδομένη πίστει συνεβούλευσεν αὐτῶ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν

126 τοις Βαβυλωνίοις ταθτα δέ αὐτῶ τὸν θεὸν δι' αὐτοθ προφητεύειν έλεγεν, εί γε βούλεται σώζεσθαι καὶ τον έφεστωτα κίνδυνον διαφυγείν και μήτε την πόλιν είς έδαφος πεσείν, μήτε τον ναον έμπρησθήναι μή πεισθέντα γάρ αὐτὸν τούτων παραίτιον ἔσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν τοῖς πολίταις καὶ αύτῷ πανοικὶ

127 της συμφοράς. ό δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας βούλεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸς ἔφη ποιεῖν ἃ παραινεῖ καὶ λέγει συνοίσειν αὐτῷ γινόμενα, δεδιέναι δὲ τούς αὐτομολήσαντας των όμοφύλων προς τούς Βαβυλωνίους, μη δια-

128 βληθείς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶ βασιλεῖ κολασθῆ. παρεθάρσυνε δε αὐτὸν ὁ προφήτης καὶ μάτην ὑπονοεῖν την τιμωρίαν έλεγεν οὐδενὸς γάρ κακοῦ πειραθήσεσθαι παραδόντα τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις οὕτ' αὐτὸν

¹ ἀλλὰ τί δή με Naber: ἀλλ' ώς δὴ μέγα Μ: ἀλλὰ δὴ μέγα RO: ἀλλὰ τί δὴ μέγα SPV: ἀλλὰ τὸ δὴ μέγα L. ² κακόν τι ROM.

³ ex Lat. Hudson: ἐπιστρατεύειν codd.

⁴ ex Lat. Niese: λεγομένη codd. 5 ἐμπρησθῆναι μὴ πεισθέντα ex seqq. in Lat. (quod si non fieret) Hudson: έμπρησθέντα codd.: έμπρησθήναι Ε: concremari Lat.

⁶ traderet civitatem Lat.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 124-128

nor would his advice be listened to. "But what wrong have I done," a he asked, "that your friends have determined to destroy me, and where now are those who asserted that the Babylonian king would not march against us again, and so deceived you? I am, indeed, afraid now to speak the truth lest you condemn me to death." But, as the king gave him his oath that he himself would neither put him to death nor deliver him to the leaders, he was encouraged by the pledge thus given and advised him to surrender the city to the Babylonians. This, he said, God prophesied to the king through him, if, indeed, he wished to be saved and to escape the impending danger and not have the city brought down to the ground and the temple burned; for, if he disobeyed (this warning),d he would be the cause of these calamities to the inhabitants of the city and of the disaster to himself and all his house. The king, upon hearing this, said that he himself wished to do what Jeremiah advised and what he said it would be to his interest to have done, but that he was afraid of those who had deserted to the Babylonians, for he might be denounced by them to the king and punished. The prophet, however, bade him take courage, and said that his apprehension of punishment was groundless, for he should suffer no harm by surrendering to the Babylonians, neither

Scripture.

Emended text; Mss. "spoken."

^e Emended text; the best Ms. reading, "But what great wrong have (I) done," omits the subject $(\mu \epsilon)$.

b This reference to the false prophets is an addition to

d The words "for if he disobeyed" are conjecturally supplied from the Lat. by Hudson. Niese suspects a lacuna after "burned."

οὔτε τὰ τέκνα οὔτε τὰς γυναῖκας, μενεῖν¹ δὲ καὶ τὸν 129 ναὸν άπαθῆ. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἱερεμίαν ταῦτ' εἰπόντα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσε, προστάξας αὐτῷ πρὸς μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξενεγκεῖν τὰ δόξαντ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μηδέ τοις ήγεμόσιν, εί μαθόντες αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετάπεμπτον γεγονέναι πυνθάνονται τί κληθείς έἴποι πρὸς αὐτόν, φράζειν τι τούτων, ἀλλὰ σκήπτεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι δεηθείη μὴ ἐν δεσμῷ

130 τυγχάνειν καὶ φυλακῆ. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς έλεγεν επυνθάνοντο γάρ ελθόντες πρός τον προφήτην τί περὶ αὐτῶν ἀφίκοιτο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα σκήπτεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐλέχθη. 131 (viii. 1) Τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὁ

Βαβυλώνιος έντεταμένως σφόδρα καὶ προθύμως εἴχετο· πύργους τε γάρ μεγάλων οἰκοδομήσας χωμάτων, ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνεῖργε τοὺς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφεστῶτας, καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τὸν κύκλον ὅλον ἤγειρε

132 χώματα τοῖς τείχεσι τὸ τψος ἴσα. καρτερῶς δὲ* καὶ προθύμως ἔφερον οἱ ἐντὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν. ἔκαμνον γὰρ οὕτε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν οὕτε πρὸς τὴν νόσον τὴν λοιμικήν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἔνδον ὑπὸ τοὑτων ἐλαυνόμενοι τῶν παθῶν, τὰς ψυχὰς ἔρρωντο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, μηδέ πρὸς τὰς ἐπινοίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα καταπληττόμενοι, άλλ' ἀντιμηχανήματα πρός πάντα τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀντ-

133 επινοοθντες ώς είναι τον όλον άγωνα και τοις Βαβυλωνίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις τῆς ὀξύτητος

² σκέπτεσθαι LV. ¹ Dindorf: μένειν codd. Ε. sunt gesta Lat.: ἐπράχθη conj. Hudson: συνηνέχθη Niese.
⁴ τε ROLV.
⁵ Dindorf: μήτε codd.

a The temple is not mentioned at this point (Jer. xxxviii. 17) in Scripture.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 128-133

he himself nor his children nor his wives, and that the temple, moreover, should remain unharmed.a And so, after Jeremiah had spoken in this way, the king dismissed him, ordering him not to divulge to any of the citizens what they had decided on and not even to say anything about these matters to the leaders b if they should learn that he had been summoned by the king and should ask what Jeremiah had said to him when he was called, but should pretend to them that he had pleaded not to be kept in chains and under guard. And this, in fact, was what he did tell them. For they came to the prophet and asked what kind of story he had made up about them c when he came to the king. This, then, is what was said.d

(viii. 1) Now the Babylonian king applied himself The Jews very strenuously and zealously to the siege of Jeru-resist the salem; he built towers on great earthworks from Babylon-reliable these salem is about the sale of t which he kept back those stationed on the walls, 2 Kings xxv and also erected round the whole circuit (of the city) 1; Jer, lii, 4. many earthworks equal in height to the walls. But those within bore the siege with courage and spirit, for they did not weaken under either famine or disease, but, although plagued internally by these afflictions, opposed stout hearts to the war; neither were they dismayed at the devices and engines of their foes, but on their side devised engines to check all those used by the enemy, so that the contest between the Babylonians and the people of Jerusalem was wholly one of cleverness and skill, one

b Josephus here renders differently from the LXX the Heb. sārîm (A.V. " princes ") which above (§ 114) he followed the LXX in translating by ἄρχοντες " magistrates."

Variant "what he had inquired about them." 4 Text uncertain; Lat. "this is what was done."

καὶ συνέσεως, τῶν μὲν πλέον ἐν ταύτη δυνηθηναι την αίρεσιν οἰομένων είναι της πόλεως, των δε την σωτηρίαν έν οὐκ ἄλλω τιθεμένων η έν τω μη καμείν μηδ' άπειπείν άντεφευρίσκοντας οίς μάταια

134 τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπελεγχθήσεται μηχανήματα. καὶ ταθθ' ὑπέμειναν ἐπὶ μῆνας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔως οδ διεφθάρησαν ύπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῶν βελῶν, ἄπερ από των πύργων είς αὐτοὺς ἡκόντιζον οἱ πολέμιοι.

135 (2) 'Ηιρέθη δ' ή πόλις ένδεκάτω έτει τῆς Σαγχίου βασιλείας τοῦ τετάρτου μηνὸς τῆ ἐνάτη ἡμέρα. είλον δ' οὖν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, οἶς επίστευσε την πολιορκίαν ο Ναβουχοδονόσορος· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐν ᾿Αραβλαθᾶιο διέτριβε πόλει. τὰ δὲ των ήγεμόνων ονόματα, εί τις επιζητήσειε γνωναι, οίτινες τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πορθήσαντες ὑπέταξαν, ἦν Νηρεγάλσαρος, 'Αρέμαντος, Σεμέγαρος, Ναβώ-136 σαρις, 10 'Αχαράμψαρις. 11 άλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως

1 τὸ πλέον Ernesti. 3 ἀναίρεσιν MSP. 3 έν οὐκ ἄλλω τιθεμένων] οὐκ ἐν ἄλλω τινὶ θεμένων LV.

4 ἀντεξευρίσκοντες LV: ἀντεξευρίσκοντας Naber.

δ' οὖν] γοῦν SPLV.
 Niese: ᾿Αραβαθᾶ RMSLV Lat.: ᾿Αραμαθᾶ OP: 'Pa-

μαθά Ε: 'Ρεβλαθώ ed. pr.

⁷ ἢν Νηριγάλταρος conj.: ἢν Ἡρεγάλσαρος RO: Νὴρ Εὐα-λέαρος Μ: ἢν Ῥευαλέαρος S: ἦν Ῥεγλάσαρος Ῥευαλέαρος P: ην (+ ταῦτα V) 'Ρεγλάσαρος LV: haec sunt Nergellasar Lat.

 ⁸ ᾿Αρέμμαντος SPLV: Arrematus Lat.
 ⁹ Ἐμέγαρος ROM: Σεμεγάρος L.
 ¹⁰ Ναβωσάρης Ο: Μαβώσαρις Μ: Μαβωσάρις S: Ναβωσάρις L: Nabusar Lat.

11 'Αχαραμψάρης Ο: 'Εχαραμψαρίς MV: 'Εχαραμψάρις SPL:

Charamsaris Lat.

^a Variant "destruction."

b Josephus greatly amplifies the bibl. account of the siege, probably, as Weill suggests, having in mind the siege of Jerusalem by Titus.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 133-136

side thinking that the capture a of the city could be more easily effected in this way, while the other placed its hope of deliverance solely in not wearying or giving up the search for counter-devices by which the engines of their foes might be rendered useless. And thus they held out for eighteen months until they were exhausted by the famine and by the missiles which the enemy hurled at them from the towers.b

(2) The city was taken in the eleventh year of The fall of the reign of Sacchias, on the ninth day of the fourth Jerusalem (586 B.C.). month. And those who captured it were the com- Jer. xxxix 2 manders of the Babylonian army, to whom Nebuchad-(LXX xlvi, 2). nezzar had entrusted the siege, for he himself was staying in the city of Arablatha.c As for the names of the commanders to whom the sack of Jerusalem was assigned, if anyone should desire to know them, they were Nēregalsaros, Aremantos, Semegaros, Nabosaris and Acharampsaris.d Now the city was

^c Conjectured form; Mss. Arabatha, Aramatha; bibl. Riblah, Lxx 'Ρεβλαθά, v.l. Δεβλαθά. Scripture adds (Jer. xxxix. 5) that it was in the land of Hamath. It is the modern Ribleh in the valley between Mt. Lebanon and Mt. Hermon, on the right bank of the Orontes river, c. 50 miles S.W. of

Hamath.

It seems hopeless to conjecture the original forms of these names in Josephus's text in view of the confusion both in the Heb. and Gr. texts of Scripture. It may suffice to transcribe the (six) names as given in Heb. and LXX (Josephus's forms. like those of LXX, indicate that the names were divided differently from the way in which our present Heb. text gives them): Nergal-sar'eşer, Samgar-nebô, Sarsekim, Rab-sāris, Nergal-sar'eser (bis), Rab-mag; Μαργανασάρ καὶ Σαμαγώθ (Cod. A Νηργέλ Σασάσαρ Έισσαμαγάθ) και Ναβουσαχάρ και Ναβουσαρείς, Ναγαργασνασέρ, 'Ραβαμάθ (cod. A 'Ραβαμάκ). According to S. Feigin, Journal of Biblical Literature, xlv. (1926) 155, the text of Jer. xxxix. 3 should read, "... Nebuzardan, the cook, Nebushazban, the omina-priest i.e. inspector of omens), Nergal-sareser, the high priest (?)."

περὶ μέσην νύκτα καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν πολεμίων εἰσελθόντων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, γνοὺς ὁ Σαχχίας ὁ βασιλεύς, παραλαβὼν τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς φίλους φεύγει μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διὰ τῆς καρτερᾶς φάραγγος καὶ διὰ

137 της έρημου. φρασάντων δέ τοῦτό τινων αὐτομόλων τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις, ὑπὸ τὸν ὅρθρον ὤρμησαν διώκειν αὐτόν, καταλαβόντες δὲ οὐκ ἄπωθεν Ἱεριχοῦντος ἐκυκλώσαντο αὐτόν· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες οἱ συμφυγόντες τῷ Σαχχία ἐπεὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγγὺς ὄντας εἶδον, καταλιπόντες αὐτὸν διεσπάρησαν ἄλλος

138 ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ σώζειν έαυτὸν ἔκαστος ἔγνω. περιλειφθέντα δ'¹ αὐτὸν σὺν ὀλίγοις ζωγρήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἤγαγον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. παραγενόμενον δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἀσεβῆ καὶ παράσπονδον ἀποκαλεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ ἀμνήμονα² τῶν πρόσω³ λόγων, οῦς ἐποιήσατο σώζειν⁴ αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν ὑποσχό-

139 μενος. ὧνείδιζε δὲ καὶ ἀχαριστίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ μὲν λαβόντι τὴν βασιλείαν (Ἰωαχίμου γὰρ αὐτὴν οὖσαν ἀφελόμενον ἐκείνω δοῦναι) χρησαμένω δὲ τῆ δυνάμει κατὰ τοῦ παρασχόντος '' ἀλλὰ μέγας,'' εἶπεν, '' ὁ θεός, δς μισήσας σου τὸν τρόπον ὑπο-

⁸ Ε: χρησαμένων Μ: χρησάμενον rell.

τε RO.
 ² ἀγνώμονα SPLV.
 ³ πρὸ τοῦ Cocceji.
 ⁴ σώσειν Niese.

⁵ Naber: Ἰωκείμου ROE: Ἰακίμου M: Ἰωακίμου SP: Ἰωναζίμου L¹: Ἰεχονίου L marg.: Ἰεχωνίου V: ab eius fratre Lat.

^a Or "steep valley" (?). The above translation is preferable if we assume that Josephus has in mind the scriptural detail "by way of the gate between the two walls." According to rabbinic tradition Zedekiah tried to escape through a 232

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 136-139

taken about midnight and when Sacchias learned that the enemy commanders had entered the temple, he took his wives and children and his officers and friends and fled with them from the city through the fortified valley a and through the wilderness. But, when some deserters told the Babylonians of this, they started out at dawn in pursuit of him and overtook him not far from Jericho, where they surrounded him. And, when the friends and officers of Sacchias who had fled with him saw the enemy close upon them, they abandoned him and scattered in different directions, each one determined to save himself.c So Sacchias was left with only a few men Capture of round him, and the enemy captured him alive and Zedekiah. brought him with his children and wives to the king. xxv. 6; Jer. xxxix. 5 And, when he came before him, Nebuchadnezzar (LXX xlv. 5) began to denounce him as an impious wretch and a Jer. lii. violator of treaties who had forgotten d the words which he had spoken earlier when he had promised to keep the country safely for him. He also reproached him for his ingratitude in having first received the kingdom from him-for Nebuchadnezzar had taken it away from Jōacheimos, to whom it belonged, and given it to him-and then used his power against the one who had bestowed it on "But," he said, "great is God who in His abhorrence of your conduct has made you fall into

cave extending from his house to Jericho, cf. Ginzberg iv. 293.

Amplification of Jer. lii. 8, "... and all his army was scattered from him."

d Variant "ignored."

b Unscriptural detail. Rabbinic tradition explains that the Babylonians stumbled on Zedekiah while hunting a deer sent by God, cf. Ginzberg, ibid.

140 χείριον ἡμῖν ἔθηκε.' χρησάμενος δὲ τούτοις πρὸς Σαχχίαν τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀνελεῖν καὶ τοὺς φίλους παραχρῆμα,¹ αὐτοῦ² τε Σαχχίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων βλεπόντων, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκόψας τοῦ Σαχχίου δήσας ἤγαγεν εἰς

141 Βαβυλώνα. καὶ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ συνέβη, ἃ 'Ιερεμίας τε καὶ 'Ιεζεκίηλος προεφήτευσαν αὐτῷ, ὅτι συλληφθεὶς ἀχθήσεται πρὸς τὸν Βαβυλώνιον καὶ λαλήσει αὐτῷ κατὰ στόμα καὶ ὄψεται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν 'Ιερεμίας εἶπε, τυφλωθεὶς δὲ καὶ ἀχθεὶς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ταύτην οὐκ

είδε, καθώς 'Ιεζεκίηλος προείπε.

142 (3) Ταῦτα μεν οὖν ἱκανῶς ἐμφανίσαι δυνάμενα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν εἰρήκαμεν, ὅτι ποικίλη τέ ἐστι καί³ πολύτροπος καὶ καθ' ὥραν ἀπαντῷ⁴ τεταγμένως, ἅ τε δεῖ γενέσθαι προλέγει, τήν τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀπιστίαν, ὑφ' ἦς οὐδὲν προϊδεῖν εἰάθησαν τῶν ἀποβησομένων, ἀφύλακτοι δὲ ταῖς συμφοραῖς παρεδόθησαν, ὡς ἀμήχανον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν πεῖραν διαφυγεῖν.

143 (4) Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους βασιλεύσαντες οὕτως κατέστρεψαν τὸν βίον, εἴκοσι μὲν καὶ εἶς γενόμενοι μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως, ἔτη δὲ πάντες βασιλεύσαντες πεντακόσια καὶ δεκατέσσαρα καὶ μῆνας εξ καὶ ἡμέρας δέκα ἐξ⁵ ὧν

² όρῶντος αὐτοῦ (αὐτοὺς LV) SPLVE.

¹ ἐκέλευσεν . . . παραχρῆμα] ἐκέλευσε καὶ τοὺς φίλους παραχρῆμα (παραχ. κ. τ. φίλους tr. MS) θῦσαι MSPLVE.

³ καὶ πάντα MSPLV. ⁴ ἄπαντα ROL Lat.

⁵ δέκα έξ] ις' VE: δέκα έξ L Zonaras.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 140-143

our hands." ^a After addressing Sacchias in these terms, he ordered his sons and his friends to be put to death on the spot ^b while Sacchias himself and the other captives looked on, and then, having put out Sacchias's eyes, he bound him in chains and took him off to Babylon. And thus there befell him what both Jeremiah and Ezekiel had prophesied to him, namely that he would be captured and brought to the Babylonian king and speak to him to his face and with his own eyes look into his eyes, which is what Jeremiah had said; furthermore, being blinded and taken to Babylon, he did not see it, as Ezekiel had foretold.^c

(3) These things, then, which we have related On the inshould make sufficiently clear to those who do not of divine know, how varied and manifold is the nature of prophecy.

God and how those things which He foretells must come to pass, duly take place at the appointed hour, and should also make clear the ignorance and disbelief of these men, by which they were prevented from foreseeing any of these future events and, when they were delivered over to disaster, were taken off their guard, so that any attempt to escape from it was impossible for them.

>(4) Thus, then, did the kings of David's line end their lives; there were twenty-one d of them including the last king, and they reigned altogether for five hundred and fourteen years, six months and

These remarks on Nebuchadnezzar's behaviour and speech are an addition to Scripture.

b Variant "his sons to be put to death and his friends to be slaughtered (lit. "sacrificed") on the spot."

^c Cf. § 106 note a.

⁴ Excluding Queen Athaliah (who was not of David's line).

εἴκοσι τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς Σαοῦλος οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς ὑπάρχων.

144 (5) 'Ο δὲ Βαβυλώνιος πέμπει τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν Ναβουζαρδάνην¹ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συλήσοντα τὸν ναόν, προστάξας ἄμα καὶ καταπρῆσαι αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τήν τε πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος καθελεῖν

145 καὶ τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν μεταστῆσαι. ὅς γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐνδεκάτω ἔτει τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας συλῷ τε τὸν ναὸν καὶ βαστάζει τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λουτῆρα ὅν Σολομὼν ἀνέθηκεν, ἔτι γε μὴν τοὺς στύλους τοὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν τάς τε χρυσᾶς τραπέζας καὶ τὰς λυχνίας.

146 βαστάσας δη ταῦτα ἀνῆψε τὸν ναὸν μηνὶ πέμπτῳ τῆ νουμηνία ένδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας,

^a Variant 16 days.

b Probably we should read πάρεξ ὧν εἴκοσι "exclusive of the 20 years during which," etc. If we exclude the 20 years of Saul's reign (cf. Ant. vi. 378 note f), we have here 514 years 6 months 10 days for the period between David and the destruction of the temple, which agrees with the chronology given below (§ 147) for the period between the building of the temple and its destruction, i.e. 470 years 6 months 10 days, by adding to this figure the 4 preceding years of Solomon's reign and the 40 years of David's. But the actual total of the regnal years of the kings of Judah from David to Zedekiah, as given by Josephus, appears to be 507 years 6 months 20 days reckoned as follows:

David	40	ears	(An	t. vii.	.389)	Jehoash	40	years	(Ant.	ix.	158, 172)
Solomon	80	31	(,,	viii.	211)	Amaziah	29	,,	(,,	11	204)	
Rehoboam	17	22	(,,	"	264)	Uzziah	52	12	(,,	22	227)	
Abijah Asa	41	22	> "	**	285) 314)	Jotham	16	"	(,,	22	243)	
Jehoshaphat		"	2"	ix.	44)	Ahaz	16	"	(,,	22	257)	
Jehoram	8	11	(",	22	104)	Hezekiah	29	27	(,,	x.	36)	
Ahaziah	1	,,	(,,	27	121)	Manasseh	55	,,,	(,,	12	46)	
000												

¹ Ναβουχαδάννην RO: Ναβουχαδάρνην M1: Nabuzardan Lat.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 143-146

ten days a; for twenty years of which time b their first king Saul held the royal power though he was

not of the same tribe.

(5) Then the Babylonian king sent his general End of Nabūzardanēs o to Jerusalem to despoil the temple, royal line, and ordered him at the same time to burn down both it and the palace and to raze the city to the ground and transplant the people to Babylonia. And, when he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of Sacchias's reign, he despoiled the temple and carried out the gold and silver vessels of God, in particular Destruction the great laver which Solomon had set up and even by the the bronze pillars and their capitals, as well as the Baby. golden tables d and the lampstands. And, when 2 Kings

he had carried these out, he set fire to the temple xxv. 8; on the new moon of the fifth month in the eleventh

Total, 507 years 6 months 20 days.

Thus there is a discrepancy of about 7 years between the dead reckoning of regnal years and the summarized chronology given above. If, however, we assume that Josephus inconsistently (cf. § 143 note d) counted in the 6 years of Athaliah (Ant. ix. 142) the discrepancy is reduced to about a year. Possibly Josephus would have accounted for the remaining period by explaining that to the dead reckoning we must add 6 months for David (Ant. vii. 389) and about 5 months for Zedekiah (Ant. x. 135).

· Bibl. Nebuzaradan, LXX Ναβουζαρδάν.

4 The golden tables are not specifically mentioned in Scripture. Moreover in Scripture the burning of the temple

precedes the carrying off of the vessels.

^e 2 Kings (Heb. and Lxx) "on the 7th (Luc. 9th) day of the month"; Jer. " on the 10th day of the month." Franz Kugler, Von Moses bis Paulus, pp. 474 f., assuming Josephus to have been an expert on the calendar, gives an elaborate mathematical explanation of this discrepancy.

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όκτωκαιδεκάτω δε της Ναβουχοδονοσόρου· ενέπρησε δε καὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέ-147 στρεψεν. ἐνεπρήσθη δε ὁ ναὸς μετὰ τετρακόσια ἔτη καὶ εβδομήκοντα καὶ μηνας εξ καὶ δέκα ἡμέρας, ἀφ' οὖ κατεσκευάσθη· τῆ δ' εξ Αἰγύπτου μεταναστάσει τοῦ λαοῦ τότε ἦν ἔτη χίλια εξηκονταδύο, μηνες εξ, ἡμέραι δέκα· τῷ δε κατακλυσμῷ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ

ένακοσίων πεντηκονταεπτά, μηνῶν ἔξ, ἡμερῶν 148 δέκα· ἐξ οὖ δ' ἐγεννήθη ὁ "Αδαμος μέχρι τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν συμβάντων ἔτη ἐστὶ τετρακισχίλια² πεντακόσια δεκατρία,³ μῆνες ἔξ, ἡμέραι δέκα. τοσοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸ τοὑτων τῶν ἐτῶν πλῆθος· ὅσα γε μὴν⁴ ἐπράχθη καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν συμβεβηκότων δεδηλώ-

ναοῦ πορθήσεως χρόνος ην ό πᾶς ἐτῶν χιλίων

149 καμεν. ό δὲ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως κατασκάψας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν λαὸν μεταναστήσας ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους τὸν ἀρχιερέα Σα-

κατέσκαψεν (-ψε L) LVE.
 τρισχίλια LVE Lat. Zonaras.
 γε μὴν Niese: μὴν ROLV: δὲ MSP.

a Bibl. 19th.

^b Cf. § 143 note b. But according to Ant. xx. 232 the high priesthood from Sadok to Josadak lasted 466 years. In the latter passage Josephus has carelessly subtracted 4 years from the 470 years of the temple's duration instead of adding 4, since Sadok was high priest in the first year of Solomon's reign, and the temple was built in the 4th year of his reign.

⁶ This chronology agrees with that given in *Ant.* vii. 68 and viii. 61 where the interval from the Exodus to the building of the temple is reckoned as 592 years (592+470=1062).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 146-149

year of Sacchias's reign, the eighteenth a of Nebuchadnezzar's. He also burnt the palace and demolished the city. Now the temple was burned Chronofour hundred and seventy years, six months and ten logical days after it was built b; from the migration of the people from Egypt it was an interval of one thousand and sixty-two years, six months and ten days c; from the flood to the sacking of the temple the whole period of time was one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven years, six months and ten days d; and from the birth of Adam to the time when these things happened to the temple it was an interval of four thousand e five hundred and thirteen f years, six months and ten days.9 This, then, is the number of years in question; as for the events that took place (during this time), we have related them severally, each in its place. Now, when the general Third of the Babylonian king had demolished Jerusalem deportation of Jews to and removed the people, he took captive the high Babylon.

But, as noted earlier (loc. cit.), it disagrees with the chronology given in Ant. xx. 230 and Ap. ii. 19 where the interval between the Exodus and the building of the temple is reckoned as 612 years. According to this latter figure, the interval between the Exodus and the destruction of the temple would be 1082 years.

d According to this reckoning the interval from the Flood to the building of the temple would be 1487 years (1957 - 470 =1487), which differs from the figure of 1440 years given in

Ant. viii. 61.

· Variant 3000. 1 Variant 10.

Neither this figure nor the variant 3513 can be reconciled with that of 3102 years given in Ant. viii. 62 as the interval between Adam and the building of the temple (this in turn varies from the chronology given in Ant. i. 82), for, if we add to 3102 the sum of 470 years as the duration of the temple, we get 3572 years as the total interval from Adam to the destruction of the temple. ραῖον καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν ἱερέα Σεφενίαν καὶ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὸ ίερὸν ἡγεμόνας (τρεῖς δὲ ἦσαν οῦτοι) καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν εὐνοῦχον καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Σαχχίου έπτὰ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας έξήκοντα, οὖς ἄπαντας μεθ' ὧν ἐσύλησε σκευῶν ἐκόμισε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰς

150 'Αραβλαθάν πόλιν της Συρίας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς τοῦ μεν άρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευσεν ἐκεῖ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὸν Σαχχίαν ἤγαγεν⁵ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα δέσμιον δ'ε ἐπήγετο καὶ Ἰωσάδακον' τὸν άργιερέα όντα υίὸν Σαραία τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ὅν ἀπέκτεινεν ό Βαβυλώνιος εν 'Αραβλαθά πόλει της Συρίας, ώς και πρότερον ήμιν δεδήλωται.

151 (6) Έπεὶ δὲ τὸ γένος διεξήλθομεν τὸ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τίνες ήσαν δεδηλώκαμεν καὶ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων είπειν τὰ ονόματα καὶ τίνες ήσαν οι τὴν ἀρχιερω-

¹ Σέβεον MSP: Σεβαΐον RO: Σαβαΐον Ε Zonaras: Saream Lat.

² αὐτοῦ MSP. 3 Σοφονίαν LV: Iosadach Lat.

⁴ Niese: Σαλάβαθα (-αν R) RO: Σαλαμαθᾶ MSP: Σαβολαθα LV: Arabatha Lat.: 'Ρέβλαθὰ ed. pr.
⁵ ἤγαγεν om. RO.
⁶ δ' om. RO.

⁵ ήγαγεν om. RO.
6 δ' om. RO.
7 Ἰωσάδωκον SP: Ἰωσάδοκον ML: Iosadach Lat.

^a Variants Sebeos, Sebaios (the MSS. read Saraios or Sareos below); bibl. Seraiah (Serāyāh), LXX Σαραίας; cf. § 153 note e.

^b Bibl. Zephaniah (Sephanyāhû), LXX Σοφονίας, Luc. Σαφανίας.

Variant "the priest with him"; the reading adopted above agrees more closely with Scripture where Zephaniah is called "the second priest."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 149-151

priest Saraios a and Sephenias, the priest next to 2 Kings him in rank, and the officers who guarded the temple xxv. 18; 24. -there were three of these d-and the eunuch in charge of the soldiers and seven e friends of Sacchias and his scribe and sixty other officers, all of whom he carried off, together with the vessels he had taken as spoil, to the king at Arablatha, f a city in Syria. As for the high priest and the officers, the king ordered their heads to be cut off there, while he himself took all the captives and Sacchias to Babylon; he also carried off in chains the high priest Josadakos, a son of the high priest Saraios, whom the Babylonian king had killed in Arablatha, a city in Syria, as we have already related.

(6) Since we have enumerated those who were of List of the royal line and have told who they were and what were the years (of their reigns), I have thought it necessary also to give the names of the high priests and tell who founded h the high priesthood in the

d Heb. "three keepers of the threshhold "(A.V. "door"; LXX "doorpost"). Josephus's phrase, "officers who guarded the temple," may reflect the Targum's rendering amark*layyā "temple-trustees."

So Jer.; 2 Kings 5.

1 Conjectured form; Mss. Salabatha, Salamatha, Sabolatha; bibl. Riblah, cf. § 135 note c.

Bibl. Jehozadak (Yehôsādāq), LXX Ἰωσαδάκ, v.l.

Ίωσεδέκ.

* Text and meaning doubtful; suggested reading "held" or "received." But according to 1 Chron. vi. 10 (Heb. v. 36) Azariah, in the fourth generation after Zadok, "was priest in the temple which Solomon built," apparently meaning that he was priest in Solomon's time. This is probably why Josephus says that he will write of those "who founded the high priesthood" (if καταδείξαντες here means "founded"), thus vaguely including the first four priests from Zadok, the contemporary of Solomon, to Azariah.

152 σύνην καταδείξαντες έπὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. πρῶτος μέν οὖν Σάδωκος ἀρχιερεὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ ναοῦ, ὃν Σολομὼν ῷκοδόμησε· μετ' αὐτὸν δ' ὁ νίὸς 'Αχιμᾶς διαδέχεται την τιμην καὶ μετὰ 'Αχιμαν 'Αζαρίας, τούτου δὲ Ἰώραμος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰωράμου Ἰως, μετ'

153 αὐτὸν δὲ 'Αξιώραμος, τοῦ δὲ 'Αξιωράμου Φιδέας, τοῦ δὲ Φιδέα Σουδαίας, τοῦ δὲ Σουδαία Ἰουῆλος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰώθαμος, Ἰωθάμου δὲ Οὐρίας, Οὐρία δὲ Νηρίας, Νηρία δὲ 'Ωδαίας, τοῦ δὲ Σαλλοῦμος, Σαλλούμου δὲ 'Ελκίας, 'Ελκία δ' "Αζαρος, τοῦ δὲ Ίωσάδακος ο αίγμαλωτισθείς είς Βαβυλώνα. οδτοι πάντες παις παρά πατρός διεδέξαντο την άρχιερωσύνην.

154 (7) Παραγενόμενος δ' είς Βαβυλώνα δ βασιλεύς Σαχχίαν μεν είχεν, ἄχρις οδ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐν είρκτη, θάψας δ' αὐτὸν βασιλικῶς τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἐκ

κατασχόντες ex Lat. (habuerunt) Cocceji.
 Ἰσώ SP: "Ισος L: Ἰσος V: "Ιος Ε.

3 Σουδέας MLVE.

4 Ἰούηλος MSP: Ἰοῦλος LV: Ἰουλος E: Hilus Lat.

5 'Ωδέας SPVE: Οὐδέας M.

6 Σαλούμος RO: Σάλουμος M: Σαλδούμος LV: Σάλδουμος Ε.

⁷ 'Αζαροακχώρ (-άκχωρ LV) Ε¹LV: Σαβαῖος Ε²: Zaroch Lat.: post "Aζapos lacunam statuit Niese.

8 παίδες ROMSP.

^a Bibl. Zadok (Sādôq), LXX Σαδώκ, Luc. Σαδδούκ. Cf. Ant. viii. 10 ff.

^b Bibl. Ahimaaz ('Ahîmā'aş), LXX 'Αχειμάας.

· So LXX; bibl. Azariah ('Azaryāh).

d From here on Josephus's list diverges considerably from Scripture (both Heb. and Lxx), where, after Azariah, the following names are given:

Johanan (Υόḥānān), ʾIωavás Azariah (ʿAzaryāh), ʾAζapías Amariah (ʾAmaryāh), ʾAμapías

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 152-154

period of the kings. The first to become high priest 1 Chron. of the temple which Solomon built was Sadok a; vi. 8 (Heb. after him his son Achimas b succeeded to the office, and after Achimas, Azarias, then his son Joramos, d next Jöramos's son Iös, after him Axiöramos, then Axioramos's son Phideas, then Phideas's son Sudaios, then Sūdaios's son Jūēlos, then Jūēlos's son Jōthamos, then Jothamos's son Urias, then Urias's son Nērias, then Nērias's son Ōdaias, then Odaias's son Sallūmos, then Sallumos's son Elkias, then Elkias's son Azaros, and finally Azaros's son Josadakos, who was taken captive to Babylon. In every case the son succeeded his father in the high priesthood.

(7) Now, when the king came to Babylon, he kept Death of Sacchias in prison until he died and then buried him Zedekiah in Babylon. royally, f after which he dedicated to his own gods Jer. xxxiv. 5

Ahitub ('Ahîţûb), 'Αχειτώβ Zadok (Sādôg), Σαδώκ Shallum, Σαλώμ (v.l. Σελλούμ) Hilkiah (Hilqîyāh), Χελκείας Azariah ('Azaryāh), 'Aζapías Seraiah (Serāyāh), Sapaias Jehozadak (Yehôṣādāq), Ἰωσαδάκ.

Still other names appear in the list given in the rabbinic

chronological work Seder Olam.

e In Ant. xx. 231 Josephus mentions 18 high priests of the first temple. In the present list there are only 17. Possibly the name Saraias (bibl. Seraiah) has been accidentally omitted after Azaros (bibl. Azariah) because of the similarity.

¹ Scripture does not tell explicitly how Zedekiah died and was buried, but cf. the prophecy in Jer. xxxiv. 5, " But thou shalt die in peace, and with the burnings of thy fathers . . . they shall burn (A.V. adds "odours") for thee and they shall lament thee "etc. Rabbinic tradition agrees with Josephus in stating that Zedekiah received royal burial in Babylonia, though the rabbis do not all agree as to whether Zedekiah was released from prison before or after Nebuchadnezzar's death, cf. Ginzberg vi. 383, 428.



τοῦ 'Ιεροσολύμων συληθέντα ναοῦ ἀνέθηκε τοῖς ἰδίοις θεοῖς, τὸν δὲ λαὸν κατώκισεν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίτιδι χώρᾳ, τὸν δ' ἀρχιερέα ἀπέλυσε τῶν

δεσμῶν.

155 (ix. 1) 'O δὲ στρατηγὸς Ναβουζαρδάνης αἰχμαλωτίσας τὸν τῶν 'Εβραίων λαὸν τοὺς πένητας
καὶ αὐτομόλους ἐκεῖ κατέλιπεν, ἀποδείξας αὐτῶν
ἡγεμόνα Γαδαλίαν¹ ὅνομα 'Αϊκάμου² παῖδα τῶν εὖ
γεγονότων ἐπιεικῆ καὶ δίκαιον, ἐπέταξε δ' αὐτοῖς
τὴν χώραν ἐργαζομένοις³ τῷ βασιλεῖ τελεῖν¹ φόρον

156 ώρισμένον. Ἱερεμίαν δὲ τὸν προφήτην λαβῶν ἐκ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἔπειθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι· κεκελεῦσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πάντ' αὐτῷ χορηγεῖν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ βούλεται, δηλοῦν αὐτῷ ποῦ μένειν διέγνωκεν, ἵνα τοῦτο ἐπισταλῆ⁶

157 τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ προφήτης οὔθ' ἔπεσθαι ἤθελεν οὕτ' ἀλλαχόσε που μένειν, ἡδέως δ' εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρειπίοις τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῖς ταλαιπώροις αὐτῆς διαζῆσαι λειψάνοις. γνοὺς δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν ὁ στρατηγός, τῷ Γαδαλία προστάξας, ὃν κατέλιπεν, αὐτίκα πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν καὶ χορη-

1 Γοδαλίαν SP: Γοδολίαν LVE Zonaras Lat.

² ed. pr.: Ἰκάμου ROM: Ἰκάμου SP: ἸΑχικάμου L: Ἐλικάμου V: Ἰακώβου E: Ican Lat.

8 έργασαμένοις ROM.

* τελέσειν ROMSP: om. L.

⁵ Ε: ἔπεισεν codd. ⁶ ἐπιστείλη MSP Lat.

7 Dindorf: οὐδ' MSP: οὐδέ ROLE: οὐδέν V.

^a Unscriptural detail (Jehozadak is meant).

^b Bibl. Gedaliah (G^odalyāhû), LXX Γοδολίας (cf. v.l. in Josephus).

^e Variants Ikamos, Achikamos, etc.; bibl. Ahikam ('Aḥiqām), LXX 'Αχεικάμ.

d Unscriptural details.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 154-157

the vessels taken as spoil from the temple in Jeru- (LXX xlf. 5). salem, and settled the people in the territory of 2 Chron. Babylonia, while he released the high priest from confinement.a

(ix. 1) As for the general Nabūzardanēs, after Gedaliah taking captive the Hebrew people, he left behind appointed the poor and the deserters in the country and, ap-governor of pointing a governor over them, named Gadalias, 2 Kings xxv. son of Aïkamos, who was of noble family and kind (lxx xlvii. and just, he imposed upon them the payment of a i). fixed tribute to the king from the cultivation of the soil.e Then he took the prophet Jeremiah out of Jeremiah prison f and tried to persuade him to go with him leave the to Babylon, for, he said, he had been ordered by country. the king to provide him with everything; but, if he (LXX xlvii. were unwilling, he should let him know where he had 4). decided to remain, in order that word of this might be sent to the king. The prophet, however, neither wished to accompany him nor to dwell anywhere else, but was content to live on among the ruins of his native land and its miserable remains.9 When the general learned of his resolve, he commanded Gadalias, whom he left behind, forthwith to take all possible care of him and provide him with everything he might

· So Josephus interprets the bibl. phrase "serve (LXX

" work for ") the king of Babylon."

' Cf. Jer. xl. 1, ". . . after Nebuzaradan, the captain of the guard, sent him (A.V. "let him go") from Ramah (Lxx "the captain of the guard from Daman," cf. § 158 note b)

where he had taken him bound in chains " etc.

Jeremiah's refusal to leave Palestine is implied but not directly stated in Scripture. According to one rabbinic tradition Jeremiah went with the captives and accompanied them as far as the Euphrates where he left them to return to Palestine, cf. Ginzberg iv. 310 ff., vi. 390 ff.

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γίαν όσων αν δέηται δωρησάμενός τε αὐτὸν 158 δωρεαίς πολυτελέσιν ἀπέλυσεν. καὶ Ἱερεμίας μὲν κατέμεινεν² ἐν πόλει τῆς χώρας Μασφαθậ³ καλου-μένη παρακαλέσας τὸν Ναβουζαρδάνην ἴν' αὐτῷ συναπολύση τὸν μαθητὴν Βαροῦχον Νήρου δὲ παῖδα έξ ἐπισήμου σφόδρα οἰκίας ὄντα καὶ τῆ πατρίω

γλώττη διαφερόντως πεπαιδευμένον.

159 (2) Ναβουζαρδάνης δε ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ώρμησεν είς Βαβυλώνα. οί δε πολιορκουμένων Γεροσολύμων φυγόντες διασκεδασθέντες κατά την χώραν, ἐπειδή τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἤκουσαν ἀνακεχωρηκότας καὶ λείψανά τινα καταλελοιπότας έν τῆ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν γῆ καί τοὺς ταύτην ἐργασομένους, συλλεχθέντες πανταχόθεν ήκον πρός

160 τὸν Γαδαλίαν εἰς Μασφαθάν. ἡγεμόνες δ' ἠσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰωάδης⁰ υἰὸς Καρίου¹ καὶ Σαρέας⁰ καὶ Ἰωαζανίας⁰ καὶ ἔτεροι πρὸς τούτοις, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους ην τις Ισμάηλος πονηρός ἀνηρ καὶ δολιώτατος, δς πολιορκουμένων τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αμμανιτῶν βασιλέα Βααλεὶμ καὶ συνδιήγαγεν™ αὐτῷ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον.

¹ E: δè ROMLV: δ' SP.

² + είς Δάναν ROM: + είς Δανάν SP: + είς "Αδαναν LV.

³ Μοσφοθά RSP: Μοσφαθά L. MSPLV Lat ⁶ καὶ secl. Niese. 4 Ἱεροσολύμων MSPLV Lat. 6 Ίωάννης V ed. pr. 7 Καρέου LV. 8 Σερέας ROP: Σαραίας L: Zareas Lat.

9 Iezonias Lat. 10 συνδιηγεν LV.

^a According to Scripture (Jer. xl. 5) Nebuzaradan himself provides Jeremiah with food.

The variant which (after "remained") adds "to Dana" is obviously corrupt; it seems to be derived from the LXX reading of Ramah in Jer. xl. 1, cf. § 156 note f.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 157-160

need, and, having presented him with valuable gifts, he let him go. And so Jeremiah remained in the country, b in a city called Masphatha, c and urged Nabūzardanēs to release, at the same time as himself, his disciple Baruch, the son of Nēros, who came of a very distinguished family and was exceptionally

well instructed in his native tongue.

(2) Then Nabūzardanēs, having disposed of these matters, set out for Babylon. But, when those who The Jewish had fled from Jerusalem while it was being besieged fugitives to and had scattered throughout the country heard Gedaliah that the Babylonians had withdrawn, leaving behind (Masphasome few survivors in the country round Jerusalem tha). 2 Kings and some people to cultivate this land, they gathered Jer. xl. 7 together from all parts and came to Gadalias at 7). Masphatha. Their leaders were Joades, the son of Karias, and Sareas h and Joazanias i and some others in addition to these, while there was one from the royal family, a certain Ismaēlos, a wicked and very crafty man, who had fled from Jerusalem during the siege to Baaleim, the king of the Ammanites, and had stayed with him during all that time. Accord-

^d Bibl. Neraiah, LXX Nypias, v.l. Nypeias.

The name appears as Joannes in § 164; bibl. Johanan

(Yôḥānān), LXX Twaváv, v.ll. Twváv, Twvá.

g Bibl. Kareah (Qārēaħ), LXX Καρήθ, v.l. Καρῆε. A Bibl. Seraiah (Serāyāh), LXX Σαραίας, v.l. Σαραιά.

Bibl. Jezaniah (Yozanyāhû, Ya'azanyāhû), LXX 'Ιεζονίας, v.l. 'Oζονίας, Luc. Ίεζωνίας.

¹ Bibl. Ishmael (Yišmā'ēl), LXX Ἰσμαήλ.

k Bibl. Baalis (undoubtedly corrupt for Baalim), LXX Bελεισά. He is called Baalimos below, § 164.

^c Bibl. Mizpah (Mispāh), LXX Μασσηφά; cf. Ant. vi. 22 note a.

[·] Nothing is said in Scripture about Jeremiah's plea for the release of Baruch. The other details are also unscriptural.

- 161 τούτους τοίνυν γενομένους αὐτοῦ Γαδαλίας ἔπεισε μένειν αὐτίκα μηδὲν δεδιότας τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους· γεωργοῦντας γὰρ τὴν χώραν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι δεινόν. ταῦτα ὀμνὺς αὐτοῖς διεβεβαιοῦτο καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν ἔχειν λέγων, ὥστε εἴ τις ἐνοχλοίη τεύξεσθαι
- 162 τῆς προθυμίας καὶ συνεβούλευε κατοικεῖν εἰς ἡν ἔκαστος βούλεται πόλιν ἀποστέλλειν τε¹ μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ἀνακτίζειν τὰ ἐδάφη καὶ κατοικεῖν προεῖπέ τε παρασκευάζεσθαι αὐτούς, ἔως ἔτι καιρός ἐστι, σῖτον² καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον, ὅπως ἔχωσι διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τρέφεσθαι. ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσε³ τῆς χώρας εἰς δν ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο τόπον.
- 163 (3) Διαδραμούσης δὲ φήμης εἰς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔθνη, ὅτι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς παρ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας Γαδαλίας ἐδέξατο φιλανθρώπως καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖς γεωργοῦσι κατοικεῖν ἐφῆκεν, ἐφ' ῷ τελεῖν⁴ φόρον τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ, συνέδραμον αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν Γαδαλίαν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατψκησαν.

164 κατανοήσαντες δὲ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Γαδαλίου χρηστότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡγεμόνες ὑπερηγάπησαν αὐτὸν καὶ Βαάλιμον

¹ ἀποστέλλειν τε SLV: ἀποστελεῖν τε P: ἀποστέλλοντα R: ἀποστέλλοντος O: ἀποστέλλων M: et ut mitteret Lat.
² + τε SP.

^{* +} διά ROM: + διάγειν SP: + διάγειν διά LVE.

⁴ Niese: τελέσειν ROMSPE: τελέσωσι L: τελέσουσι V.

⁵ καὶ αὐτοὶ MSP: omnes Lat.

 ⁶ χάριν conj. Naber: post χώραν lacunam statuit Niese:
 provinciam in pace regi add. Lat.

^a Text slightly uncertain. The detail (sending others) is unscriptural.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 161-164

ingly, when they arrived there, Gadalias persuaded them to remain there for the present without any fear of the Babylonians, for, he said, if they worked the land they would suffer no harm. These assurances he confirmed by giving them his oath and telling them that they should have him as their protector, so that, if anyone molested them, they would find him ready to help. And he advised them to settle down in the cities, each wherever he chose, and to send others a along with their own men and rebuild on the foundations and live there; he also warned them, while there was still time, to prepare stores of grain, wine and oil in order to have food throughout the winter. Having spoken to them in this manner, he dismissed them, each to whatever place in the country he chose.

(3) Now, when a rumour was spread among the Ishmael's nations round Judaea that Gadalias had received plot against Gedaliah. with friendliness those of the fugitives who came to Jer. xl. 11 him, and had permitted them to settle down and (LXX xlvii, work the land on condition of paying tribute to the Babylonian king, they b too came together to Gadalias and settled on the land. And, when they observed (the nature of) the land c and the kindness and friendliness of Gadalias, Joannes d and the leaders with him came to feel a very great affection for him and

b Josephus's language is decidedly careless; by "they" he means the Jewish fugitives among the surrounding nations. not these nations themselves.

^e Text uncertain; Lat. renders "observed that the land was ruled in peace." For χώραν "land" Naber conjectures χάριν "graciousness" (of Gedaliah).

Bibl. Johanan; he is called Joades above, § 160; cf. ote ad loc.

Unscriptural detail.

τὸν τῶν ᾿Αμμανιτῶν βασιλέα ἔλεγον πέμψαι¹ 'Ισμάηλον ἀποκτενοῦντα αὐτὸν δόλω καὶ κρυφίως. όπως αὐτὸς ἄρχη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν είναι γὰρ αὐτὸν

165 ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ βασιλικοῦ. ρύσεσθαί γε μὴν ἔλεγον αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐφῆ κτεῖναι τον Ίσμάηλον, ώς οὐδενος γνωσομένου δεδιέναι γαρ έφασκον μη φονευθείς αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνου παντελης ἀπώλεια γένηται τῶν ὑπολελειμμένων τῆς 166 τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἰσχύος. ὁ δ' ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς

ώμολόγει κατ' ανδρός εὖ πεπονθότος ἐπιβουλήν τοιαύτην εμφανίσασιν ου γάρ είκος είναι παρά τηλικαύτην έρημίαν ὧν έχρηζε μή διαμαρτόντα ούτως πονηρον είς τον εθεργετήσαντα καὶ ανόσιον εύρεθηναι, ὤσθ' ὧ² μὲν³ ἀδίκημα τὸ μὴ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενον σῶσαι σπουδάζειν,⁴ αὐτὸν αὐτό-

167 χειρα ζητεῖν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ ταῦτ' άληθη δεί δοκείν, αμεινον έφασκεν αποθανείν αὐτὸν ύπ' ἐκείνου μᾶλλον, η καταφυγόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ανθρωπον καὶ πιστεύσαντα τὴν ἰδίαν σωτηρίαν καὶ παρακαταθέμενον αὐτῶ διαφθεῖραι.

168 (4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ήγεμόνων μη δυνηθέντες πείσαι τον Γαδαλίαν απηλθον. χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος ήμερων τριάκοντα παραγίνεται πρός Γαδαλίαν είς Μασφαθάν πόλιν 'Ισμάηλος μετ' ἀνδρῶν δέκα, οθς λαμπρᾶ τραπέζη

1 Ε: πέμψειν ROMSP Lat.: πέμπειν LV.

3 LV: μèν τὸ rell.: ην Dindorf. 4 + δè codd., om. Dindorf.

² ωσθ' ω Hudson: ως τω ROSP: δς τὸ LV: ωσθ' δν Dindorf.

^a Bibl. Baalis, cf. § 160 note k. Baalis's motive is an unscriptural detail.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 164-168

told him that Baalimos, the king of the Ammanites, had sent Ismaēlos to kill him by treachery and in secret, in order that Ismaelos might rule over the Israelites, for he was of the royal line. They would. however, save him from the plot, they said, if he allowed them to kill Ismaēlos, as no one would know of it. For they were afraid, they declared, that, if he were murdered by Ismaēlos, it would mean the complete destruction of what remained of the Israelites' strength. But he confessed that he did not believe them when they accused a man who had been well treated of forming such a plot, for, he said, it was not likely that a man who had not wanted for anything in the midst of so great a scarcity should be found so base and ungrateful to his benefactor as to seek to kill him with his own hands when it would be a wicked thing in itself for Ismaēlos not to be anxious to save him if he were plotted against by others. In any case, he said, even if he must believe their words to be true, it was better for him to die by the hands of Ismaelos than to put to death a man who had taken refuge with him and had entrusted his very life into his hands for safe keeping.c

(4) And so Joannes and those of the leaders who Ishmael were with him went away without being able to murders Gedaliah, convince Gadalias. But, when a period of thirty Jer. xli, 1 days had elapsed, Ismaēlos came with ten men to (LXX xlviii 1). Gadalias at the city of Masphatha, where he enter-

o In the preceding passage Josephus greatly amplifies the brief statement of Gedaliah in Scripture, "Thou shalt not do this thing; for thou speakest falsely of Ishmael."

d Bibl. "in the 7th month." The medieval Jewish commentator Kimchi, like Josephus, takes this to mean a month after Gedaliah's statement to Johanan, although Scripture does not indicate how long the interval was,

καὶ ξενίοις ὑποδεξάμενος εἰς μέθην προήχθη, φιλοφρονούμενος τὸν Ἰσμάηλον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. 169 θεασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα καὶ βεβαπτισμένον εἰς ἀναισθησίαν καὶ ὕπνον ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης, ὁ Ἰσμάηλος ἀναπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν δέκα φίλων ἀποσφάττει τὸν Γαδαλίαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κατακειμένους ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ. καὶ μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἀναίρεσιν ἐξελθὼν νυκτὸς ἄπαντας φονεύει τοὺς ἐν τῆ πόλει Ἰουδαίους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων 170 καταλειφθέντας ἐν αὐτῆ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. τῆ δ'

170 καταλειφθέντας έν αὐτἢ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. τἢ δ΄ ἐπιούση μετὰ δώρων ἦκον πρὸς Γαδαλίαν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὀγδοήκοντα, μηδενὸς τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐγνωκότος. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἰσμάηλος εἴσω τε αὐτοὺς¹ καλεῖ ὡς πρὸς² Γαδαλίαν, καὶ παρελθόντων ἀποκλείσας τὴν αὐλὴν³ ἐφόνευσε καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς λάκκον τινὰ βαθύν, ὡς ἂν ἀφανῆ γένοιτο,

171 κατεπόντισε. διεσώθησαν δε τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα τούτων ἀνδρῶν οι μὴ πρότερον ἀναιρεθῆναι παρεκάλεσαν πρὶν ἢ τὰ κεκρυμμένα ἐν τοις ἀγροις αὐτῷ
παραδῶσιν⁴ ἔπιπλά τε καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ σιτον. ταθτ'
ἀκούσας ἐφείσατο τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων Ἰσμάηλος.

172 τον δ' ἐν τῆ Μασφαθᾳ λαον σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ νηπίοις ἢχμαλώτισεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Σαχχίου

αὐτοὺς om. LVE.
 ώς πρὸς ex Lat. Niese: πρὸς codd. E.
 αὔλιον Ε: αὔλειον Niese.
 παραδώσειν ROSPL.

^b Josephus omits the scriptural detail that they were in

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^a Scripture says nothing of a splendid banquet or the intoxication of Gedaliah; *cf.* Jer. xli. 1-2, "... they ate bread together in Mizpah. Then arose Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah, and the ten that were with him and smote Gedaliah" etc.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 168-172

tained them with a splendid banquet and presents and, in his cordial reception of Ismaelos and those with him, went so far as to become drunk. Seeing him in this condition, sunken into unconsciousness and a drunken sleep, Ismaēlos sprang up with his ten friends and slaughtered Gadalias and those reclining with him at the banquet table a; after slaving them. he went out by night and murdered all the Jews in the city and the soldiers who had been left there by the Babylonians. But on the following day eighty of the people of the country came with gifts for Gadalias, for no one of them knew what had happened to him.b And, when Ismaëlos saw them, he invited them in as if c to see Gadalias; then, when they were inside, he closed the gates of the court d and murdered them and cast their bodies into the bottom of a deep pit, that they might not be seen. But of these eighty men some f were saved by pleading that they might not be killed before they should deliver to him the implements and clothing and grain that were hidden in their fields.9 When Ismaēlos heard their plea, he spared these men. But the people in Masphatha he took captive with their wives and young children; among them were the daughters of King Sacchias himself, whom

mourning; moreover Scripture says that they brought gifts for the temple, not for Gedaliah.

" as if " is supplied conjecturally.

Josephus omits the scriptural detail that this pit had been dug by Asa to prevent Baasha's invasion of Judah.

1 10, according to Scripture.

⁴ Lit. "closed off the court," but this implies closing the gates, as in the variant. Scripture says that he slew them "when they came into the midst of the city."

Bibl. "treasures in the field, of wheat, barley, oil and honey."

θυγατέρας, ἃς Ναβουζαρδάνης ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων στρατηγὸς παρὰ Γαδαλία καταλελοίπει. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αμμανιτῶν

βασιλέα.

173 (5) 'Ακούσας δ' δ 'Ιωάννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνες τὰ ἐν τῆ¹ Μασφαθᾳ πεπραγμένα² ὑπὸ Ἰσμαήλου καὶ τὸν Γαδαλίου θάνατον ἠγανάκτησαν, καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἕκαστος παραλαβὼν ὁπλίτας ὥρμησαν πολεμήσοντες τὸν Ἰσμάηλον καὶ καταλαμ-

174 βάνουσιν αὐτόν πρὸς τῆ πηγῆ ἐν Ἰβρῶνι.³ οἱ δὲ αἰχμαλωτισθέντες ὑπὸ Ἰσμαήλου τὸν Ἰωάννην ιδόντες καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εὐθύμως διετέθησαν, βοήθειαν αὑτοῖς⁴ ἥκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, καὶ καταλιπόντες τὸν αἰχμαλωτίσαντα πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἀνεχώρησαν. Ἰσμάηλος μὲν οὖν μετ' ἀνδρῶν ὀκτὼ 175 φεύγει πρὸς τὸν τῶν ᾿Αμμανιτῶν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ

175 φεύγει πρὸς τὸν τῶν ᾿Αμμανιτῶν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης παραλαβὼν οὖς ἀνέσωσεν ἐκ τῶν Ἰσμαή-λου χειρῶν καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ νήπια εἴς τινα τόπον Μάνδρα λεγόμενον παραγίνεται. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐπ-έμεινεν αὐτόθι, διεγνώκεισαν δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἄραντες εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθεῖν, φοβούμενοι μὴ κτείνωσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι μείναντας ἐν τῆ χώρα, ὑπὲρ Γαδαλία τοῦ κατασταθέντος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνος ὀργισθέντες πεφονευμένου.

176 (6) "Οντων δ' ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς βουλῆς προσίασιν Ἱερεμία τῷ προφήτη Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Καρίου καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρακαλοῦντες δεηθῆναι

τὰ ἐν τῆ om. ROE.
 τὰ πεπραγμένα ROSP.
 Χεβρῶνι SPLV: Νεβρῶνι Ε: Cebron Lat.: Γιβρῶνι conj.

Thackeray, cf. Ant. viii. 22.

4 Niese: aὐτοῖς codd.

⁵ Μάνδραν LVE: caulas Lat.

⁶ ύπέμεινεν SP.

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Nabūzardanēs, the Babylonian general, had left with Gadalias. Having carried out these crimes, he came

to the king of the Ammanites.

(5) When Joannes and the leaders with him heard Johanan of the things done at Masphatha by Ismaēlos and (Joannes) rescues the of the death of Gadalias, they were very indignant captives and, each taking his own soldiers, they set out to Ishmael. make war on Ismaēlos, and came upon him at the Jer. xli. 11 spring in Ibron. But, when those who had been 1). taken captive by Ismaelos saw Joannes and the leaders, they were filled with joy at the thought that they had come to help them and, deserting their captor, they went over to Joannes. And so Ismaelos fled with eight men to the king of the Ammanites. But Joannes took those whom he had saved from Ismaēlos's hands and the eunuchs and women and young children, and came to a certain place called Mandra. b And there he remained for that day until they decided to depart from there and go to Egypt, fearing that the Babylonians might kill them, if they remained in the country, in their wrath over the murder of Gadalias who had been appointed by them as governor.

(6) While they were considering this plan, Joannes, Johanan forces the son of Karias, and the leaders with him ap-forces Jeremiah to proached the prophet Jeremiah and urged him to go with him

^a Variant Chebrōn; bibl. Gibeon, LXX Γαβαών. A similar slip of Ibron or Chebron (=bibl. Hebron) for Gabaon

(=bibl. Gibeōn)·occurs in Ant. viii. 22.

b The name means "cattle-pen." Dr. Thackeray, Josephus, the Man, etc., p. 89 note, suggests that Josephus read Gid*rôth Kimham "cattle-pens of Kimham" in the Heb. of Jer. xli. 17 where our Masoretic text reads "Gerôth Kimham (Targum and A.V. "habitation of Kimham") near Rothlehen." xxxx transliterates the Heb. represense 10.00 Bethlehem "; Lxx transliterates the Heb. name as Γαβαρω-χαμάα, v.l. γη Βηρωθχαμάαμ.

τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπως ἀμηχανοῦσιν αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ τί χρη ποιείν τοῦτ' αὐτοίς ὑποδείξη, ὀμόσαντες ποιήσειν

177 ο τι αν αὐτοῖς Ἱερεμίας εἴπη. ὑποσχομένου δέ τοῦ προφήτου διακονήσειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν συνέβη μετά δέκα ήμέρας αὐτῶ φανέντα τὸν θεὸν εἰπεῖν δηλώσαι Ἰωάννη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι καὶ τῶ λαώ παντί ότι μένουσι μέν αὐτοῖς έν ἐκείνη τῆ χώρα παρέσται καὶ πρόνοιαν έξει καὶ τηρήσει παρά των Βαβυλωνίων οθς δεδίασιν ἀπαθεῖς, πορευομένους δε είς Αίγυπτον απολείψει καὶ ταὐτὰ² διαθήσει δργισθείς, " α καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν*

178 ἔμπροσθεν οἴδατε πεπονθότας. ΄΄ ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῷ 'Ιωάννη καὶ τῷ λαῷ τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς προλέγειν δ προφήτης οὐκ ἐπιστεύετο, ώς κατ' ἐντολὴν τὴν έκείνου μένειν αὐτούς έν τῆ χώρα κελεύει, χαριζόμενον δέ Βαρούχω τω ίδίω μαθητή καταψεύδεσθαι μεν τοῦ θεοῦ, πείθειν δε μένειν αὐτόθι, ώς αν

179 ύπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων διαφθαρῶσι. παρακούσας οὖν ὅ τε λαὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλίας, ην αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου παρήνεσεν, άπηρεν είς την Αίγυπτον άγων καὶ τὸν Ἱερεμίαν

καὶ τὸν Βαροῦχον.

180 (7) Γενομένων δε αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ σημαίνει τὸ θεῖον τῶ προφήτη μέλλοντα στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Αίγυπτίους τον βασιλέα των Βαβυλωνίων, καὶ προειπεῖν έκέλευε τω λαώ τήν τε άλωσιν της Αιγύπτου, καί

> 1 P2: ἀπολήφειν R: ἀπολείψειν rell. Lat. Niese: ταῦτα codd. Lat.
> P²: διαθήσειν rell. Lat.

⁴ Niese: αὐτῶν codd. E Lat. 6 συμμαχίας SP. 7 ἐκέλευσε LVE. ^δ παθόντας SPLV.

^a This last clause is apparently based on Jer. xlii. 18, . . . as mine anger and my fury have been poured forth

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 176-180

entreat God to reveal to them what they should do, to Egypt. for they were unable to decide this, and they swore (LXX xlix. 1). that they would do whatever Jeremiah told them. The prophet thereupon promised to use his good offices with God on their behalf, and after ten days it happened that God appeared to him and told him to announce to Joannes and the other leaders and all the people that if they remained in that country He would be with them and take care of them and preserve them unharmed from the hands of the Babylonians whom they feared; but, if they set out for Egypt, He would abandon them and in His anger visit upon them the same treatment "which, as you know, your brothers suffered before you." a These things, said the prophet to Joannes and the people, God foretold to them; however they did not believe Jer. xliii. 1 that it was at God's command that he bade them (LXX 1, 1). remain in the country but that to please Baruch, his own disciple, he was belying God and trying to persuade them to remain there in order that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. And so the people and Joannes disregarded the counsel b of God, which He had given them through the prophet, and departed for Egypt, taking both Jeremiah and Baruch.

(7) But, when they came there, the Deity re-Jeremiah vealed to the prophet that the king of Babylonia prophesies was about to march against the Egyptians, and He nezzar's bade the prophet foretell to the people d that Egypt of Egypt. upon the habitants of Jerusalem, so shall my fury be poured (LXX xlix, 7).

forth upon you," etc. b Variant " alliance."

^c To the city of Tahpanhes, according to Scripture.

d Josephus omits the symbolism of the stones which God commands Jeremiah to hide. Jer. xliii. 9 ff.

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ότι τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους
181 λαβὼν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἄξει. καὶ ταῦτα συνέβη τῷ
γὰρ πέμπτῳ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πορθήσεως ἔτει, ὅ
ἐστι τρίτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου
βασιλείας, στρατεύει Ναβουχοδονόσορος¹ ἐπὶ τὴν
κοίλην Συρίαν, καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτήν, ἐπολέμησε

κοίλην Συρίαν, καὶ κατασχῶν αὐτήν, ἐπολέμησε 182 καὶ Μωαβίταις καὶ 'Αμμανίταις.' ποιησάμενος δὲ ὑπήκοα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καταστρεψόμενος αὐτήν, καὶ τὸν μὲν τότε βασιλέα κτείνει, καταστήσας δὲ ἔτερον τοὺς ἐν αὐτῆ πάλιν 'Ιουδαίους αἰχμαλωτίσας ἤγαγεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα.

183 καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἑβραίων γένος ἐν τοιούτῳ τέλει γενόμενον παρειλήφαμεν δὶς ἐλθὸν³ πέραν Εὐφράτου· ὑπὸ ᾿Ασσυρίων μὲν γὰρ ἐξέπεσεν ὁ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν λαὸς ἀπὸ Σαμαρείας βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν⁴ ᾿Ωσήου, ἔπειτα ὁ τῶν⁵ δύο φυλῶν ὑπὸ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως, ὃς

184 ὑπελείφθη τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀλόντων. Σαλμανάσσης μὲν οὖν ἀναστήσας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας κατώκισεν ἀντ' αὐτῶν τὸ τῶν Χουθαίων ἔθνος, οἷ πρότερον ἐνδοτέρω τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τῆς Μηδίας ἦσαν, τότε μέντοι Σαμαρεῖς ἐκλήθησαν τὴν τῆς χώρας εἰς ἣν κατωκίσθησαν προσηγορίαν ἀναλαβόντες ὁ δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς τὰς δύο

1 Ναβουχοδονόσορος om. SP: ὁ αὐτὸς V.

² Μωαβίταις και 'Αμμανίταις RO: Μωαβίτας και 'Αμμανίτας ('Αμμ. κ. Μωαβ. transp. LVE Latin Zonaras) rell. E Lat. Zonaras.

3 δὶς ἐλθὸν] διελθών ΜΕ: εἰσελθών δὲ RO: transisse Lat.:

μετενεχθέν Zonaras.

⁴ αὖτῶν om. Hudson. ⁵ ὁ τῶν Cocceji: τῶν codd.

⁶ ex Lat. (Salamanassis) Niese: Σαλμανασάρης ROMPVE: Σαλμανασσάρης SL.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 180-184

would be taken and that the Babylonian king would kill some of them and would take the rest captive and carry them off to Babylon. And so it happened; for in the fifth year after the sacking of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third year of the reign of cf. Jer. Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar marched against lii. 30. Coele-Syria and, after occupying it, made war both on the Moabites and the Ammanites. Then, after making these nations subject to him, he invaded Egypt in order to subdue it, and, having killed the king who was then reigning and appointed another, he again took captive the Jews who were in the country and carried them to Babylon.a And so, as The two we have learned from history, the Hebrew race twice great decame to such a pass as to go beyond the Euphrates, of Israel For the people of the ten tribes were driven out of and Judah. Samaria by the Assyrians in the reign of Osees, and, once again, the people of the two tribes who survived the capture of Jerusalem were driven out by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylonia and Chaldaea. Now, when Salmanasses b removed the Israelites, he settled in their place the nation of Chuthaeans, who had formerly lived in the interior of Persia and Media and who were then, moreover, called Samaritans because they assumed the name of the country in which they were settled.c But the king of

^a According to Scripture it was Nebuzaradan who carried off the last group of captives in the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. Josephus's statement about the conquest of the Moabites and Ammonites is based on the prophecies of Jeremiah, cc. xliv-xlix (LXX li, XXVi-XXX). For Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Egypt he probably used Berosus as a source, cf. §§ 220 ff.

b Conjectured form; Mss. Salmanas(s)ares; bibl. Shalmaneser; cf. Ant. ix. 259 note i.

c Cf. Ant. ix. 288 ff.

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φυλάς έξαγαγών οὐδέν έθνος είς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κατώκισε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔρημος ἡ Ἰουδαία πᾶσα καὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ὁ ναὸς διέμεινεν ἔτεσιν 185 έβδομήκοντα. τὸν δὲ σύμπαντα χρόνον, δς² ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἀνάστασιν διεληλύθει,³ ἐκατὸν ἔτη καὶ

τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνας εξ καὶ δέκα ἡμέρας συνέβη

γενέσθαι.

186 (χ. 1) Ο δέ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεύς Ναβουχοδονόσορος τούς εύγενεστάτους λαβών των Ίουδαιων παίδας καὶ τούς Σαχχίου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν συγγενεῖς, οἱ καὶ ταῖς ἀκμαῖς τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ταῖς εὐμορφίαις τῶν ὄψεων ἦσαν περίβλεπτοι, παιδαγωγοίς και τη δι' αὐτῶν θεραπεία παρα-

187 δίδωσι, ποιήσας τινάς αὐτῶν ἐκτομίας τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ὅσα κατεστρέψατο ληφθέντας έν ώρα της ηλικίας διαθείς, έχορήγει μέν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης αὐτοῦ εἰς δίαιταν, έπαίδευε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπιχώρια καὶ τὰ τῶν Χαλδαίων έξεδίδασκε γράμματα ήσαν δε οῦτοι σοφίαν ίκανοὶ

> 1 λαός ROMSP. 3 Niese: ἐληλύθει codd. Ε. 4 ἐκ τῶν om. ROM : ἐκ om. SP.

^a Whether we reckon the lower limit of this interval as the deportation in the 11th year of Zedekiah's reign (§ 135) or that which took place 5 years later (§ 181) the chronology is inconsistent with that implied earlier (cf. § 143 note b). According to Ant. ix. 278 the Israelite deportation took place in the 7th year of Hezekiah. The sum of regnal years for the rest of Hezekiah's reign and those of his successors is 132 years 6 months 20 days. There is thus a discrepancy of about 2 years (or 7 years if we take the last deportation, mentioned in § 181, as the lower limit). For various 260

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Babylonia, when he carried off the two tribes, did not settle any nation in their place, and for this reason all of Judaea and Jerusalem and the temple remained deserted for seventy years. Now the entire interval of time from the captivity of the Israelites until the deportation of the two tribes amounted to one hundred and thirty years, six

months and ten days.a

(x. 1) Then Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian king, Daniel and took the Jewish youths of noblest birth and the panions at relatives of their king Sacchias b who were remark- Nebuchadable for the vigour of their bodies and the comeliness court. of their features, and gave them over to tutors Dan. i. 3. to be cared for by them, making some of them eunuchs c; this same treatment he also gave to those taken in the flower of their age from among the other nations which he had subdued. And he supplied them with food from his own table and had them educated and taught the learning of both the natives and the Chaldaeans.d And these youths

theories as to the source of Josephus's chronology here see Weill's note ad loc. (which is not very helpful). It may be added that according to modern reckoning the interval between the two great deportations is about 135 years (722/1-587/6 в.с.).

Bibl. "certain of the Israelites of the king's seed."

^e Josephus, like the rabbis (cf. Ginzberg vi. 415), bases this statement (not found in the book of Daniel) on the prophecy of Isaiah xxxix. 7=2 Kings xx. 18 (cf. § 33). Rabbinic tradition adds that Daniel and his companions mutilated themselves to prove their chastity in the face of false charges brought against them by enemies.

d Josephus here uses "Chaldaeans" not as an ethnic name but as the name of a class of wise men. Weill, however, renders "the native traditions and the Chaldaean literature." Scripture has "the learning (lit. "book") and language of the Chaldaeans."

188 περὶ ἣν ἐκέλευε διατρίβειν. ἦσαν δ' ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σαχχίου γένους τέσσαρες καλοί τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὰς φύσεις, ὧν ὁ μὲν Δανίηλος ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁ δὲ ᾿Ανανίας, ὁ δὲ Μισάηλος, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος ᾿Αζαρίας. τούτους ὁ Βαβυλώνιος μετωνόμασε καὶ

189 χρῆσθαι προσέταξεν έτέροις ὀνόμασι. καὶ τὸν μὲν Δανίηλον ἐκάλουν Βαλτάσαρον, τὸν δ' ᾿Ανανίαν Σεδράχην, Μισάηλον δὲ Μισάχην,¹ τὸν δ' ᾿Αζαρίαν ᾿Αβδεναγώ. τούτους ὁ βασιλεὺς δι' ὑπερβολὴν εὐφυΐας καὶ σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὴν παίδευσιν τῶν γραμμάτων² καὶ σοφίας ἐν προκοπῆ γενομένους

είχεν εν τιμή και στέργων διετέλει.

190 (2) Δόξαν δὲ Δανιήλω μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν σκληραγωγεῖν έαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης ἐδεσμάτων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ καθόλου πάντων τῶν ἐμψύχων, προσελθῶν ᾿Ασχάνη τῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἐμπεπιστευμένω³ εὐνούχω, τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς κομιζόμενα παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ἀναλίσκειν λαμβάνοντα, παρέχειν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὄσπρια καὶ φοίνικας εἰς διατροφὴν καὶ εἴ τι τῶν ἀψύχων ἔτερον βούλοιτο πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τοι-

Μίσαχιν Μ: Μίσαχον SP Exc.: Μισάκην Ε.
 τών γραμμάτων οπ. RO.
 ἐπιτετραμμένω LVE.

^a Cf. § 186 note b. According to some rabbis Daniel's companions were not of the royal line, cf. Ginzberg vi. 414. Of both Daniel and his companions Scripture here (Dan. i. 6) says that they were "of the sons of Judah."

^b Gr. Danielos; Heb. Danielo, Lxx and Theod. Δανήλ.
^c So Lxx and Theod.; bibl. Hananiah (Hananyāh).

Bibl. Mishael, Lxx Μισαήλ, Theod. Μεισαήλ.
 So Lxx and Theod.; bibl. Azariah ('Azaryāh).

^{&#}x27;According to Scripture it was the chief eunuch who changed their names, but cf. Dan. iv. 8 (Aram. iv. 5) and § 212 note d.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 188-190

became proficient in the wisdom which he had ordered them to study; among them were four of the family of Sacchias, the first of whom was named Daniel, the second Ananias, the third, Misaelos d and the fourth, Azarias.e But the Babylonian king changed their names and commanded them to use others.f And so they called Daniel Baltasaros,g Ananias Sedrachēs, Misaēlos Misachēs, and Azaraias Abdenago. And these youths, because of their surpassing natural gifts, their zeal in learning letters k and their wisdom, made great progress, wherefore the king held them in esteem and continued to cherish them.

(2) Now, as Daniel together with his relatives had The Jewish resolved to live austerely and abstain from the dishes youths which came from the king's table and in general their dietary from all animal food, he went to Aschanes, the laws. eunuch who had been entrusted with their care," and requested him to take the food brought to them from the king and consume it himself and give them pulse and dates for nourishment and whatever other kind of non-animal food he chose, for, he said, they

- ⁹ Bibl. Belteshazzar, Lxx and Theod. Βαλτασάρ.
- ^h Bibl. Shadrach, Lxx and Theod. Σεδράχ.
- Bibl. Meshach, Lxx Μισάχ, Theod. Μεισάχ (v.l. Μισάκ).
 So Lxx and Theod.; bibl. Abed-nego.
- * The variant omits " letters."
- Bibl. "the king's food and wine."

m Bibl. Ashpenaz, Theod. 'Ασφανέζ, ι.xx 'Αβιεσδρί.

" According to Scripture (vs. 10) Daniel seems to have made a preliminary request for a change of diet to the chief eunuch Ashpenaz, and then to have asked certain kinds of food of another officer appointed by the chief eunuch; this second officer is called in the Heb. Melsar, which according to Jewish tradition means "steward" or the like. Greek versions transliterate this as a proper name, as does A.V. (Melzar).

αύτην δίαιταν αὐτοὺς κεκινῆσθαι, τῆς δ' έτέρας 191 περιφρονεῖν. ὁ δ' εἶναι μὲν ἔτοιμος ἔλεγεν ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῶν τῆ προαιρέσει, ὑφορᾶσθαι δὲ μὴ κατάδηλοι τῷ βασιλεῖ γενηθέντες ἐκ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἰσχνότητος καὶ τῆς τροπῆς τῶν χαρακτήρων (συμμεταβάλλειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς χρόας ἄμα τῆ διαίτη), καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων παίδων εὐπαθούντων ἐλεγχθέντες, αἴτιοι

192 κινδύνου καὶ τιμωρίας αὐτῷ καταστῶσιν. ἔχοντα τοίνυν πρὸς τοῦτ' εὐλαβῶς τὸν 'Ασχάνην πείθουσιν ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ταῦτα παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς πείρας ἔνεκα καὶ μὴ μεταβαλούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἔξεως ἐπιμένειν τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι εἰς αὐτὴν βλαβησομένων, εἰ δὲ μειωθέντας ἴδοι καὶ κάκιον τῶν ἄλλων ἔχοντας, ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν

κακιον των αλλων εχοντας, επι την προτεραν 193 αὐτοὺς δίαιταν ἀνάγειν. ὡς δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει τὴν τροφὴν ἐκείνην προσφερομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐτραφέστεροι τὰ σώματα καὶ μείζονες ἐγίνοντο, ὡς τοὺς μὲν ἐνδεεστέρους ὑπολαμβάνειν οἷς τὴν βασιλικὴν συνέβαινεν εἶναι χορηγίαν, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Δανιήλου δοκεῖν ἐν ἀφθονία καὶ τρυφῷ τῷ πάσῃ βιοῦν, ἔκτοτε μετ' ἀδείας ὁ ᾿Ασχάνης ὅσα² μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου καθ' ἡμέραν συνήθως ἔπεμπε τοῖς παισὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς

194 ἐλάμβανεν, ἐχορήγει δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ προειρημένα. οἱ δὲ ὡς καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦτο καθαρῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν παιδείαν ἀκραιφνῶν γεγενημένων καὶ τῶν σωμάτων πρὸς φιλοπονίαν εὐτονωτέρων (οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνας ἐφείλκοντο³ καὶ βαρείας εῖχον ὑπὸ

¹ ἀνάγειν ex Lat. Niese: ἄγειν codd.: διάγειν Ε.
 ² ἃ ROLVE.
 ³ ἐφέλκοντο ROM: ἐλωβοῦντο LV.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 190-194

were attracted to such a diet but felt distaste for any other.a Aschanes then said that he was ready to comply with their request but was somewhat afraid that they might be detected by the king through the leanness of their bodies and the alteration of their features-for, he said, their bodies and complexions would necessarily change with their diet -and they would be especially marked because of the healthy condition of the other youths and so would be the cause of his being placed in danger and punished. Accordingly, as Aschanes was apprehensive about this matter, they persuaded him to give them these foods for ten days by way of trial and, if their bodily condition did not change, to continue in the same way, as no further harm would be likely to come to them; but, if he saw that they were growing thin and were weaker than the others, he should put them back on their former diet. And They prosnot only did they not suffer from taking that kind per on the of food but they were better nourished in body than Dan. i. 15. the others, so that one supposed that those to whom the king's provisions were given were worse off, while Daniel and his friends were living in the greatest abundance and luxury; and so from that time on Aschanes without any qualms took for himself b what the king regularly sent to the youths from his table day by day, and he supplied them with the foods mentioned above. Thus these youths, whose souls were in this way kept pure and fresh for learning and their bodies more vigorous for arduous labour-for they did not oppress and weigh

Josephus here amplifies Scripture (vs. 12).
Bibl. "took away."

τροφης τοικίλης οὖτε ταῦτα μαλακώτερα διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν), πᾶσαν έτοίμως ἐξέμαθον παιδείαν, ηις ἢν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις. μάλιστα δὲ Δανίηλος ἱκανῶς ἤδη σοφίας ἐμπείρως ἔχων περὶ κρίσεις ὀνείρων ἐσπουδάκει καὶ τὸ θεῖον

αὐτῷ φανερὸν ἐγίνετο.

195 (3) Μετὰ δ' ἔτος δεύτερον τῆς Αἰγύπτου πορθήσεως ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὄναρ ἰδὼν θαυμαστόν, οὖ τὴν ἔκβασιν κατὰ τοὺς ὔπνους αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ἐδήλωσεν ὁ θεός, τούτου μὲν ἐπιλανθάνεται διαναστὰς ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς Χαλδαίους καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς μάντεις, ὡς εἴη τι⁴ ὄναρ ἐωρακὼς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς περὶ τὴν λήθην ὧν εἶδε μηνύων ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς λέγειν ὅ τι τε ἦν τὸ ὄναρ καὶ τί⁵ τὸ σημεῖον.6

196 τῶν δὲ ἀδύνατον εἶναι λεγόντων ἀνθρώποις τοῦθ' εὐρεῖν, εἰ δ' αὐτοῖς ἔκθοιτο τὴν ὅψιν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου φράσειν τὸ σημεῖον' ὑποσχομένων, θάνατον ἠπεί-λησεν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὄναρ εἴποιεν, προσέταξε δὲι πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεθῆναι, ποιῆσαι τὸ κελευσθὲν

197 όμολογήσαντας μὴ δύνασθαι. Δανίηλος δ' ἀκούσας ὅτι προσέταξε πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν

8 τε E: et Lat.

¹ τρυφής LV. 2 αὐτήν om. O: ἐναντίαν conj. Niese.

βαρβάροις LE Lat.
 τε SPLVE Lat. (vid.).
 τί om. RO: ὅτι Ε.

⁶ τὸ σημεῖον codd. Exc.: quid significare videretur Lat.: τὸ σημαινόμενον Cocceji.

⁷ σημαινόμενον Zonaras: explanationem Lat.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 194-197

down the former with a variety of food nor did they soften their bodies by the same means a-readily mastered all the learning which was found among the Hebrews b and the Chaldaeans. In particular Daniel, who had already acquired sufficient skill in wisdom, devoted himself to the interpretation of dreams, and the Deity manifested Himself to him.

(3) Two years after the sacking of Egypt c King Nebuchad-Nebuchadnezzar had a wonderful dream, the outcome dream, of which God Himself revealed to him in his sleep, but, Dan. ii. 1. when he arose from his bed, he forgot it; he therefore sent for the Chaldaeans and the Magi and the soothsavers and told them he had had a certain dream and, informing them how he had happened to forget it, bade them tell him both what the dream was and what its meaning might be. When they said that it was impossible for any man to discover this but promised that, if he would describe to them the appearance of the dream, they would tell him its meaning, he threatened them with death unless they told him what the dream was, and commanded that they should all be put to death when they confessed that they could not do as they were ordered. Now, when Daniel heard that the king had commanded all the wise men to be killed and that among

The foregoing is an addition to Scripture.
Variant "barbarians"; bibl. "God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning (Heb. "books") and wisdom."

^e Bibl. "in the second year of the reign of Nebuchad-nezzar." The medieval Jewish commentators, like Josephus, have noted the chronological difficulty in this scriptural statement (since the 2nd year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign long preceded the events described in the book of Daniel) and, by exegesis, have explained it to mean the 2nd year after the destruction of the temple.



συγγενῶν κινδυνεύειν, πρόσεισιν 'Αριόχη¹ τῷ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρχὴν πε-198 πιστευμένω. δέηθεις δέ² παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν μαθεῖν δι' ἡν ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας εἴη προστεταχὼς ἀναιρεθῆναι τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ μάγους, καὶ μαθὼν τὸ περὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ ὅτι κελευσθέντες ύπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτ' αὐτῷ δηλοῦν έπιλελησμένω, φήσαντες μὴ δύνασθαι παρώξυναν αὐτόν, παρεκάλεσε τὸν ᾿Αριόχην εἰσελθόντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μίαν αἰτήσασθαι νύκτα τοῖς μάγοις καὶ ταύτη την ἀναίρεσιν ἐπισχεῖν ἐλπίζειν γὰρ δι'

199 αὐτῆς δεηθεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώσεσθαι τὸ ἐνύπνιον. ὁ δὲ ᾿Αριόχης ταῦτ᾽ ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ Δανίηλον άξιοθν. καὶ ὁ μὲν κελεύει τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν μάγων έπισχείν εως γνώ την υπόσχεσιν την Δανιήλου δ δε παις μετά των συγγενών ύποχωρήσας πρός έαυτον δι' όλης ίκετεύει τον θεον της νυκτός γνωρίσαι, καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους, οἷς δεῖ καὶ αὐτοὺς συναπολέσθαι, ρύσασθαι τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργης ἐμφανίσαντα την ὄψιν αὐτῷ καὶ ποιήσαντα δήλην ής ο βασιλεύς ἐπελέληστο διὰ τῆς

200 παρελθούσης νυκτός ίδων κατά τους υπνους. ὁ δέ θεός αμα τούς τε κινδυνεύοντας έλεήσας καὶ τὸν Δανίηλον της σοφίας άγασάμενος τό τε όναρ αὐτῷ γνώριμον εποίησε και την κρίσιν, ώς αν και τὸ 201 σημαινόμενον ό βασιλεύς παρ' αὐτοῦ μάθοι. Δανίη-

^{1 &#}x27;Αριόχω MSP Exc.: 'Αριώχω Ε: quendam Ariochim

δεηθεὶς τὲ (sic) Μ Εχς.: καὶ δεηθεὶς LV.
 καὶ ταύτη om. Lat., secl. Niese: καὶ ταύτην SLV Εχς.
 σῶσαι MSP Εχς.: ἐλεῆσαι Ε: ut ei somnium indicaret

ρύσασθαι LV: ρύσασθαι δέ rell. Exc. Lat.: καὶ ρύσασθαι Ε. 268

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 197-201

them he and his relatives were in danger, he went to Arioches, to whom was entrusted the command of the king's bodyguard, and asked him to let him know the reason why the king had commanded all the wise men and Chaldaeans and Magi to be put to death; and, on learning about the dream and how, when they were ordered to relate it to the king who had forgotten it, they had made him angry by saying that they were unable to do so, he requested Ariochēs to go in to the king b and ask him to give the Magi one night c and to put off their execution only so long, d for, he said, he hoped within that time to learn the dream by praying to God. Arioches, therefore, reported to the king this request of Daniel, and so he ordered the execution of the Magi to be put off until he should learn what Daniel had promised (to disclose). Then the youth returned to God reveals his house with his relatives and throughout the whole the dream to Daniel. night besought God to enlighten him f and to save Dan. ii. 17. the Magi and the Chaldaeans, together with whom they too must perish, from the king's wrath by revealing and making clear to him the vision which the king had seen in his sleep on the preceding g night and had forgotten. Thereupon God, taking pity on those who were in danger and at the same time admiring Daniel's wisdom, h made known to him both the dream and its interpretation so that the king too might learn from him what it signified. When

" Unscriptural detail.

Variants "save," "pity."

<sup>So ixx; bibl. Arioch ('Aryōk), Theod. 'Αριώχ.
In Scripture Daniel himself goes to the king on learning the cause of his anger.
Bibl. "give him time."
Variant "and put off this execution."</sup>

Unscriptural detail, cf. note c. * Unscriptural detail.

λος δὲ γνοὺς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα περιχαρὴς ἀνίσταται καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς δηλώσας, τοὺς μὲν ἀπεγνωκότας ἤδη τοῦ ζῆν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεθνάναι τὴν 202 διάνοιαν ἔχοντας, εἰς εὐθυμίαν καὶ τὰς περὶ τοῦ

202 διάνοιαν ἔχοντας, εἰς εὐθυμίαν καὶ τὰς περὶ τοῦ βίου διήγειρεν ἐλπίδας, εὐχαριστήσας δὲ τῷ θεῷ μετ' αὐτῶν ἔλεον λαβόντι τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν, γενομένης ἡμέρας παραγίνεται πρὸς ᾿ Λριόχην καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἡξίου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· δηλῶσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ βούλεσθαι τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὅ φησιν ἰδεῖν πρὸ τῆς παρ-

ελθούσης νυκτός.

203 (4) Εἰσελθών δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δανίηλος παρητεῖτο πρῶτον μὴ σοφώτερον αὐτὸν δόξαι τῶν ἄλλων Χαλδαίων καὶ μάγων, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἐκείνων τὸ ὄναρ εὑρεῖν δυνηθέντος αὐτὸς αὐτῷ¹ μέλλοι λέγειν οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν οὐδ' ὅτι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἐκπεπόνηται τοῦτο γίνεται,² '' ἀλλ' ἐλεήσας ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς κινδυνεύοντας ἀποθανεῖν, δεηθέντι περί τε τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν καὶ τὸ ὄναρ καὶ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτοῦ φανερὰν ἐποί-

204 ησεν. οὐχ ἡττον γὰρ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς καταδικασθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ μὴ ζῆν λύπης περὶ τῆς σῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης ἐφρόντιζον, ἀδίκως οὕτως ἄνδρας καὶ ταῦτα καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἀποθανεῖν κελεύσαντος, οῖς οὐδὲν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας ἐχόμενον προσέταξας, δ δ' ἦν ἔργον θεοῦ τοῦτο ἀπήτεις παρ'

205 αὐτῶν. σοὶ τοίνυν φροντίζοντι περὶ τοῦ τίς ἄρξει τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς μετὰ σέ, κατακοιμηθέντι βου-

1 αὐτὸ RLV. 2 γίνεσθαι LVE. 3 πεποίηκεν LVE. 4 ἔργον om. ROME: παρὰ Exc.

b Josephus omits the contents of Daniel's prayer, vss. 20-23.

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^a Daniel's encouragement of his companions is an addition to Scripture.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 201-205

Daniel received this knowledge from God, he joyfully arose and told his brothers and, though they were already in despair of their lives and had their thoughts fixed on death, he aroused them to cheerfulness and to hope of life; a then together with them he gave thanks to God who had taken pity on their youth, b and, when day came, he went to Arioches and asked him to lead him to the king, for, he said, he wished to reveal to him the dream which he said he had had on the night before the preceding one.

(4) Then Daniel went in to the king and first Daniel debegged that he might not be thought wiser than the Scribes Nebuchadothers, that is, the Chaldaeans and Magi, merely nezzar's because, while no one of them had been able to Dan. ii. 25. find out what his dream was, he was about to tell him c; for this was not due to his skill nor to his having through his own effort acquired a better understanding than they "but to God who took pity on us when we were in danger of death and, in answer to my prayer for my own life and the lives of my countrymen, has made clear to me both the dream and its interpretation. For no less than my sorrow for ourselves who had been condemned to death by you was my concern for your good name, seeing that you had unjustly ordered these men to be put to death, especially such fine and excellent men, on whom you had imposed a task which is by no means within the limits of human wisdom, and demanded of them something which only God can do.d Now then, when you were anxious about who should rule the whole world after you, God wished

· Bibl. "what should come to pass hereafter."

d Variant "which is of God." In the foregoing passage Josephus amplifies Scripture.

λόμενος δηλώσαι πάντας δ θεὸς τοὺς βασιλεύσοντας 206 ὄναρ ἔδειξε τοιοῦτον ἔδοξας όραν ἀνδριάντα μέγαν έστῶτα, οὖ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν συνέβαινεν εἶναι χρυσῆν, τοὺς δὲ ὤμους καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἀργυρούς, την δέ γαστέρα καὶ τούς μηρούς χαλκέους,

207 κνήμας δε καὶ πόδας σιδηροῦς. ἔπειται λίθον είδες² έξ ὄρους ἀπορραγέντα έμπεσεῖν τῷ ἀνδριάντι καὶ τοῦτον καταβαλόντα συνθρύψαι³ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μέρος όλόκληρον ἀφεῖναι, ὡς τὸν μὲν⁴ χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ τὸν σίδηρον άλεύρων λεπτότερον γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνέμου πνεύσαντος σφοδροτέρου ύπὸ τῆς βίας άρπαγέντα διασπαρήναι, τὸν δὲ λίθον αὐξήσαι τοσοῦτον ώς

208 ἄπασαν δοκείν την γην ύπ' αὐτοῦ πεπληρωσθαι. τὸ μέν οὖν ὄναρ, ὅπερ εἶδες, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἡ δὲ κρίσις αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον ἡ μὲν χρυσῆ κεφαλὴ σέ τε ἐδήλου καὶ τοὺς πρὸ σοῦ βασιλέας Βαβυλωνίους όντας αί δε δύο χειρες και οι ώμοι σημαίνουσιν ύπο δύο καταλυθήσεσθαι βασιλέων την 209 ήγεμονίαν ύμων την δε εκείνων ετερός τις από της

δύσεως καθαιρήσει χαλκον ημφιεσμένος, καὶ ταύτην άλλη παύσει την ισχύν όμοια σιδήρω και κρατήσει

1 είτα ROM. ² είδες om. ROM. 3 συντρίψαι SPLV Exc. Zonaras.

⁵ δύο om. ROM. 4 ώς τον μέν] τον δέ SPLVE Exc.

<sup>Bibl. "breast" (Aram. "breasts"; Lxx and Theod. στῆθος; Theod. adds "hands").
Bibl. "its legs of iron, its feet partly iron and partly clay" (or "tile," cf. J. A. Montgomery, A Commentary on</sup> Daniel, ad loc.). On the alteration of Scripture cf. § 209 note a.

[·] Cf. Theod. ἀποσχίσθη (LXX ἐτμήθη) λίθος ἐξ ὄρους " a stone was severed from a mountain"; Aram. "a stone was severed without hands."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 205-209

to reveal to you in your sleep all those who are to reign and sent you the following dream. You seemed to see a great image standing up, of which the head was of gold, the shoulders a and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of bronze and the legs and feet of iron.b Then you saw a stone break off from a mountain c and fall upon the image and overthrow it, breaking it to pieces and leaving not one part of it whole, so that the gold and silver and bronze and iron were made finer than flour, and, when the wind blew strongly, they were caught up by its force and scattered abroad; but the stone grew so much larger that the whole earth seemed to be filled with it. This, then, is the dream which you interpretasaw; as for its interpretation, it is as follows. The dream. head of gold represents you and the Babylonian Dan. ii. 36. kings who were before you. The two hands and shoulders signify that your empire will be brought to an end by two kings. But their empire will be destroyed by another king from the west, clad in bronze, and this power will be ended by still another, like iron, that will have dominion for ever through

^d According to Scripture the stone first struck the image on the feet and broke them, after which the whole image was

'Aram, and Theod. "like chaff (Theod. "dust") of the summer threshing-floor ": Lxx "lighter than chaff on the threshing-floor."

The latter part of this sentence (" and the Babylonian

kings," etc.) is an addition to Scripture.

The variant omits "two."

A Bibl. "another kingdom inferior to thee."

' Bibl. "a third kingdom of bronze which shall rule over all the earth." Josephus's addition "from the west" indicates that, like the rabbis, he identified the third kingdom with the empire of Alexander.

δὲ εἰς ἄπαντα διὰ τὴν τοῦ σιδήρου φύσιν " εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν στερροτέραν τῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ 210 ἀργύρου καὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ. ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ λίθου Δανίηλος τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἔδοξε τοῦτο ἱστορεῖν, τὰ παρελθόντα καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα συγγράφειν οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα ὀφείλοντι, εἰ δέ τις της ακριβείας γλιχόμενος ου περιίσταται πολυπραγμονείν, ώς και περί των αδήλων τί γενήσεται βούλεσθαι μαθείν, σπουδασάτω το βιβλίον αναγνωναι τὸ Δανιήλου εύρήσει δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν.

(5) 'Ο δέ βασιλεύς Ναβουχοδονόσορος ακηκοώς' 211 ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιγνοὺς τὸ ὄναρ ἐξεπλάγη τὴν τοῦ Δανιήλου φύσιν, καὶ πεσών ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ὧ τρόπω τὸν θεὸν προσκυνοῦσι, τούτω τὸν Δανίηλον ἦσπά-

212 ζετο. καὶ θύειν δὲ ως θεῶ προσέταξεν, οὐ μὴν άλλά και την προσηγορίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ ίδίου θεοῦ θέμενος, άπάσης ἐπίτροπον τῆς βασιλείας ἐποίησε καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ, οῦς ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ βασκανίας είς κίνδυνον έμπεσείν συνέβη τῶ βασιλεί 213 προσκρούσαντας έξ αίτίας τοιαύτης ὁ βασιλεύς

κατασκευάσας χρύσεον ανδριάντα, πηχών το μέν ύψος έξήκοντα τὸ πλάτος δὲ έξ, στήσας αὐτὸν ἐν τῶ μεγάλω τῆς Βαβυλῶνος πεδίω καὶ μέλλων

¹ ἀληθείας PLVE. 2 ἀκούσας LV(E). 3 θύειν δέ Exc.: θύσειν δεῖν RO: θύσειν δή SPL: θύσειν δέ

V: θύειν Ε. Βαβυλωνίας Ο Lat.

a Josephus has omitted the scriptural detail about the division of the fourth kingdom and its composition of iron 274

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 209-213

its iron nature," which, he said, is harder than that of gold or silver or bronze.a And Daniel also revealed to the king the meaning of the stone, but I have not thought it proper to relate this, since I am expected to write of what is past and done and not of what is to be; if, however, there is anyone who has so keen a desire for exact information b that he will not stop short of inquiring more closely but wishes to learn about the hidden things that are to come, let him take the trouble to read the Book of Daniel, which

he will find among the sacred writings.c

(5) When King Nebuchadnezzar had heard these Daniel's things and recognized his dream, he was amazed at companions Daniel's natural gifts and, falling on his face, hailed lously saved him in the manner in which men worship God. He fire. also commanded that they should sacrifice to him Dan. ii. 46. as to a god, and not only that, but he even gave him the name of his own god d and made him and his relatives governors of the kingdom; but these, as it happened, fell into great danger from envy and jealousy when they offended the king for the following reason. The king had an image made of gold, Dan, iii, 1. sixty cubits high and six broad, and set it up in the great plain of Babylon; and, when ready to consecrate

and clay (cf. § 206 note b), probably because, like the rabbis, he identified it with Rome and did not wish to offend Roman readers; cf. next note but one.

b Variant "truth."

^e Josephus's evasiveness about the meaning of the stone which destroyed the kingdom of iron (vs. 44 f.) is due to the fact that the Jewish interpretation of it current in his day took it as a symbol of the Messiah or Messianic kingdom which would make an end of the Roman empire.

d i.e. Belteshazzar, cf. Dan. iv. 8 (Aram. iv. 5). Josephus forgets that he has already written (in § 189) that Nebuchad-

nezzar changed Daniel's name to Belteshazzar.

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καθιεροῦν αὐτὸν συνεκάλεσεν εξ άπάσης ής ήρχε γης τοὺς πρώτους, πρῶτον αὐτοῖς προστάξας, όταν σημαινούσης ἀκούσωσι τῆς σάλπιγγος, τότε πεσόντας προσκυνεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοὺς δὲ μὴ ποιήσαντας ἡπείλησεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἐμβληθή-

214 σεσθαι κάμινον. πάντων οὖν μετὰ τὸ σημαινούσης ἐπακοῦσαι τῆς σάλπιγγος προσκυνούντων τὸν ἀνδριάντα, τοὺς Δανιήλου συγγενεῖς οὐ ποιῆσαι τοῦτό φασι μὴ βουληθέντας παραβῆναι τοὺς πατρίους νόμους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλεγχθέντες εὐθὺς¹ εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐμβληθέντες θεἰα σώζονται προνοία καὶ παραδόξως

215 διαφεύγουσι τὸν θάνατον. οὐ γὰρ ἥψατο τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν² ἀλλὰ κατὰ λογισμὸν οἶμαι τῷ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντας εἰς αὐτὸ βληθῆναι οὐχ ἥψατο, καίειν δ' ἀσθενὲς ἢν ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοὺς παῖδας, τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττονα τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ὥστε μὴ δαπανηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς παρασκευάσαντος.³ τοῦτο συνέστησεν αὐτοὺς τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς δικαίους καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, διὸ μετὰ ταῦτα πάσης ἀξιούμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμῆς διετέλουν.

216 (6) 'Ολίγω δ' ὕστερον χρόνω πάλιν όρα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ό βασιλεὺς ὄψιν έτέραν, ὡς ἐκπεσων τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ θηρίων ἔξει τὴν δίαιταν καὶ δια-ζήσας οὕτως ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ἔτεσιν ἐπτὰ αὖθις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολήψεται. τοῦτο θεασάμενος τοῦναρ πάλιν τοὺς μάγους συγκαλέσας ἀνέκρινεν αὐτοὺς περὶ

1 εὐθέως SPLVE. 2 οὐ γὰρ . . . αὐτῶν om. ROM. 3 κατασκευάσαντος cum E Hudson, Naber.

^a Josephus omits the other musical instruments mentioned in Scripture.

<sup>The variant omits "for the fire did not touch them."
Josephus here considerably abridges Scripture. It is
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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 213-216

it, he summoned the chief men from all the lands over which he ruled, having first commanded that at the moment when they heard the trumpet sound a they should fall down and worship the image, and those who would not do so he threatened to have thrown into a fiery furnace. Accordingly all who heard the trumpet sound worshipped the image, but it is said the relatives of Daniel did not do so because they were unwilling to transgress their fathers' laws. And so they were convicted and straightway thrown into the fire, but were saved by divine providence and miraculously escaped death, for the fire did not touch them b; and indeed it was, I believe, in consideration of their being thrown into it without having done any wrong that it did not touch them, and it was powerless to burn the youths when it held them, for God made their bodies too strong to be consumed by the fire. This proved to the king that they were righteous and dear to God, and so they continued thereafter to be held worthy by him of the highest honour.c

(6) A little while afterward the king again had Nebuchadanother vision in his sleep, which was that he would second fall from power and make his home with beasts d dream, Dan, iv, 4 and, after living in this way in the wilderness for seven years, would again recover his royal power. After beholding this dream, he again summoned the Magi and inquired of them about it and asked them

noteworthy that he does not refer to the " Prayer of the Three Youths" found in the Greek versions and included in the Apocrypha.

d Josephus greatly condenses the scriptural account of the

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So LXX; Aram. and Theod. "seven times" (or " seasons ").

217 αὐτοῦ καὶ τί σημαίνοι λέγειν ήξίου. τῶν μὲν οὖν άλλων οὐθεὶς ήδυνήθη τὴν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διάνοιαν εύρεῖν οὐδ' ἐμφανίσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, Δανίηλος δὲ μόνος καὶ τοῦτ' ἔκρινε καὶ καθώς οὖτος αὐτῶ προείπεν ἀπέβη. διατρίψας γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας τον προειρημένον χρόνον οὐδενος τολμήσαντος έπιθέσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι παρὰ τὴν ἐπταετίαν, δεηθεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβεῖν πάλιν εἰς αὐτὴν

218 ἐπανέρχεται. ἐγκαλέση δέ μοι μηδεὶς οὕτως ἕκαστα τούτων ἀπαγγέλλοντι διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὐρίσκω βιβλίοις καὶ γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῆ της ιστορίας πρός τους επιζητήσοντάς τι περί των πραγμάτων η μεμψομένους ησφαλισάμην, μόνον τε μεταφράζειν τὰς Εβραίων βίβλους εἰπων είς την Ελλάδα γλώτταν καὶ ταῦτα δηλώσειν μήτε προστιθείς τοις πράγμασιν αὐτὸς ἰδία μήτ ἀφαιρων ύπεσχημένος.

219 (xi. 1) Ο δε βασιλεύς Ναβουχοδονόσορος έτη τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα βασιλεύσας τελευτῷ τὸν βίον άνηρ δραστήριος καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων εὐτυχέστερος γενόμενος. μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν πράξεων καὶ Βηρωσός ἐν τῆ τρίτη τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν 220 ίστοριῶν λέγων οὕτως '' ἀκούσας δ' ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ναβοπαλάσαρος ότι ο τεταγμένος σατράπης έν τῆ

Αίγύπτω καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Συριαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ την Φοινίκην τόποις αποστάτης αὐτοῦ γέγονεν, οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτὸς ἔτι κακοπαθεῖν συστήσας τῷ υίῷ Ναβουγοδονοσόρω όντι έν ήλικία μέρη τινά της

3 Βηρωσσός RP2VE2.

² Niese: apaipeîv codd. 1 ίδια SPL: ίδιον V.

⁴ Ναβοπαλάσαρος ex cont. Apion., Eusebio conj. Niese: Ναβουχοδονόσορος ROLV: Ναβουχαδανάσαρος (-άσσαρος P) SP. 278

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to tell him what it signified. Now none of the others could discover the import of the dream or make it known to the king, but Daniel alone interpreted it, and as he foretold to him so it came to pass. For the king spent the forementioned period of time in the wilderness, none venturing to seize the government during these seven years, and, after praying to God that he might recover his kingdom, he was again restored to it. But let no one reproach me for recording in my work each of these events as I have found them in the ancient books, for at the very beginning of my History I safeguarded myself against those who might find something wanting in my narrative or find fault with it, and said that I was only translating the books of the Hebrews into the Greek tongue, promising to report their contents without adding anything of my own to the narrative or omitting anything therefrom.

(xi. 1) Now King Nebuchadnezzar's life came to Death of an end after a reign of forty-three years a; he was a Nebuchad nezzar; man of bold action and more fortunate than the account of kings before him. His deeds are also mentioned by Berosus. Berosus in the third book of his History of Chal- Cl. Ap. i. daea, where he writes as follows. "When his father Nabopalasaros b heard that the satrap appointed over Egypt and the districts of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia had revolted from him, being no longer himself able to endure hardships, he placed a part of his force at the disposal of his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was in his prime, and sent him out against this

^b Conjectured form (cf. Ap. and below, § 221); MSS.

Nabūchodonosoros, etc.

^a Cf. Ap. i. 146. He reigned from 604 to 562 B.C. The rabbinic reckoning varies between 40 and 45 years, cf. Ginzberg iv. 339, vi. 430.

- 221 δυνάμεως έξέπεμψεν έπ' αὐτόν. συμμίξας δέ Ναβουχοδονόσορος τῷ ἀποστάτη καὶ παραταξάμενος αὐτοῦ τε ἐκράτησει καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς άρχης ύπὸ την αύτοῦ βασιλειαν ἐποιήσατο. τω τε πατρί αὐτοῦ Ναβοπαλασάρω συνέβη κατ αὐτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀρρωστήσαντι ἐν τῆ Βαβυλωνίων πόλει μεταλλάξαι τον βίον έτη βασιλεύσαντι είκοσι καὶ έν.5
- 222 αἰσθόμενος δὲ μετ' οὐ πολύν χρόνον τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν Ναβουχοδονόσορος καὶ καταστήσας τὰ κατά την Αίγυπτον πράγματα και την λοιπήν χώραν, καὶ τους αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων καὶ Σύρων καὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐθνῶν συντάξας τισὶ τῶν φίλων μετὰ τῆς βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ώφελείας ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, αὐτὸς ὁρμήσας ὀλιγοστὸς διὰ τῆς

223 ἐρήμου παραγίνεται είς Βαβυλώνα. παραλαβών δὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων καὶ διατηρουμένην την βασιλείαν ύπο τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν, κυριεύσας όλοκλήρου της πατρικής ἀρχης τοις μέν αιχμαλώτοις παραγενομένοις συνέταξε κατοικίας εν τοις επιτηδειοτάτοις της Βαβυλωνίας 224 τόποις ἀποδεῖξαι, αὐτὸς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου

λαφύρων τό τε τοῦ Βήλου ίερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κοσμήσας φιλοτίμως, τήν τε υπάρχουσαν έξ άρχης πόλιν ανακαινίσας και έτέρα 10 κατοχυρώσας 11 προς 12

¹ ἐκράτει Syncellus: ἐκυρίευσε cont. Apion., Eusebius.

ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς] ἐξ ἀρχῆς cont. Apion., Eusebli Chron.;
 ἐξαῦθις Eusebli Praep. Ev.; ἐξ αὐτῆς Gutschmid.
 ³ Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.: αὐτῶν cont. Apion., Syncellus.

⁴ cf. annot. 4, p. 278.

⁵ είκοσι καὶ ἔν] είκοσιεννέα cont. Apion.

⁶ ex Lat., cont. Apion. conj. Naber: Ναβουχοδονοσόρου (-σαρου RO) ROLV: Ναβουχαδανασσάρου SP.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 221-224

satrap. Then Nebuchadnezzar engaged the rebel, defeated him in a pitched battle and brought the country which was under the other's rule into his own realm. As it happened, his father Nabopalasaros fell ill at about this time in the city of Babylon and departed this life after reigning twenty-one a years. Being informed, not long after, of his father's death, Nebuchadnezzar settled the affairs of Egypt and the other countries and also gave orders to some of his friends to conduct to Babylon the captives taken among the Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians and peoples of Egypt with the bulk of his force and the rest of the booty, while he himself set out with a few men and reached Babylon through the desert. There he found the government administered by the Chaldaeans and the throne preserved for him by the ablest man b among them; and, on becoming master of his father's entire realm, he gave orders to allot to the captives, when they came, settlements in the most suitable places in Babylonia; he himself magnificently decorated the temple of Bel and the other temples with the spoils of the war; he also restored the originally existing city and fortified it

^a Variant (in Ap.) 29. He reigned from 625 to 605 B.c. ^b T. Reinach emends to "men. 65

⁷ καταλαβών cont. Apion.

⁸ ἀποδείξας RSP: ἀπέδειξαν L: om. V Lat.

⁹ ἀνακαινίσας (ex seqq.) ins. Naber.

¹⁰ conj.: ἔτερα codd.: ἐτέραν ἔξωθεν cont. Apion.

¹¹ conj.: καταχαρισάμενος RSP: καταχειρισάμενος Ο: καταχρησάμενος LV: contulit Lat.: προσχαρισάμενος cont. Apion.: προσκαταχρησάμενος Syncellus: προσοχυρισάμενος Herwerden: προκαθύδουσάμενος Gutschmid.

¹² καὶ ἀνακαινίσας πρὸς SP: καὶ ἀναγκάσας πρὸς rell.: prisca reparavit Lat.

τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναστρέφοντας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασκευάζειν περιεβάλετο τρεῖς μὲν τῆς ἔνδον πόλεως περιβόλους, τρεῖς δὲ τῆς ἔξω, τούτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ἀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἀτῆς

225 τῆς πλίνθου. καὶ τειχίσας ἀξιολόγως τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας κοσμήσας ἱεροπρεπῶς, κατεσκεύασεν ἐν τοῖς πατρικοῖς βασιλείοις ἔτερα βασίλεια ἐχόμενα αὐτῶν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἀνάστημα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πολυτέλειαν περισσὸν ἴσως ἂν εἴη λέγειν, πλὴν ὡς ὄντα μεγάλα καὶ ὑπερήφανα συνετελέσθη

226 ήμέραις πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις τούτοις ἀναλήμματα λίθινα⁸ ἀνωκοδόμησε, τὴν ὄψιν ἀποδοὺς ὁμοιοτάτην τοῖς ὅρεσι, καταφυτεύσας δὲ⁸ δένδρεσι παντοδαποῖς έξειργάσατο καὶ κατεσκεύασε τὸν καλούμενον κρεμαστὸν παράδεισον διὰ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς οἰκείας¹⁰ διαθέσεως ὡς 227 τεθραμμένην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Μηδίαν τόποις.'' καὶ

227 τεθραμμένην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Μηδίαν τόποις.'' καὶ Μεγασθένης δὲ ἐν τῆ τετάρτη τῶν Ἰνδικῶν μνημο-

κατασκευάζειν om. RO: aliquo modo praevalere Lat.
 d. pr.: ὑπερεβάλετο (-ἐβάλλετο L) codd., cont. Apion.: erexit Lat.

4 τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου . . . ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πλίνθου ex cont. Apion. Naber: τῆς ὀπτῆς πλίνθου codd. Lat.

5 προσκατεσκεύακεν cont. Apion.: addidit Eusebius Armen.:

προκατεσκεύασεν Syncellus.

6 περισσὸν . . . λέγειν] μακρὰ δ' ἴσως ἔσται ἐάν τις ἐξηγῆται

cont. Apion.

⁷ πλὴν ὡς ὄντα Dindorf: πλὴν ὅσον τὰ SP: πλησίον τὲ τὰ RO: πλὴν ὅσον τὲ τὰ LV: verum tamen hoc sciendum quia dum essent Lat.: πλὴν ὅντα γε ὑπερβολὴν ὡς cont. Apion.: πλὴν ὅντα ὑπερβολῆ Syncellus.

8 + ύψηλα cont. Apion.

¹ ex cont. Apion. Hudson: ἀναστρέψαντας ROLV: ἀναστρέψας SP: ἀποστρέφοντας Ernesti.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 224-227

with another one, and, in order that besiegers might no longer be able to divert the course of the river and direct it against the city, he surrounded the inner city with three walls and the outer one with three, those of the inner city being of burnt brick and bitumen, while those of the outer city were of brick alone.b After walling about the city in this remarkable way and adorning the gatetowers as befitted their sacred character, he built, where his father's palace was, another palace adjoining it, of the height of which and its magnificence in other respects it would perhaps be extravagant of of me to speak, except to say that in spite of its being so great and splendid it was completed in fifteen days. In this palace he erected retaining walls d of stone, to which he gave an appearance very like that of mountains and, by planting on them trees of all kinds, he achieved this effect, and built the so-called hanging garden e because his wife, who had been brought up in the region of Media, had a desire for her native f environment." Mega- Megasthenes g also mentions these facts in the fourth biocles and

a-a The text here is very difficult and in part corrupt; in emending it I have in part followed earlier scholars.

b Text emended after Ap.

Variant in Ap. "tedious" (lit. "long").

Meaning uncertain; Dr. Thackeray in Ap. translates "terraces."

^e Paradeisos "garden" is a loan-word from Persian, originally meaning "hunting-park." As Dr. Thackeray notes in Ap., this hanging garden was regarded as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, cf. Diodorus ii. 7 ff.

¹ Variant in Ap. "mountainous."

⁹ Cf. Ap. i. 144 note c.

⁹ δè ins. Niese.

¹⁰ opeias cont. Apion.

νεύει αὐτῶν, δι' ἦς ἀποφαίνειν πειρᾶται τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τῷ ἀνδρεία καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πράξεων ὑπερβεβληκότα¹ τὸν Ἡρακλέα· καταστρέψασθαι γὰρ αὐτόν φησι Λιβύης τὴν πολλὴν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν.

228 καὶ Διοκλῆς δ' ἐν τῆ δευτέρα τῶν Περσικῶν μνημονεύει τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ Φιλόστρατος ἐν ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς καὶ Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις, ὅτι οὖτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπολιόρκησε τὴν Τύρον ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βασιλεύοντος κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν Ἰθωβάλου τῆς Τύρου. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ἱστορούμενα περὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτα ἦν.

229 (2) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ναβουχοδονοσόρου τελευτὴν ᾿Αβιλμαθαδάχος² ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείσν παραλαμβάνει, δς εὐθὺς τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα Ἰεχονίαν³ τῶν δεσμῶν ἀφεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τῶν φίλων εἶχε, πολλὰς αὐτῷ δωρεὰς δοὺς καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῆ Βαβυλωνία βασιλέων.

230 ό γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὴν πίστιν οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν Ἰεχονία παραδόντι μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῆς συγγενείας ὅλης ἐκουσίως αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ώς ἂν μὴ κατασκαφείη ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς πολιορ-

231 κίας, καθώς προειρήκαμεν. τελευτήσαντος δε' Αβίλμαθαδάχου μετὰ έτη οκτωκαίδεκα τῆς βασιλείας,

1 Niese: ὑπερβεβηκότα codd.

Iechoniam qui et Ioachim Lat.
 ἔντιμον P²: αὐτὸν ἔντιμον Hudson.

² Niese: 'Αβιαμαθαδάχος (R)O: 'Αβελμάρθαχος P: 'Αβελμάθαχος S: 'Αβιλαμαρώδαχος LV: 'Αβιλαραμάταχος E: Amilmathapacus qui et Abimathadocus Lat.

^a Nothing is known of a Diocles who wrote a *History of Persia*. There were, however, several ancient historians of this name.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 227-231

book of his History of India, where he attempts to Philostratos show that this king surpassed Heracles in bravery chadnezzar. and in the greatness of his deeds, saying that he of. Ap. i. subdued the greater part of Libya and Iberia. And Diocles, as well, mentions this king in the second book of his History of Persia ; and Philostratos in his History of India b and of Phoenicia writes that this king besieged Tyre for thirteen years at the time when Ithobalos was king of Tyre.c This, then, is what has been written about this king by all the historians.

(2) After the death of Nebuchadnezzar his son Evil-mero-Abilmathadaehos, who took over the royal power, dach (Abilmathadaehos, who took over the royal power, dach (Abilmathadaehos, dach (Abilmathadaehos), dach (Abilmathadaehos at once released Jechonias, the king of Jerusalem, dachos) from his chains and kept him as one of his closest Nebuchadfriends, giving him many gifts and setting him above nezzar and frees the kings in Babylonia. For his father had not kept Jehoiachin faith with Jechonias when he voluntarily surrendered 2 Kings himself with his wives and children and all his rela- xxv. 27; tives for the sake of his native city, that it might not Jer. lii. 31. be taken by siege and razed, as we have said before. When Abilmathadachos died after reigning eighteen G. Ap. i.

b Weill emends to "Judaea" (Ἰουδαϊκαῖς). As Philostratos is known to us only through these excerpts in Josephus, there is no way of determining whether we should read" India " or " Judaea."

^c The same statement is made in the excerpt from the "Phoenician records" (probably Menander of Ephesus) in

Ap. i. 156.

d Conjectured form; Mss. Abiamathadachos, Abelma(r)thachos, etc.; variant in Ap. Eveilmaraduchos; bibl. Evilmerodach. Scripture does not mention the (historical) fact that he was the son of Nebuchadnezzar.

Bibl. Jehoiachin, cf. § 97 note c.

1 § 97. This explanation of Evil-merodach's motive is an addition to Scripture.

'Ηγλίσαρος' ό παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνει, καὶ κατασχών αὐτὴν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καταστρέφει τὸν βίον. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Λαβοσόρδαχον' ἀφικνεῖται τῆς βασιλείας ἡ διαδοχή, καὶ μῆνας ποιήσασα παρ' αὐτῷ τοὺς πάντας ἐννέα τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ μεταβαίνει πρὸς Βαλτασάρην' τὸν καλούμενον Ναβοάνδηλον' παρὰ τοῖς Βαβυ-

232 λωνίοις. ἐπὶ τοῦτον στρατεύουσι Κῦρός τε ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Δαρεῖος ὁ Μήδων. καὶ πολιορκουμένω αὐτῷ⁵ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θαυμάσιόν τι καὶ τεράστιον θέαμα συνέβη· κατέκειτο δειπνῶν καὶ πίνων⁰ ἐν οἴκω μεγάλω καὶ πρὸς² ἑστιάσεις πεποιημένω βασιλικὰς μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων καὶ 233 τῶν φίλων. δόξαν δὲ αὐτῷ, κομισθῆναι κελεύει ἐκ

233 τῶν φίλων. δόξαν δὲ αὐτῷ, κομισθῆναι κελεύει ἐκ τοῦ ιδίου ναοῦ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σκεύη, ἃ συλήσας Να-

¹ Ἰγλίσαρος SP: Νιγλίσαρος LVE: Helesarus, Egresarius Lat. codd.
² Λαβροσόδαχον SP.

3 Βαλτάσαριν (-άριν Ο) OSP: Βαλτάσαρον LV.

4 Naboan Lat.

5 πολιορκουμένω αὐτῷ Ε: πολιορκουμένων τοὺς codd.

6 καὶ πίνων om. SPLVE Lat.

 7 καὶ πρὸς SP: καὶ γυρῷ E: καὶ ἀργυρῷ eἰς O: καὶ ἄργυρος eἰς L: καὶ σκευῶν ἦν πολὸς ἄργυρος eἰς V: evan. R.

^c Variant here Labrosodachos, in Ap. Laborosoardochos.

His name in Babylonian was Labaši-Marduk.

The excerpt from Berosus in Ap. i. 147 gives only 2 years to Evil-merodach (Bab. Amel-Marduk), which agrees with historical fact. According to rabbinic tradition he reigned 23 years, cf. Ginzberg iv. 344, vi. 430 (with corrections).
 Variants here Iglisaros, Niglisaros, in Ap. Nëriglisaros,

b Variants here Iglisaros, Niglisaros, in Ap. Nēriglisaros, etc. His name in Babylonian was Nergal-šar-uṣur, which appears as Nergal-sareṣer in Jer. xxxix. 3, cf. § 135 note d. He was not a son of Evil-merodach.

^d From March to the end of summer, 556 B.C., according to R. Campbell Thompson in the Cambridge Ancient History, iii. 218.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 231-233

years, a his son Eglisaros b took over the royal power and held it for forty years until the end of his life. After him the succession to the throne fell to his son Labosordachos e and, after holding it nine months in all,d he died; it then passed to Baltasares,e who was called Naboandelos by the Babylonians. Belshazzar's It was against him that Cyrus, king of Persia, and (Baltasares') Darius, king of Media, took the field 9; and, while Dan. v. 1. he was being besieged in Babylon, there appeared to him a wonderful and portentous vision as he reclined at table, feasting and drinking h in a great hall i made for royal entertainments, with his coneubines and friends, for, as it pleased him to do so, he ordered that there be brought from his own temple the vessels of God which Nebuchadnezzar had taken

· Variants Baltasaris, -aros; bibl. Belshazzar, LXX Βαλτασάρ. He is not mentioned in the parallel in Ap. or in the excerpts from Berosus and Alexander Polyhistor preserved

in Eusebius's Chronicon.

Variant in Ap. Nabonnēdos. His Babylonian name was Nabu-na'id. Belshazzar was actually the son and co-ruler of Nabonidus (the usual modern form derived from Gr.), although he is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar in Scripture (which some ancient Jewish authorities explained as meaning "grandson"). Josephus probably identifies Belshazzar (the last Babylonian king according to Scripture) with Nabonidus because in the Greek sources (e.g. Herodotus and Berosus) the last Babylonian king is called Nabonidus (Labynētos, son of Labynetos, in Herodotus).

Darius the Mede is mentioned here (his name does not occur in the parallel in Ap.) because of the bibl. statement, Dan. v. 31, that he "took the kingdom" (of Babylon). So too rabbinic tradition associates Darius with Cyrus in the capture of Babylon, cf. Ginzberg vi. 431. Actually there was no Median king Darius contemporary with Cyrus,

cf. 248 note d.

A The variant omits ' and drinking." ' Variant " in a great silver hall."

βουχοδονόσορος έκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐκ ἐχρῆτο μέν, εἰς δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ¹ ναὸν κατέθηκεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ θράσους προαχθεὶς ὧστε αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι, μεταξὺ πίνων καὶ βλασφημῶν εἰς² τὸν θεόν, ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ὁρᾳ χεῖρα προϊοῦσαν καὶ τῷ τοίχῳ 234 τινὰς συλλαβὰς ἐγγράφουσαν. ταραχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ

234 τινὰς συλλαβὰς ἐγγράφουσαν. ταραχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ὅψεως συνεκάλεσε τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς Χαλ-δαίους καὶ πᾶν τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὅσον ῆν ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις³ τά τε σημεῖα καὶ τὰ ὀνείρατα κρίνειν δυνάμενον, ὡς ᾶν αὐτῷ δηλώσωσι τὰ γεγραμμένα. 235 τῶν δὲ μάγων οὐδὲν εὐρίσκειν δυναμένων οὐδὲ

235 τῶν δὲ μάγων οὐδὲν εὐρίσκειν δυναμένων οὐδὲ συνιέναι λεγόντων, ὑπ' ἀγωνίας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πολλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξω λύπης κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκήρυξε τὴν χώραν, τῷ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν δηλουμένην διάνοιαν σαφῆ ποιήσαντι δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος στρεπτὸν περιαυχένιον χρύσεον καὶ πορφυρᾶν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν, ὡς οἱ τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς.

βασίλεις, και το τρίτον μέρος της ιδίας άρχης. 236 τούτου γενομένου τοῦ κηρύγματος ἔτι μαλλον οἱ μάγοι συνδραμόντες και φιλοτιμησάμενοι πρὸς τὴν εὕρεσιν τῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἠπόρησαν.

237 ἀθυμοῦντα δ' ἐπὶ τούτω θεασαμένη τὸν βασιλέα ἡ μάμμη αὐτοῦ παραθαρσύνειν ἤρξατο καὶ λέγειν ὡς ἔστι τις ἀπὸ⁴ τῆς Ἰουδαίας αἰχμάλωτος ἐκεῖθεν τὸ

¹ Niese: αὐτοῦ SPLVE: αὐτοῦ O: evan. R. ² πρὸς RO: secl. Niese.

^a The references to the private temples of Belshazzar and Nebuchadnezzar are unscriptural details.

³ βαρβάροις LV Lat.
4 ἐκ LVE.

b It is not clear why Josephus distinguishes here between $\tau\epsilon i\chi os$ (usu. = "city-wall") and $\tau o i\chi os$ (usu. = "house-wall"). Scripture says, "there came forth fingers of a man's hand and wrote opposite the candelabrum on the plaster of the wall (Lxx and Theod. $\tau o i\chi ov$) of the king's palace." Possibly 288

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as spoil from Jerusalem but instead of using them had deposited in his own temple.a Baltasares, however, went so far in his audacity as to use them, and, while drinking and blaspheming God, he saw a hand coming out of the wall and writing certain syllables on (another) wall. Being troubled by this vision, he summoned the Magi and Chaldaeans and all of that class who were in Babylonia c and could interpret signs and dreams, in order that they might inform him what the writing meant. But, when the Magi were unable to read anything and said that they did not understand it, the king felt great anxiety and distress about the miraculous vision and made a proclamation throughout the entire country, promising to give to anyone who would make plain the writing and the meaning contained therein a necklace of linked d gold and purple dress to wear like the kings of Chaldaea, and the third part of his own realm. When this proclamation The Magi was made, the Magi gathered in still greater num-are unable to interpret bers and made still greater efforts to read the writing, the writing but were no less at a loss than before. Seeing the on the wall, Dan, v. 8. king despondent over this, his grandmother began to console him by saying that there was a certain captive from Judaea, a native of that country, who

Josephus's reference to the two (?) walls is based on Theod.'s reading "on the plaster of the wall and of the king's palace." "The variant "among the barbarians" is evidently

corrupt.

d Aram. hamnika (A.V. "chain") and Lxx-Theod. μανιάκης are both derived from Persian hamyanak, the exact meaning of which is uncertain but is some kind of necklace.

Bibl. "the queen." Many ancient commentators assumed that this was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar and so the grandmother (according to rabbinic tradition, cf. § 231 note f) of Belshazzar.

γένος ἀχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου πορθήσαντος Ἱεροσόλυμα Δανίηλος ὄνομα, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ δεινὸς εὐρεῖν¹ τὰ ἀμήχανα καὶ μόνω τῷ θεῷ γνώριμα, δς Ναβουχοδονοσόρω τῷ βασιλεῖ μηδενὸς ἄλλου δυνηθέντος εἰπεῖν περὶ ὧν ἔχρηζεν εἰς φῶς 238 ἤγαγε τὰ ζητούμενα. μεταπεμψάμενον² οὖν αὐτὸν

238 ήγαγε τὰ ζητούμενα. μεταπεμψάμενον² οὖν αὐτὸν ήξίου παρ' αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν τὴν τῶν οὐχ εὑρόντων αὐτὰ κατακρίνειν, κἂν σκυθρωπὸν ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ

σημαινόμενον.

239 (3) Ταθτ' ἀκούσας καλει τὸν Δανίηλον ὁ Βαλτασάρης καὶ διαλεχθεὶς ὡς πύθοιτο περὶ αὐτοθ καὶ τῆς σοφίας ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ πνεθμα συμπάρεστι καὶ μόνος ἐξευρεῖν ἱκανώτατος ἃ μὴ τοις ἄλλοις εἰς ἐπίνοιαν ἔρχεται, φράζειν αὐτῷ τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ

240 τί σημαίνει μηνύειν ήξίου τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσαντι πορφύραν δώσειν ἐνδεδύσθαι καὶ χρύσεον περὶ τὸν αὐχένα στρεπτὸν καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ μέρος τιμὴν καὶ γέρας τῆς σοφίας, ὡς ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπισημότατος γένοιτο τοῖς ὁρῶσι καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐφὸ

211 ή τούτων ἔτυχε πυνθανομένοις. Δανίηλος δὲ τὰς μὲν δωρεὰς αὐτὸν ἔχειν ήξίου (τὸ γὰρ σοφὸν καὶ θεῖον ἀδωροδόκητον εἶναι καὶ προῖκα τοὺς δεομένους ἀφελεῖν) μηνύσειν δ' αὐτῷ τὰ γεγραμμένα σημαίνοντα καταστροφὴν αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου, ὅτι μηδ' οἶς ὁ πρόγονος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὰς εἰς θεὸν ὕβρεις ἐκολάσθη τούτοις ἔμαθεν εὐσεβεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ

1 ἐξευρεῖν LVE.
 2 ed. pr.: μεταπεμψάμενος codd. E.
 3 τὸ om. RO.
 4 P² Lat.: μηνύειν rell.: μηνύει Dindorf.

 $^{^{}a}% \left(n_{a}^{a}\right) =0$ The reference to the "dark outlook" is an unscriptural detail.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 237-241

had been brought from there by Nebuchadnezzar when he sacked Jerusalem; his name was Daniel and he was a wise man and skilful in discovering things beyond man's power and known only to God, and he had brought to light what King Nebuchadnezzar had tried to find, when no one else was able to tell him what he wanted to know. She therefore begged the king to send for him and inquire of him concerning the writing and so condemn the ignorance of those who could not read it, even though a dark

outlook might be indicated by God.a

(3) On hearing this, Baltasares called Daniel and, Daniel after telling him that he had learned of him and his interprets the writing. wisdom and of the divine spirit that attended him Dan. v. 13. and how he alone was fully able to discover things which were not within the understanding of others, he asked him to tell him what the writing was and to explain its meaning, for, he said, if Daniel did this, he would give him purple to wear and put a chain of linked gold about his neck and give him a third of his realm as an honour and reward for his wisdom, so that through these he might become most illustrious to all who saw him and asked the reason why he had obtained them.b Then Daniel begged him to keep his presents-for, he said, that which was wise and divine could not be bought with gifts but freely benefited those who asked for help -and said that he would explain the writing to him; it signified that his life would come to an end because not even from the punishment which his ancestor had suffered for his insolence to God had he learned to be pious and

b The last part of this sentence (" so that through these." etc.) is an addition to Scripture.

^e Bibl. "Let thy gifts be to thyself and give thy rewards

to another."

242 την ανθρωπίνην φύσιν μηχανασθαι· άλλα καὶ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου μεταστάντος είς δίαιταν θηρίων έφ' οίς ησέβησε καὶ μετὰ πολλάς ίκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις έλεηθέντος επανελθείν είς τον ανθρώπινον βίον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸν θεὸν ώς τὴν απασαν έχοντα δύναμιν καὶ προνοούμενον τῶν ανθρώπων μέχρις οδ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ύμνοῦντος, λήθην αὐτὸς ἔλαβε τούτων καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐβλασφήμησε τὸ θεῖον, τοῖς δὲ σκεύεσιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν

243 παλλακίδων διηκονείτο. ταθτ' οθν² όρωντα τον θεὸν ὀργισθήναι αὐτῶ καὶ διὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων προκαταγγέλλειν είς οξον αὐτὸν καταστρέψαι δεῖ τέλος. έδήλου δέ τὰ γράμματα τάδε "μάνη. τούτω δέ, '' ἔλεγεν, '' Ἑλλάδι γλώσση σημαίνοιτ' αν αριθμός, ωσπερ της ζωης σου τὸν⁵ χρόνον καὶ της άρχης ηρίθμηκεν ό θεός καὶ περισσεύειν έτι

244 σοι βραχὺν χρόνον. θεκέλ σημαίνει τοῦτο τὸν σταθμόν στήσας οὖν σου, ' λέγει, " τὸν χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας ὁ θεὸς ήδη καταφερομένην δηλοί. φαρές. καὶ τοῦτο κλάσμα δηλοῖ καθ' Ελλάδα γλώτταν κλάσει τοιγαρούν σου την βασιλείαν καὶ Μήδοις αὐτὴν καὶ Πέρσαις διανεμεῖ."

245 (4) Δανιήλου δέ ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ σημαίνειν φράσαντος τὰ ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ γράμματα τὸν μὲν Βαλτασάρην, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐφ' οὕτω χαλεποῖς τοῖς 246 δεδηλωμένοις, λύπη καὶ συμφορὰ κατέλαβεν οὐ μην ώς προφήτη αὐτῷ κακῶν γενομένω τὰς δωρεὰς

. 1 εἰς τὸ V. 2 οὖν om. RO. 3 γεγραμμένα LVE. 4 Dindorf: τοῦτο codd. E. 5 σου τὸν] τοσοῦτον SP^1 : σου τοσοῦτον LV: οὖτως σου τὸν E. 292

ας ύπέσχετο δώσειν οὐ δίδωσιν, άλλα πάσας παρ-

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 242-246

not to attempt things beyond the natural power of man; on the contrary, though Nebuchadnezzar's way of living had been changed to that of beasts because of his impieties, and only on obtaining (God's) mercy after many supplications and entreaties had he been restored to a human way of living and to his kingdom and had therefore until the day of his death praised God as the possessor of all power and the guardian of men, Baltasares had forgotten these things and had grievously blasphemed the Deity and had allowed himself with his concubines to be served from His vessels. Seeing these things, he said, God had become wrathful with him and was making known beforehand through this writing to what an end he must come. Now the meaning of the letters was as follows. "Manē: this," he said, "would in the Greek tongue signify 'number'; that is to say, God has numbered the time of your life and reign, and there still remains for you a brief while. Thekel: this means 'weight'; for God has weighed the time of your kingship and shows that it is already declining.a Phares: this means 'a break' in the Greek tongue; accordingly He will break up your kingdom and divide it between the Medes and the Persians." b

(4) When Daniel told the king that this was what Belshazzar the writing on the wall signified, Baltasarës, as was honours natural upon the revelation of such dread news, was Danie, 22, seized with grief and unhappiness. Nevertheless he did not, on the ground that Daniel was a prophet of evil to him, withhold from him the gifts he had promised, but gave him all of them, reasoning, in the

a Bibl. " wanting."

b For a summary of modern interpretations of the writing see J. A. Montgomery's Commentary on Daniel, pp. 261 ff.

έσχε, το μεν εφ' οις δοθήσονται λογιζόμενος ἴδιον αὐτοῦ² καὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ προφητεύσαντος είναι, τὰ δὲ ώμολογημένα⁴ κρίνων⁵ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ δικαίου, κἂν ἦ σκυθρωπὰ τὰ μέλλοντα

247 συμβαίνειν αὐτῷ· καὶ ὁ μέν οὕτως ἔκρινε, μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον αὐτός τε ἐλήφθη καὶ ἡ πόλις, Κύρου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατεύσαντος Βαλτάσαρος γάρ ἐστιν ἐφ' οῦ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῆς Βαβυλῶνος συνέβη γενέσθαι, βασιλεύσαντος

248 αὐτοῦ ἐπτακαίδεκα ἔτη. τῶν μὲν οὖν Ναβουχοδονοσόρου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγόνων τὸ τέλος τοιοῦτον παρειλήφαμεν γενόμενον· Δαρείω δὲ τῷ καταλύσαντι τὴν Βαβυλωνίων ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ Κύρου τοῦ συγγενοῦς ἔτος ἦν ἑξηκοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον, ὅτε τὴν Βαβυλῶνα εἶλεν, ὃς ἦν ᾿Αστυάγους υἱός, ἔτερον 249 δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἔλλησιν ἐκαλεῖτο ὄνομα· ὃς καὶ

1 παρέσχε, τὸ] παρέσχετο SP.

 2 μεν εφ . . . ίδιον αὐτοῦ] τὴν μεν ἀπειλημένην τῆς βασιλείας καθαίρεσιν P^{2m} .

³ πεπρωμένης P¹LV: πεπρωμένης ἀνάγκης SP².

⁵ κρίναι ROLV Lat.

6 αὐτῷ . . οὖτως Naber: αὐτῷ SP: καὶ οὕτως LV: καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ed. pr.

^b Bibl. " in the same night."

^a Text uncertain; possibly we should render, "and so he (Daniel) had interpreted." This explanation of Belshazzar's motive in rewarding Daniel is an addition to Scripture.

^c Where Josephus derived the above figure is unknown. Curiously enough it is supported by the Babylonian records which give 17 years for the reign of Nabonidus with whom Josephus identifies Belshazzar (cf. § 231). Nabonidus reigned from 556-539 n.c., cf. R. Campbell Thompson in the Cambridge Ancient History, iii. 224 note 1. According to 204

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first place, that the things for the prophesying of which they were to be given were peculiar to himself and his destiny and in no way attributable to the one who had prophesied them, and judging, in the second place, that they had been promised to a man who was good and just, even though the future should turn out to be dark for himself; this, then, was his decision.a And not long afterwards both he and the city were captured when Cyrus, the king of Persia, marched against it. For it was in the time of Baltasaros that the capture of Babylon took place, in the seventeenth year of his reign.c Such, then, as we learn from history, was the end to which the descendants of King Nebuchadnezzar came. Now Darius takes Darius, who with his relative Cyrus put an end to the Babylon. pan. v. 31 Babylonian sovereignty, was in his sixty-second year (Aram. vi. when he took Babylon; he was a son of Astyages but was called by another name among the Greeks.d

rabbinic tradition Belshazzar reigned only 2 years, cf. Ginzberg vi. 430.

The identity of "Darius the Mede" (a son of Ahasuerus =Xerxes, according to Dan. ix. 1; cf. Lxx reading Arta-xerxes for Darius in v. 31) has long been a puzzle. The various identifications proposed—with Cambyses II, with Gobryas, the Median general assisting Cyrus, with Cyaxares or Astyages, Median kings-are discussed and rejected by H. H. Rowley in a recent book, Darius the Mede. He observes, p. 15, note 3, that "Josephus's statement is inspired, of course, by the same harmonistic purpose as the modern arguments with which we are dealing. He found no place in his secular sources for the Darius the Mede of his biblical source, and so he resorted to this vague statement to mask the difficulty." To this I might add that the medieval Jewish commentators say that Darius the Mede (whom they distinguish from the later Persian Darius) was a father-inlaw of Cyrus, but this statement does not seem to be based on very old rabbinic sources.

JOSEPHUS

Δανίηλον τον προφήτην λαβών ήγαγεν εἰς Μηδίαν προς αὐτὸν καὶ πάσης αὐτῷ τιμῆς μεταδιδοὺς εἶχε σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν τριῶν γὰρ σατραπῶν ἦν, οὖς ἐπὶ τῶν έξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων σατραπειῶν κατέστησε· τοσούτους γὰρ ἐποίησε Δαρεῖος εἰς αὐτήν.¹

250 (5) Δανίηλος τοίνυν ὢν ἐν τοιαύτη τιμῆ καὶ λαμπρῷ σπουδῆ παρὰ τῷ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρὸς ἄπαντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μόνος, ὡς ἂν ἔχων τὸ θεῖον πεπιστευμένος ἐν αὐτῷ, παραλαμβανόμενος² ἐφθονήθη βασκαίνουσι γὰρ οἱ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἐτέρους ἐν πλείονι τιμῆ παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι βλέποντες.
251 ζητούντων δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφορμὴν διαβολῆς καὶ

251 ζητούντων δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφορμὴν διαβολῆς καὶ κατηγορίας τῶν ἀχθομένων ἐπ' αὐτῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι παρὰ τῷ Δαρείῳ παρεῖχεν αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν ῶν γὰρ καὶ χρημάτων ἐπάνω καὶ παντὸς λήμματος περιορῶν, αἴσχιστον αὐτῷ δοκῶν³ κᾶν ὑπὲρ ὧν δοθείη καλῶς τι προσλαβεῖν, 'οὐδ' ἡντιναοῦν τοῖς ζηλο-

252 τυποῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐγκλημάτων εὕρεσιν παρεῖχεν. οἱ δ' ώς οὐδὲν εἶχον, ὃ κατειπόντες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ζημιώσουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμὴν αἰσχύνη καὶ διαβολῆ, τρόπον ἄλλον ἐζήτουν

* καλώς τι προσλαβείν Naber: καλώς πρός τό λαβείν codd.

εἰς ταύτην SPL: om. V: τοσούτους... αὐτήν om. E Lat.
 ἐν αὐτῷ παραλαμβανόμενος om. Lat., ed. pr.
 ³ ed. pr.: δοκεῖν codd.: δοκοῦν Cocceji.

^a Text uncertain. What Josephus means by "so many rulers in each (satrapy)" is a puzzle, since he gives only the number of satraps in all. In any case he differs from Scripture which says, "It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom a hundred and twenty satraps (A.V. "princes"), who should be over the whole kingdom. And over these three $s\bar{a}r^{\epsilon}kin$ (A.V. "presidents," Lxx ήγουμένους "governors," Theod. $\tau a\kappa \tau \iota \kappa \iota \iota \iota \iota$ "officers") of whom Daniel was one" (A.V. 296

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 249-252

And he took the prophet Daniel to his own palace in Media and kept him by his side, bestowing every honour on him. For Daniel was one of the three satraps whom he appointed over the three hundred and sixty satrapies; so many rulers did Darius create

in each satrapy.a

(5) And so Daniel, being held in such great honour The Median and such dazzling favour by Darius and being the nobles plot only one associated with him in all matters because destruction. he was believed to have the divine spirit in him, Dan. vi. 3. became a prey to envy, for men are jealous when they see others held by kings in greater honour than themselves. But, although those who were resentful of the esteem in which he was held by Darius sought some pretext for slander and accusation against him, he never gave them a single cause, for, being superior to considerations of money and scorning any kind of gain and thinking it most disgraceful to accept anything even if it were given for a proper cause, b he did not let those who were envious of him find a single ground for complaint; since these men, therefore, had nothing to bring against him before the king and so injure him in the king's esteem by their abuse and slander, they sought other means of getting him

b Text and meaning slightly uncertain. The preceding is an amplification of Scripture which says merely that "he was faithful and no error or corruption (A.V. "fault") was

found in him."

[&]quot;first"). According to the book of Esther there were 127 provinces in the Persian kingdom. Herodotus says there were 20 in the time of Darius (I.). Apparently Josephus understood Scripture to mean that there were 3 satraps in each satrapy, making 360 satraps in all, but has expressed himself carelessly in speaking of 360 satrapies instead of 360 satraps. But it is also possible that the text is corrupt and that his real meaning has been obscured.

καθ' δυ αὐτὸν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσονται. όρῶντες οὖν τὸν Δανίηλον τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας προσευχόμενον τῷ θεῷ, πρόφασιν ἔγνωσαν εὐρηκέναι δι' ἦς ἀπολέ-

253 σουσιν αὐτόν. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐλθόντες ἀπήγγελλον αὐτῷ ὡς τοῖς σατράπαις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς
ἡγεμόσι δόξειεν ἐπὶ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας ἀνεῖναι τὸ
πλῆθος, ὅπως μήτ' αὐτῷ τις μήτε τοῖς θεοῖς δεόμενος αὐτῶν καὶ εὐχόμενος εἴη, τὸν μέντοι γε
αὐτῶν παραβάντα ταύτην τὴν γνώμην εἰς τὸν τῶν
λεόντων ἔκριναν ρῖψαι λάκκον ἀπολούμενον.

254 (6) 'Ο δέ βασίλευς ου συνιδών την κακουργίαν αυτών ουδ' επί τον Δανίηλον ταθτα κατεσκευασμενους υπονοήσας αρέσκεσθαι τοις υπ' αυτών έφη δεδογμένοις, και κυρώσειν την προαίρεσιν αυτών επαγγελλόμενος προτίθησι πρόγραμμα δηλούν τώ

255 πλήθει τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς σατράπαις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες φυλαττόμενοι τὰ προστεταγμένα μὴ παραβῆναι ἠρέμουν, Δανιήλω δὲ φροντὶς οὐδ' ἡτισοῦν τούτων ἦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν ἱστάμενος

256 ηὔχετο τῷ θεῷ πάντων ὁρώντων. οἱ δὲ σατράπαι τῆς ἀφορμῆς αὐτοῖς ἣν ἐσπούδαζον λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Δανίηλον παραφανείσης εὐθὺς ῆκον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κατηγόρουν ὡς παραβαίνοντος μόνου τοῦ Δανιήλου τὰ προστεταγμένα· μηδενὸς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τολμῶντος προσεύχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοῦτ' οὐ δι' ἀσέβειαν,¹ ἀλλὰ διὰ φυλακὴν καὶ 257 διατήρησιν²... ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου· ἀπὸ γὰρ μείζονος

1 εὐσέβειαν L.

² post διατήρησιν lacunam statuit Holwerda: sed propter custodiam fieret praeceptorum, ille contemnens praecepta ad suum oraret deum Lat.

^a According to Scripture prayers addressed to the king were excepted from the prohibition.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 252-257

out of the way. Accordingly, when they saw Daniel praying to God three times a day, they realized that they had found a pretext for destroying him. And, going to Darius, they informed him that his satraps and governors had resolved to give the people a respite for thirty days during which no one should address a petition or prayer either to him or to their gods," and they had, moreover, decided that anyone who transgressed this decree of theirs should be

thrown into the lions' den to perish.

(6) Thereupon the king, who did not see through Daniel is their wicked scheme or suspect that they had accused of disobeying framed this measure against Daniel, said that he Darius's approved of their deeree, b and, undertaking to ratify Dan. vi. 9 their proposal, issued an edict announcing to the (Aram. 10). people what had been decreed by the satraps. Accordingly, while all the rest of the people took care not to transgress these orders and remained quiet, Daniel took no thought of them whatever but, as his custom was, stood up and prayed to God in the sight of all.c Thereupon the satraps, being presented with the opportunity to act against Daniel which they had looked for, straightway went to the king and accused Daniel of being the only one to transgress his orders. For, they said, though no one else had dared to pray to the gods-and this not because of impiety but in order to observe and preserve . . . d out of envy. For, imagining that Darius might

Amplification of Scripture which says, "Wherefore King Darius signed the writing and the decree.

⁶ Bibl. "his windows being open in his upper chamber toward Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees and prayed,"etc.

d The text is in disorder here, probably because of the loss of some words after "preserve," less probably because of a conflation of variant readings.

ης προσεδόκων εὐνοίας τοῦτον ποιεῖν τὸν Δαρεῖον ύπολαμβάνοντες, ώς καὶ καταφρονήσαντι τῶν εκείνου προσταγμάτων συγγνώμην ετοίμως νέμειν, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο βασκαίνοντες τῷ Δανιήλω, οὕτε μετεβάλλοντο πρός τὸ ἡμερώτερον, ρίπτειν δ' αὐτὸν ηξίουν κατά τὸν νόμον εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων. 258 έλπίσας δ' ό Δαρείος ότι ρύσεται τὸ θείον αὐτὸν

καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ πάθη δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ² εὐθύμως φέρειν τὰ συμβαίνοντα· καὶ βληθέντος εἰς τὸν λάκκον σφραγίσας τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου κείμενον αντί θύρας λίθον ανεχώρησε, δι' όλης δ' ἄσιτος της νυκτός καὶ ἄυπνος διηγεν άγω-

259 νιῶν περὶ τοῦ Δανιήλου· μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ ἀναστὰς έπὶ τὸν λάκκον ἦλθε καὶ σωζομένην τὴν σφραγίδα εύρων, ή σημηνάμενος τον λίθον κατελελοίπει, ανοίξας ανεβόησε, καλών τὸν Δανίηλον καὶ πυνθανόμενος εί σώζεται. τοῦ δὲ ἐπακούσαντος³ τῶ βασιλεί και μηδέν παθείν ειπόντος, εκέλευσεν αὐτὸν 26 ἀνελκυσθηναι ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου τοῦ τῶν θηρίων. οί

δὲ ἐχθροί θεασάμενοι τὸν Δανίηλον μηδέν πεπονθότα δεινόν, διά μεν τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τούτου πρόνοιαν οὐκ ηξίουν αὐτὸν σώζεσθαι, πεπληρωμένους δὲ τοὺς λέοντας τροφης μη ἄψασθαι μηδὲ προσελθεῖν τῷ Δανιήλω νομίζοντες, τοῦτο ἔλεγον

261 πρός τον βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ μισήσας αὐτοὺς τῆς πονηρίας παραβληθήναι μέν πολλά κελεύει τοῖς λέουσι κρέα, κορεσθέντων δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς

¹ conj.: τοῦτο codd.
² αὐτὸν SPLVE. ύπακούσαντος Ibbetson.

a Emended text. Mss. " might do this." b So Theod, and Lxx: Aram. " with a mournful voice." 300

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 257-261

treat him a with greater favour than they had expected, so as readily to pardon him even after he had shown contempt for the king's orders, and for this very reason being envious of Daniel, they would not adopt a milder course but demanded that he be cast into the lions' den in accordance with the law. So Darius, hoping that the Deity would save Daniel and that he would suffer no harm from the beasts, bade him bear his fate with good courage. Then, when he had been cast into the den, the king Daniel is sealed the stone that was placed over the entrance saved from the lions. as a door, and withdrew; and he went without food Dan. vi. 16 or sleep the whole night in his anxiety for Daniel. (Aram. 17). But, when day came, he arose and went to the den. where he found the seal intact which he had left to mark the stone, and, opening it, he called to Daniel with a shout b and asked whether he was safe. Daniel, on hearing the king, said that he had not been harmed, whereupon he ordered him to be drawn up from the beasts' den. Daniel's enemies, however, on seeing that he had suffered no harm, did not choose to believe that it was through the Deity and His providence that he had been saved, but held that the lions had been stuffed with food and therefore had not touched Daniel nor come near him, and so they told the king. But he, in his detestation of their wickedness, ordered a large quantity of meat to be thrown to the lions and, when they had eaten their fill, commanded Daniel's enemies

de Josephus, in accordance with his usual tendency to rationalize, passes over Daniel's reference to the angel sent by God "to shut the lions' mouths," vs. 22 (Aram. 23). It is noteworthy, however, that the LXX, in distinction from Theod., has also altered this phrase to "God has saved me from the lions."

τοῦ Δανιήλου προσέταξεν είς τὸν λάκκον ἐμβληθῆναι, ὅπως εἰ διὰ κόρον αὐτοῖς οὐ προσήξουσιν οί

262 λέοντες μάθοι. σαφές δ' έγένετο τῶ Δαρείω, τῶν σατραπών παραβληθέντων τοῖς θηρίοις, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον ἔσωσε τὸν Δανίηλον· οὐδενὸς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐφείσαντο οί λέοντες, άλλά πάντας διεσπάραττον ώσανεί σφόδρα λιμώττοντες καὶ τροφης ένδεεις. ηρέθισε δ' αὐτούς οὐ τὸ πεινην, οἶμαι, μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν άφθόνων κρεών έμπεπλησμένους, άλλ' ή τών άνθρώπων κακία, δήλη γάρ καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ἂν αὐτὴ ζώοις πρὸς τιμωρίαν γένοιτο, τοῦ θεοῦ προαιρουμένου.

263 (7) Διαφθαρέντων οὖν τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Δανιήλω τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος καθ' όλην ἔπεμψε τὴν χώραν ἐπαινῶν τὸν θεόν ὃν Δανίηλος προσκυνεί, καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν είναι λέγων άληθη καὶ τὸ πάντων κράτος ἔχοντα· ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὸν Δανίηλον ἐν ὑπερβαλλούση τιμῆ, πρῶτον αὐτὸν

264 ἀποδείξας τῶν φίλων. ὧν δὲ οὕτως ἐπίσημος καὶ λαμπρός έπὶ δόξη τοῦ θεοφιλής είναι Δανίηλος ωκοδόμησεν εν Έκβατάνοις της Μηδικης βάριν εὐπρεπέστατόν τι κατασκεύασμα καὶ θαυμασίως πεποιημένον, ή μέχρι δεθρο μεν έστι καὶ σώζεται,

¹ προσάξουσιν Ρ: προσέξουσιν V: προσθίξουσιν Ε: προσψαύσουσι Zonaras: accederent Lat.

² PLV: πεπληρωμένους rell.

³ αν αυτή ζώοις ed. pr.: έν αυτή ζώοις LV: ζώοις ήν αυτη

⁴ γένοιτο LV ed. pr.: ἡ γένοιτο rell. 5 πᾶν LVE. 6 ὑπὸ δόξης SPLV.

⁷ LE Lat.: τοῖς Μηδικοῖς rell.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 261-264

to be cast into the den in order that he might discover whether the lions would refuse to come near them because of saticty.^a When the satraps were thrown to the beasts, it became evident to Darius that it was the Deity who had saved Daniel, for the lions spared no one of them but tore them all to pieces as though they were terribly famished and in need of food. And it was not, I think, the beasts' hunger that aroused them, for they had been satisfied a little while before with an abundance of meat, but the wickedness of the men-for this would be apparent even to irrational animals-which resulted in their being punished, as was the intention of God.

(7) Now after those who had plotted against Darius Daniel had perished in this manner, King Darius honours Daniel. sent throughout the entire country, praising the God Dan. vi. 25 whom Daniel worshipped and saying that He alone (Aram. 26). was the true and Almighty God. He also showed Daniel extraordinarily high honour by designating him the first of his Friends. And Daniel, being Daniel's now so renowned and distinguished because of fortress at his reputation as a man dear to God, built at Echatana in Media a fortress of which was a very beautiful work and wonderfully made, and remains and is preserved to this day; it appears to those

^a The preceding passage on the testing of the lions' hunger is an addition to Scripture, to which there is a

rabbinic parallel, cf. Ginzberg iv. 349.

b Josephus, I think, here uses "friends" in the Hellenistic sense of nobles of the court. Scripture (Aram. and Theod.) says merely that Daniel "prospered in the reign (or "kingdom") of Darius," but LXX has "he was appointed over the

kingdom of Darius."

^c Cf. Dan. viii. 2, " I was at Shushan (Susa) in the fortress (bîrāh A.V. "palace," Theod. βάρει = "fortress," LXX "city,")," etc. Cf. next note but one, and § 269 note c.

JOSEPHUS

τοῖς δ' όρῶσι δοκεῖ προσφάτως κατεσκευάσθαι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ῆς ἔκαστος αὐτὴν ἡμέρας ἱστορεῖ γεγονέναι· οὕτως νεαρὸν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀκμαῖον τὸ κάλλος καὶ μηδαμοῦ γεγηρακὸς ὑπὸ τοσούτου χρόνου·

κάλλος καὶ μηδαμοῦ γεγηρακὸς ὑπὸ τοσούτου χρόνου 265 πάσχει γὰρ καὶ τὰ κατασκευάσματα ταὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις καὶ πολιοῦται καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν λυόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτῶν καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν μαραινόμενα. θάπτουσι δ' ἐν τῇ βάρει τούς τε Μήδων βασιλέας καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Πάρθων ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο, καὶ ὁ ταύτην πεπιστευμένος Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν ἱερεὺς καὶ τοῦτο

266 γίνεται μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. ἄξιον δὲ τἀνδρὸς τούτου καὶ ὅ μάλιστα θαυμάσαι τις ἂν ἀκούσας διελθεῖν ἄπαντα² γὰρ αὐτῷ παραδόξως ὡς ἐνί τινι τῶν μεγίστων εὐτυχήθη προφητῶν,³ καὶ παρὰ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον τιμή τε καὶ δόξα ἡ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τελευ-

267 τήσας δὲ μνήμην αἰώνιον ἔχει. τὰ γὰρ βιβλία, ὅσα δὴ συγγραψάμενος καταλέλοιπεν, ἀναγινώσκεται παρ' ἡμῖν ἔτι καὶ νῦν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅτι Δανίηλος ὡμίλει τῷ θεῷ· οὐ γὰρ τὰ μέλλοντα μόνον προφητεύων διετέλει, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προφῆται, ἀλλὰ καὶ καιρὸν ὥριζεν εἰς ὅν ταῦτα

παλαιοῦται SPLV Lat.
 ἀπαντῷ Niese.
 εὐτυχήθη προφητῶν om. Niese cum RO.

a Variant "grow old."

^b The medieval Jewish travellers, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela and Rabbi Pethachya, who visited Mesopotamia and Persia in the 12th century, also mention the mausoleum of Daniel at Susa. Ginzberg vi. 437, citing them and older Christian sources, thinks that these medieval legends may be based on the present passage in Josephus. Rappaport also suggests that Josephus may have read about the supposed tomb of Daniel in an apocryphal addition to the 304

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who view it to have been recently constructed and to have been completed on the very day on which the visitor sees it, so fresh and radiant is its beauty, which has in no way aged in this long period of time-for buildings suffer the same changes as men; they turn grey a and lose their strength with the years, and their beauty fades. In this fortress they bury the kings of Media, Persia and Parthia even now, and the person to whose care it is entrusted is a Jewish priest; this custom is observed to this very day.b Now it is fitting to relate certain things about this man (Daniel) which one may greatly wonder at hearing, namely that all things happened to him in a marvellously fortunate way e as to one of the greatest prophets, and during his lifetime he received honour and esteem from kings and people, and, since his death, his memory lives on eternally. For the books which he wrote and left behind are still read by us even now, and we are convinced by them that Daniel spoke with God, for he was not only wont to prophesy future things, as did the other prophets, but he also fixed the time

book of Daniel. Some Jewish sources agree with Josephus in making Daniel end his life at Susa, but Ginzberg says, "there can be no doubt that the old rabbinic sources quoted were of the opinion that Daniel died in the Holy Land, where he spent the remainder of his life."

Text uncertain.

⁴ For the varying rabbinic opinions as to whether Daniel was a prophet or not see Ginzberg vi. 413. It may be added that in the Hebrew canon of Scripture the book of Daniel is found among the Hagiographa and not the Prophets,

Why Josephus uses the plural is not clear. Possibly he is thinking of various apocryphal additions to the book of Daniel current in his time, either in Heb.-Aram. or Greek, although he has not made use of any such apocryphal

additions as are still extant.

268 ἀποβήσεται· καὶ τῶν προφητῶν τὰ χείρω προλεγόντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσχεραινομένων ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, Δανίηλος ἀγαθῶν ἐγίνετο προφήτης αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εὐφημίας τῶν προλεγομένων εὕνοιαν ἐπισπᾶσθαι παρὰ πάντων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τέλους αὐτῶν ἀληθείας πίστιν καὶ δόξαν ὁμοῦ θειότητος παρὰ τοῖς ὅχλοις ἀποφέρε-

269 σθαι. κατέλιπε δε γράψας, ὅθεν ἡμῖν το² τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ ἀκριβες καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον ἐποίησε δῆλον· φησὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γενομένου³ ἐν Σούσοις ἐν τῆ μητροπόλει τῆς Περσίδος, ὡς ἐξ- ῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον μετὰ ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ, σεισμοῦ δὲ καὶ⁴ κλόνου τῆς γῆς ἐξαίφνης γενομένου καταλειφθείη μόνος φευγόντων τῶν φίλων καὶ πέσοι μὲν ἐπὶ στόμα ταραχθεὶς⁵ ἐπὶ τὰς δύο χεῖρας, τινὸς δ' ἀψαμένου αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταξὺ κελεύοντος ἀναστῆναι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα συμβήσεσθαι τοῖς πολίταις ἰδεῖν

270 μετὰ πολλὰς γενεάς. ἀναστάντι δ' αὐτῷ δειχθῆναι κριὸν ἐσήμαινε μέγαν, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπεφυκότα κέρατα, τελευταῖον δ' αὐτῶν ὑψηλότερον ἔχοντα. ἔπειτ' ἀναβλέψαι μὲν εἰς τὴν δύσιν, θεάσασθαι δὲ

1 ἀποφαίνεσθαι RO.

⁴ δè καὶ L Chrysostomus: καὶ rell.

^a Lit. "indistinguishableness" (from truth).

² το LVE Chrysostomus et fort. Lat.: ἀληθές το rell.
³ αὐτοῦ γενομένου ex Lat. Hudson: αὐτοῦ γενόμενον codd.

⁵ ταβραχθείς S: καταρ(ρ)αχθείς P: καὶ στηριχθηναι Chrysostomus.

b Josephus omits Daniel's vision of the beasts, ch. vii. He also ignores the chronological difficulty presented by the bibl. statement, viii. 1, that the vision in the plain of Susa occurred in the 3rd year of Belshazzar's reign.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 268-270

at which these would come to pass. And, whereas the other prophets foretold disasters and were for that reason in disfavour with kings and people, Daniel was a prophet of good tidings to them, so that through the auspiciousness of his predictions he attracted the goodwill of all, while from their realization he gained credit among the multitude for his truthfulness and at the same time won their esteem for his divine power. And he left behind writings in which he has made plain to us the accuracy and faithfulness to truth a of his prophecies. For he paniel's says that when he was in Susa, the metropolis of vision at Susa.

Persia, and went out into the plain with his compan. viii. 2, panions, there was a sudden shaking and trembling of the earth, and he was left alone by his friends, who fled,e and in confusion he fell on his face and his two hands, whereupon someone touched him and at the same time bade him arise and see what was to happen to his countrymen in the future after many generations. When he arose, there was shown to him, he reveals, a great ram with many horns growing out of him, the last of which was higher than the rest. Then he looked toward the

in fact, the capital of the Persian kings.

" The earthquake and the presence of friends are un-

scriptural details.

In Scripture Daniel's confusion and the appearance of the interpreter are mentioned only later (vs. 17), after the description of the vision of the goat.

⁹ Bibl. "high horns." The Heb. form is so vocalized that it may mean either "two horns" (dual) or "horns"

(pl.).

^c Cf. LXX ἐν Σούσοις τῆ πόλει "in the city of Susa"; Heb. and Theod. "in the fortress (A.V. "palace") of Susa." ^d Bibl. Elam. Heb. adds "by the river Ulai" (LXX "in the gate of Elam," Theod. "upon the Ubal"). Susa was,

τράγον ἀπ' αὐτῆς δι' ἀέρος φερόμενον συρράξαντα τῷ κριῷ καὶ τοῖς κέρασι πλήξανται δὶς καταβαλεῖν 271 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πατῆσαι. εἶτα τὸν τράγον ίδειν έκ του μετώπου μέγιστον αναφύσαντα κέρας, οῦ κλασθέντος ἀναβλαστῆσαι³ τέσσαρα καθ' ἔκα-

στον τῶν ἀνέμων τετραμμένα. ἐξ ἀὐτῶν δ' ἀνα-σχεῖν καὶ ἄλλο μικρότερον ἀνέγραψεν, δ αὐξῆσαν έλεγεν αὐτῶ ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιδεικνύς θεὸς πολεμήσειν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν κατὰ κράτος, καὶ συγχεεῖν τὰ περὶ τὸν ναόν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας κωλύσειν γενέσθαι έπὶ ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας

272 ενενήκοντα έξ. ταῦτα μεν ίδεῖν εν τῷ πεδίω τῷ εν Σούσοις ὁ Δανίηλος ἔγραψε, κρίναι δ' αὐτῷ τὴν όψιν τοῦ φαντάσματος ἐδήλου τὸν θεὸν οὕτως τὸν μὲν κριὸν βασίλείας τὰς Μήδων καὶ Περσῶνδ σημαίνειν ἔφασκε, τὰ δὲ κέρατα τοὺς βασιλεύειν μέλλοντας, τὸ δὲ ἔσχατον κέρας σημαίνειν τὸν έσχατον βασιλέα· τοῦτον γὰρ διοίσειν ἀπάντων

273 πλούτω τε καὶ δόξη. τὸν δὲ τράγον δηλοῦν ώς ἐκ των Ελλήνων τις βασιλεύων έσται, ος τώ Πέρση συμβαλών δὶς κρατήσει τῆ μάχη καὶ παραλήψεται 274 την ηγεμονίαν ἄπασαν. δηλοῦσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ

μεγάλου κέρατος τοῦ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ τοῦ τράγου

5 Περσών και Μήδων tr. LVE Lat. Chrysos.

¹ ex Chrysos. Hudson: κυρήξαντα P2: unde κυρίξαντα conj. Hudson: ἦβαντα P¹ rell.: impetitum Lat.

² L (?) Chrysos.: ἀναφύντα rell.: produxisse Lat.

⁴ αὐτὸν RO. ³ ἄλλα ἀναβλαστῆσαι Chrysos.

^a Emended text; Mss. "broke" or "butted."

b According to Scripture the goat had a great horn before he attacked the ram.

^e So Heb.; Lxx and Theod. "strong."

d Cf. Dan. xii. 11, "And from the time that the daily 308

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west and beheld a goat borne through the air from that quarter, which rushed upon the ram, struck a him twice with his horns, and, hurling him to the ground, trampled on him. Thereupon he saw a very great horn sprouting up from the goat's forehead b and, when this was broken off, four horns came up, facing each of the four winds. From these, he writes, there arose another smaller c horn which God, who revealed these things to him, told him would grow and make war on his nation, take their city by force, disrupt the temple service and prevent the sacrifices from being offered for one thousand two hundred and ninety-six days.d This, Daniel Interpretawrites, is what he saw in the plain of Susa, and he tion of the vision. relates that God interpreted to him the form of the Dan, viii. 16 vision as follows. The ram, he declares, signified the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the horns those who were to reign, the last horn signifying the last king, for this king would surpass all the others in wealth and glory. The goat, he said, indicated that there would be a certain king of the Greeks who would encounter the Persian king twice in battle and defeat him and take over all his empire.f The great horn in the forehead of the goat indicated

sacrifice shall be taken away . . . a thousand two hundred and ninety days." In the present passage, viii. 14, Scripture has "two thousand and three hundred evening-mornings (Lxx, Theod., A.V. "days")," apparently meaning 2300 halfdays or 1150 days, which approximately equals the 31 years (lit. "time, times and half a time") mentioned in vii. 25 as well as the number given in xii. 11. Cf. J. A. Montgomery, Commentary, etc., p. 343.

· The last part of this sentence ("the last horn," etc.) is

an addition to Scripture.

The last part of this sentence also ("who would encounter," etc.) is an addition to Scripture.

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τὸν πρῶτον βασιλέα καὶ τὴν τῶν τεσσάρων ἀναβλάστησιν έκπεσόντος έκείνου, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέσσαρα κλίματα της γης αὐτῶν ἀποστροφην έκάστου τοὺς διαδόχους μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἐμφανίζεσθαι καὶ διαμερισμὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς τῆς βασιλείας, οὔτε δὲ παΐδας αὐτοῦ τούτους ὄντας οὔτε συγγενεῖς, πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν 275 ἄρξειν τῆς οἰκουμένης. γενήσεσθαι δ' ἐκ τούτων τινα βασιλέα τον έκπολεμήσοντα τό τε έθνος καὶ τούς νόμους αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τούτους ἀφαιρησόμενον πολιτείαν καὶ συλήσοντα τὸν ναὸν καὶ 276 τὰς θυσίας ἐπ' ἔτη τρία κωλύσοντα ἐπιτελεσθῆναι. καὶ δὴ ταῦτα ἡμῶν συνέβη παθεῖν τῷ ἔθνει ὑπὸ ᾿Αντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς, καθὼς εἶδεν ὁ Δανίηλος καὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔμπροσθεν ἀνέγραψε τὰ γενησόμενα. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον Δανίηλος καὶ περὶ τῆς 'Ρωμαίων ήγεμονίας ανέγραψε καὶ ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτῶν αίρεθήσεται τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ὁ ναὸς² ἐρημω-277 θήσεται.³ ταῦτα πάντα ἐκεῖνος θεοῦ δείξαντος αὐτῶ συγγράψας κατέλειψεν ωστε τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα σκοποῦντας θαυμάζειν έπὶ τῆ παρὰ θεοῦ τιμῆ τὸν Δανίηλον καὶ τοὺς Έπικουρείους έκ τούτων εύρίσκειν πεπλανημένους, 278 οι τήν τε πρόνοιαν ἐκβάλλουσι τοῦ βίου καὶ θεὸνδ

οὖκ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπιτροπεύειν τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐδ'

¹ Niese: γενέσθαι codd. Ε.: oriri Lat.: ἔσεσθαι Chrysos.

² αἰρεθήσεται . . . ναὸς add. Chrysos.

^{*} τὸν αὐτὸν . . . ἐρημωθήσεται om. Lat., secl. Niese.
* τοῦ θεοῦ SLE.
* τοῦ θεοῦ LVE.

^a Here again Josephus amplifies Scripture.

b Cf. § 271 note d.
"Jerusalem . . . laid waste" is conjecturally added

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the first king, and the growing out of the four horns after the first horn fell out, and their facing each of the four quarters of the earth denoted the successors of the first king after his death, and the division of the kingdom among them and that these, who were neither his sons nor his relatives, would rule the world for many years.^a And there would arise from their number a certain king who would make war on the Jewish nation and their laws, deprive them of the form of government based on these laws, spoil the temple and prevent the sacrifices from being offered for three years. And these misfor- The fulfiltunes our nation did in fact come to experience under ment of Daniel's Antiochus Epiphanes, just as Daniel many years prophecy before saw and wrote that they would happen. In providence, the same manner Daniel also wrote about the empire of the Romans and that Jerusalem would be taken by them and the temple laid waste.c All these things, as God revealed them to him, he left behind in his writings, so that those who read them and observe how they have come to pass must wonder at Daniel's having been so honoured by God, and learn from these facts how mistaken are the Epicureans, who exclude Providence from human life and refuse to believe that God governs its affairs or

from the excerpt in Chrysostomus. Here as in an earlier reference (§ 78) to the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, R. Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus*, p. 609, and some other scholars suspect an interpolation in Josephus's text. But as Josephus is here summarizing the contents of Dan. xi.-xii., which his rabbinic contemporaries interpreted as a prophecy of Roman conquest, there is no reason why he should not have mentioned Rome, or to suppose that a mere reference to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans would have been avoided as likely to offend Roman readers.

JOSEPHUS

ύπο της μακαρίας καὶ ἀφθάρτου προς διαμονην τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας κυβερνᾶσθαι τὰ σύμπαντα, ἄμοιρον δὲ ἡνιόχου καὶ ἀφρόντιστον¹ τὸν κόσμον αὐτομάτως 279 φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν. δς εἰ τοῦτον ἀπροστάτητος ἦν

279 φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν. Θε εί τοῦτον άπροστάτητος ήν τον τρόπον, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐρήμους κυβερνητῶν καταδυομένας δρῶμεν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἢ καὶ τὰ ἄρματα περιτρεπόμενα μὴ ἔχοντα τοὺς ἡνιοχοῦντας, συντριβεὶς ἂν ὑπὸ² τῆς ἀπρονοήτου φορᾶς³ 280 ἀπωλώλει καὶ διεφθείρετο. τοῦς οὖν προειρημένοις

280 ἀπωλώλει καὶ διεφθείρετο. τοῖς οὖν προειρημένοις ὑπὸ Δανιήλου δοκοῦσί μοι σφόδρα τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης διαμαρτάνειν οἱ τῷ θεῷ μηδεμίαν εἶναι περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀποφαινόμενοι πρόνοιαν οὐ γὰρ ἄν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου προφητείαν, εἰ συνέβαινεν αὐτοματισμῷ τινι τὸν κόσμον διάγειν, πάντα ἑω-

281 ρῶμεν ἀποβαίνοντα. ἐγὰ μὲν περὶ τούτων ὡς εὖρον καὶ ἀνέγνων οὕτως ἔγραψα· εἰ δέ τις ἄλλως δοξάζειν βουλήσεται περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀνέγκλητον ἐχέτω τὴν ἐτερογνωμοσύνην.

¹ Ο Lat.: φροντιστοῦ rell.

Niese: ἀπὸ codd.
 συμφορᾶς Ο.
 μὲν οὖν SPV.

[&]quot; blessed and immortal being" is a phrase attributed to Epicurus, cf. Usener, Epicurea, p. 71.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X. 278-281

that the universe is directed by a blessed and immortal Being a to the end that the whole of it may endure, but say that the world runs by its own movement without knowing a guide or another's care.b If it were leaderless in this fashion, it would be shattered through taking a blind course c and so end in destruction, just as we see ships go down when they lose their helmsmen or chariots overturn when they have no drivers. It therefore seems to me, in view of the things foretold by Daniel, that they are very far from holding a true opinion who declare that God takes no thought for human affairs. For if it were the ease that the world goes on by some automatism, we should not have seen all these things happen in accordance with his prophecy.d Now I have written about these matters as I have found them in my reading; if, however, anyone wishes to judge otherwise of them, I shall not object to his holding a different opinion.

^b Or "uncared for." The variant means practically the same as the above.

Variant "through unforeseen misfortune."

⁴ Cf. the anti-Epicurean passage in Ap. ii. 180 ff., and with Josephus's argument here cf. that in Plutarch, De Pythiae Orac. 8 (Usener, p. 355). Josephus's older contemporary Philo was no less antagonistic to the Epicureans. In rabbinic literature the word Apikoros, derived from "Epicurus," is used in the general sense of "unbeliever."

BIBAION IA

(i. 1) Τῶ δὲ πρώτω τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτει (τοῦτο δ' ἦν έβδομηκοστὸν ἀφ' ἦς ἡμέρας μεταναστήναι τὸν λαὸν ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας εἰς Βαβυλώνα συνέπεσεν) ηλέησεν ο θεος την αιχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκείνων τῶν ταλαιπώρων, καὶ καθώς προείπεν αὐτοίς διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου 2 πρὶν ἢ κατασκαφῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μετὰ τὸ δουλεῦσαι Ναβουχοδονοσόρω καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύτην ὑπομεῖναι τὴν δουλείαν ἐπὶ ἔτη έβδομήκοντα πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πάτριον ἀποκαταστήσει γην καὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομήσουσι καὶ της ἀρχαίας ἀπολαύσουσιν εὐδαιμονίας, ταῦτ' αὐ-3 τοις παρέσχεν. παρορμήσας γάρ την Κύρου ψυχήν έποίησεν αὐτὸν γράψαι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν 'Ασίαν ὅτι Κύρος ὁ βασιλεύς λέγει " ἐπεί με ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγιστος της οἰκουμένης ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, πείθομαι τοῦτον είναι ον το των Ἰσραηλιτων ἔθνος προσ-4 κυνεί. καὶ γὰρ τοὐμὸν προείπεν ὄνομα διὰ τῶν προφητών, και ότι τον ναον αυτου οικοδομήσω έν 'Ιεροσολύμοις έν τῆ 'Ιουδαία χώρα.''

5 (2) Ταΰτα δ' ἔγνω Κῦρος ἀναγινώσκων τὸ βιβλίον ὃ τῆς αὐτοῦ προφητείας ὁ Ἡσαΐας κατέλιπεν πρὸ ἐτῶν διακοσίων καὶ δέκα· οῦτος γὰρ ἐν ἀπορ-

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BOOK XI

(i. 1) In the first year of Cyrus's reign—this was the Cyrus is seventieth year from the time when our people were spired to fated to migrate from their own land to Babylon-end the God took pity on the captive state and misfortune of captivity. those unhappy men and, as He had foretold to them 1; Ezra i. 1. through the prophet Jeremiah before the city was demolished, that, after they should have served Nebuchadnezzar and his descendants and endured this servitude for seventy years, He would again restore them to the land of their fathers and they should build the temple and enjoy their ancient prosperity, a so did He grant it them. For he stirred up the spirit of Cyrus and caused him to write throughout all Asia, "Thus says King Cvrus. Since the Most High God has appointed me king of the habitable world, I am persuaded that He is the god whom the Israelite nation worships, for He foretold my name through the prophets c and that I should build His temple in Jerusalem in the land of Judaea.'

(2) These things Cyrus knew from reading the Cyrus reads book of-prophecy which Isaiah had left behind two Isaiah's prophecy. hundred and ten years earlier. For this prophet had is. xliv. 28.

a Jer. xxv. 11 ff., xxix. 10 ff. ^b Bibl. "throughout all his kingdom." • There is no reference to the prophets in 1 Esdras = Ezra.

¹ kal om. Naber cum L.

² å τότ' Naber.

ρήτω είπε ταῦτα λέγειν τὸν θεόν, ὅτι "βούλομαι Κυρον έγω πολλων έθνων και μεγάλων αποδείξας βασιλέα πέμψαι μου τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν ιδίαν γῆν καὶ 6 οἰκοδομῆσαί μου τὸν ναόν." ταῦτα 'Ησαΐας προεφήτευσεν έμπροσθεν η κατασκαφηναι τὸν ναὸν «τεσιν έκατον καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀναγνόντα τὸν Κῦρον καὶ θαυμάσαντα τὸ θεῖον ὁρμή τις έλαβεν καὶ φιλοτιμία ποιῆσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα, καὶ καλέσας τους επιφανεστάτους τῶν εν Βαβυλῶνι Ιουδαίων συγχωρείν αὐτοίς ἔφη βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα καὶ ἀναστῆσαί τε τὴν πόλιν Ἱερο-7 σόλυμα καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ναόν ἔσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτον σύμμαχον αὐτόν τε γράψειν τοῖς γειτονεύουσιν εκείνη τη χώρα των ίδίων ήγεμόνων καί σατραπών, ίνα συμβάλωνται χρυσόν αὐτοῖς καὶ άργυρον είς την οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις θρέμματα πρός τὰς θυσίας.

8 (3) Ταΰτα Κύρου καταγγείλαντος τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις, ἐξώρμησαν οἱ τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἄρχοντες τῆς Ἰούδα καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος οἵ τε Λευῖται καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέμειναν ἐν τῆ Βαβυλῶνι, τὰ κτήματα καταλιπεῖν οὐ θέλοντες. 9 καὶ παραγενομένοις αὐτοῖς οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοι πάντες ἐβοήθουν καὶ συνεισέφερον εἰς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ

1 έγω δν vel δν έγω FVWE Lat. 2 ἀπέδειξα FVW Lat.: ἀποδείξω Ε.

^a This figure is obtained by subtracting the 70-year period of the exile from the 210-year interval (cf. above § 5), between Isaiah's prophecy and the first year of Cyrus. It is not wholly consistent, however, with the chronology given earlier by Josephus. Isaiah's prophecy concerning the exile was made 15 years before the end of Hezekiah's reign, according to Ant. x. 27 ff. The interval between this prophecy and the 316

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said that God told him in secret, " It is my will that Cyrus, whom I shall have appointed king of many great nations, shall send my people to their own land and build my temple." Isaiah prophesied these things one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished.a And so, when Cyrus read them, he 1 Esdras ii. wondered at the divine power and was scized by a 5; Ezra i. & strong desire and ambition to do what had been written; and, summoning the most distinguished of the Jews in Babylon, he told them that he gave them leave to journey to their native land and to rebuild both the city of Jerusalem and the temple of God, for God, he said, would be their ally and he himself would write to his own governors and satraps b who were in the neighbourhood of their country to give them contributions of gold and silver for the building of the temple and, in addition, animals for the sacrifices.

(3) When Cyrus had made this announcement to The chief the Israelites, the leaders of the two tribes of Judah Jews return to Jeruand Benjamin and the Levites and priests set out for salem. Jerusalem, but many remained in Babylon, being un- (LXX 7); willing to leave their possessions. On the Israelites' Ezra i. 5. arrival all the king's friends helped them and brought their share for the construction of the temple.c some

beginning of the exile or the fall of Jerusalem in the 11th year of Zedekiah's reign was 125 years, not 140 years, according to the regnal figures given by Josephus (cf. Ant. x. 143 note b). Actually the passage in Is. xliv. about the restoration under Cyrus was made, not by the prophet Isaiah who was a contemporary of Hezekiah in the late 8th century, but by a later prophet (whom modern scholars call Deutero-Isaiah for convenience) living in the 6th (or 5th) century.

Unscriptural detail.

According to Scripture it was the Jews' neighbours in Babylon, not in Judaea, who helped them in this way.

JOSEPHUS

κατασκευὴν οἱ μὲν χρυσόν οἱ δ' ἄργυρον οἱ δὲ βοσκημάτων πλῆθος σὺν ἵπποις. καὶ τάς τε εὐχὰς ἀπεδίδοσαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰς νομιζομένας κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν θυσίας ἐπετέλουν, ὥσπερ ἀνακτιζομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πόλεως¹ καὶ ἀναβιούσης τῆς ἀρχαίας 10 περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν συνηθείας. ἀπέπεμψε δ' αὐτοῖς Κῦρος καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ ἃ συλήσας τὸν ναὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα

11 ἐκόμισεν. παρέδωκεν δὲ ταῦτα φέρειν Μιθριδάτη τῷ γαζοφύλακι αὐτοῦ, προστάξας δοῦναι αὐτὰ ᾿Αβασσάρῳ, ὅπως φυλάττη μέχρι τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ, τελεσθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ παραδῷ τοῦς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ ἄρχουσι τοῦ πλήθους, εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀπο-

12 δοθησόμενα. πέμπει δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Συρία σατράπας Κῦρος τάδε λέγουσαν "βασιλεὺς Κῦρος Σισίνη" καὶ Σαραβασάνη χαίρειν. Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐν τῆ ἐμῆ χώρα κατοικούντων ἐπ- ἐτρεψα τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπελθοῦσι πατρίδα τήν τε πόλιν ἀνακτίζειν καὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ

¹ τῆς πόλεως] πάλιν LAW: oni. Lat.
 ² ἀποδοθησομένοις FL: ἀποθησομένοις P.
 ³ Σισίννη LAW.
 ⁴ εἰς . . . πατρίδα om. PFLAV.

^a Variants (§§ 93, 100) Sanabasaros, Sanabasarēs, etc.; 1 Esdras cod. A Σαναβάσσαρος, cod. B Σαναμάσσαρος, Luc. Σασαβαλάσσαρος; Ezra Sheshbazzar (Šēšbaṣṣar), Lux cod. A Σαναβάσσαρος, cod. B Σαβανασάρ, Luc. Σασαβασσάρης. It is not clear from the various references to Sheshbazzar in Ezra whether he was the Persian governor of Judaea (he is called "prince of Judah" in Ezra i. 8) or the Jewish leader of the returning exiles. In the latter case he may be identified with Zerubbabel, as is implicitly donc by Josephus in § 13 (and also by some modern scholars), 318

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giving gold, others silver, and still others a great many cattle and horses. And they made the offerings vowed to God and performed the customary sacrifices in accordance with ancient custom, as if their city were being rebuilt and the ancient form of worship revived. Cyrus then sent them the vessels of God which King Nebuchadnezzar had taken as spoil from the temple and carried off to Babylon; these he gave to his treasurer Mithridates to carry, instructing him to give them to Abassaros a to keep until the temple should be built, and upon its being completed to turn them over to the priests and leaders of the people to be deposited in the temple. Cyrus also sent a letter Cyrus's to the satraps in Syria, which read as follows b: "King letter to the satraps Cyrus to Sisinës and Sarabasanës, greeting. To in Syria. those among the Jews dwelling in my country, who vi. 27; so wished, I have given permission to return to their Ezra vi. 6. native land and to rebuild the city and build the

although they are clearly distinguished in 1 Esdras vi. 17 (18). A Rabbinic tradition, on the other hand, identifies Zerubbabel

with Nehemiah, cf. Ginzberg iv. 352.

b Josephus here alters the scriptural account and anticipates the reference to Cyrns's letter. In 1 Esdras vi. = Ezra vi. Scripture says that Darius at the request of the Jews had a search made in the archives and thereupon found Cyrus's letter authorizing the rebuilding of the temple, with specification of its height, materials, etc.; Scripture goes on to say that Darius then ordered his western satraps Tatnai and Shethar-boznai (cf. following notes) to carry out the commands of Cyrus. Thus Josephus supplies, in its proper place, the decree of Cyrus which is mentioned retrospectively in Scripture.

1 Esdras Σισίννη; Ezra Tatnai (Tattenay), LXX cod. A

Θαθθαναί, cod. Β Τανθαναί.

4 1 Esdras Σαθραβουζάνη; Ezra Shethar-boznai, LXX Σαθαρβουζάν (-αναί).

"The variant omits " to return to their native land and."

13 αὐτοῦ τόπου ἐφ' οὖ καὶ πρότερον. κατέπεμψα δέ μου καὶ τὸν γαζοφύλακα Μιθριδάτην καὶ Ζοροβάβηλον τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἴνα θεμελίους βάλωνται τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ οἰκοδομήσωσιν αὐτὸν ὕψος μὲν ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν τῶν δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ εὖρος, λίθου μὲν ξεστοῦ τρεῖς ποιησάμενοι δόμους καὶ ἔνα ξύλινον ἐγχώριον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἐφ'

14 οῦ θύσουσι¹ τῷ θεῷ. τὴν δὲ εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην ἐκ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ γενέσθαι βούλομαι. καὶ τὰ σκεύη δέ, ᾶ ἐσύλησεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὁ βασιλεύς, ἔπεμψα παραδοὺς Μιθριδάτη τῷ γαζοφύλακι καὶ Ζοροβαβήλῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα διακομίσωσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀποκατα-

15 στήσωσιν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ δ' ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ἐστιν τοσοῦτος ψυκτῆρες χρύσεοι πεντήκοντα, ἀργύρεοι τετρακόσιοι, θηρίκλεια χρύσεα πεντήκοντα, ἀργύρεα τετρακόσια, κάδοι χρύσεοι πεντήκοντα, ἀργύρεοι πεντακόσιοι, σπονδεῖα χρύσεα τεσσαράκοντα, ἀργύρεα τριακόσια, φιάλαι χρυσαῖ τριάκοντα, ἀργύρεαι δισχίλιαι τετρακόσιαι, σκεύη

16 τε ἄλλα μεγάλα χίλια. συγχωρῶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐκ προγόνων εἰθισμένην τιμὴν κτηνῶν καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου δραχμὰς εἴκοσιν μυριάδας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας πεντακοσίας καὶ εἰς σεμίδαλιν πυρῶν ἀρ-

¹ V: θύωσι vel θύσωσι rell.
 ² πεντακόσιοι W Lat. (P² vid.).
 ³ τριάκουτα A: τεσσαράκουτα WE.
 ⁴ πεντακόσια Hudson, Naber.
 ⁵ τριάκουτα AME Lat.

 $[^]a$ Cf. LXX (1 Esdras and Ezra) Ζοροβαβέλ; bibl. Zerubbabel. On the confusion of Zerubbabel with Sheshbazzar, cf. § 11 note a.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 13-16

temple of God in Jerusalem on the same spot on which it formerly stood. And I have sent there my treasurer Mithridates and Zorobabelos, the leader of the Jews, to lay the foundations of the temple and build it to a height of sixty cubits and the same breadth and to 1 Esdras make the walls of three courses of polished stone and Ezravi. 3. one of the wood of that country, and similarly an altar whereon they may sacrifice to God.b The expense for these things I wish to come out of my treasury. I have also sent the vessels which King Nebuchadnezzar took as plunder from the temple, giving them over to my treasurer Mithridates and to Zorobabelos. the leader of the Jews, to carry to Jerusalem and place them once more in the temple of God. Now The temple the number of these vessels is as follows: fifty wine- vessels.

1 Esdras li. coolers of gold and four hundred of silver, fifty Theri- 13 (LXX 12); cleian cups of gold and four hundred of silver, fifty jars of gold and five hundred of silver, forty libationbowls of gold and three hundred of silver, thirty cups of gold and two thousand four hundred of silver, and a thousand other large vessels.c I also grant them 1 Esdras v the honorary gift which their forefathers used to Ezra vi. 9. receive, for cattle, wine and oil two hundred and five thousand five hundred drachmas and twenty thousand

b The altar is not mentioned in Scripture.

' Josephus's list of vessels is longer than those in 1 Esdras and Ezra, and agrees with them only in two of the last three The scriptural lists are as follows:

1 Esdras
1000 gold libation-bowls (A.V.
"cups") 1000 silver libation-bowls
29 silver censers
30 gold cups (A.V. vials')
2410 silver ,, 1000 other vessels
1000 Other (casers

	30	gold	charg	ers
1(silve		2
	30	gold	basin	3
		silve	r voce	ole

EZRA

τάβας δισμυρίας πεντακοσίας. κελεύω δὲ τὴν τούτων χορηγίαν ἐκ τῶν Σαμαρείας γίνεσθαι 17 φόρων. ἐποίσουσι δὲ τὰ ἱερεῖα ταῦτα κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ προσφέροντες εὔξονται τῷ θεῷ περὶ σωτηρίας τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἡ Περσῶν βασιλεία διαμείνη. τοὺς δὲ παρακούσαντας τούτων καὶ ἀκυρώσαντας ἀνασταυρωθῆναι βούλομαι

18 καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν εἶναι βασιλικάς." καὶ ἡ μèν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦτ' ἐδήλου: τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας συνελθόντων εἰς 'Ἱεροσόλυμα μυριάδες ἦσαν τέσσαρες καὶ δισχίλιοι τετρακόσιοι¹ ἐξήκοντα δύο.²

19 (ii 1) Βαλλομένων δὲ τοὺς θεμελίους τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν αὐτοῦ λίαν ἐσπουδακότων, τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Χουθαίων, οὓς ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος καὶ Μηδικῆς ἀγαγὼν Σαλμανάσσης³ ὁ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατώκισεν ἐν Σαμαρεία, ὅτε τὸν τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν λαὸν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησεν, παρεκάλουν τοὺς σατράπας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς 'Ιουδαίους πρός τε τὴν τῆς πόλεως 20 ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευήν. οἱ δὲ καὶ

20 ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευήν. οἱ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι διαφθαρέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπημπόλησαν τοῖς Χουθαίοις τὸ περὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀμελὲς καὶ ῥάθυμον τῆς οἰκοδομίας. Κύρω γὰρ περί τε ἄλλους

τριακόσιοι Clericus, Naber.
 δύο om. A Lat.
 ex libr. non. Niese: Σαλ(α)μανασ(σ)άρης codd.

^a In 1 Esdras and Ezra salt is included. The exact sum of money for cattle and the measure of grain are details invented by Josephus.

b 1 Esdras "out of the tribute of Coele-Syria (here = Palestine and Syria; ef. § 25 note) and Phoenicia"; Ezra "out of the king's revenues from beyond the river" (i.e. Palestine 322

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 16-20

five hundred artabae of wheat for fine flour. a I order these to be furnished out of the tribute from Samaria.b And the priests in Jerusalem shall offer these sacrifices in accordance with the laws of Moses and, when they bring them, shall pray to God for the well-being of the king and his family and that the kingdom of Persia may long endure. And it is my will that those who disobey these commands or set them aside shall be crucified and that their possessions shall become the property of the king." These were the contents of the letter. Now the number of those who came to 1 Esdras v. Jerusalem from the land of their captivity was forty- 64; Neh, vii. two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.

(ii. 1) While they were laying the foundations of The Samarithe temple and very busily engaged in building it, tans warn the surrounding nations, especially the Chuthaeans, against the whom the Assyrian king Salmanasses d had brought i Esdras v. from Persia and Media and settled in Samaria when 66 (LXX 63); he deported the Israelite people, urged the satraps and those in charge to hinder the Jews in the rebuilding of the city and the construction of the temple. And so, being corrupted by their bribes, they sold their services to the Chuthaeans by showing neglect and indifference toward the Jews in their building. For Cyrus, because of his preoccupation with other

and Syria). Josephus's substitution of "Samaria" seems a deliberate dig at the Samaritans.

Bibl. 42, 360 (cf. § 69 note c). According to Scripture this was the number of exiles (exclusive of children, servants, etc.) returning with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, presumably in the reign of Cyrus (cf. 1 Esdras v. 70 (LXX 67) ff. = Ezra iv. 3 ff.); however in §§ 64 ff. Josephus follows 1 Esdras in connecting

the return under Zerubbabel and Jeshua with Darius. d Emended form (cf. Ant. ix. 259 ff.): Mss. Sal(a)manas(s)arēs; Ezra Esar-haddon; 1 Esdras cod. A 'Ασβασαρέθ.

cod. Β 'Ασβακαφάθ, Luc. 'Αγορδάν,

ἀσχοληθέντι πολέμους ἄγνοια τούτων ἦν καὶ στρατευσαμένω γε ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας εὐθὺς¹ συνέβη τε-

21 λευτήσαι τὸν βίον. Καμβύσου δὲ τοῦ Κύρου παιδὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος οἱ ἐν Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ ᾿Αμμανίτιδι καὶ Μωαβίτιδι καὶ Σαμαρεία γράφουσιν ἐπιστολὴν Καμβύση δηλοῦσαν τάδε.

22 " δέσποτα, οι παιδές" σου 'Ράθυμος ο πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα γράφων και Σεμέλιος ο γραμματεύς και οι τῆς βουλῆς τῆς εν Συρία και Φοινίκη κριταί. γινώσκειν σε δεῖ, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι Ἰουδαιοι οι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἀναχθέντες ἐληλύθασιν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν και τήν τε πόλιν τὴν ἀποστάτιν και πονηρὰν οἰκοδομοῦσι και τὰς ἀγορὰς αὐτῆς, και επισκευάζουσι

23 τὰ τείχη καὶ ναὸν ἀνεγείρουσιν. ἴσθι μέντοι γε τούτων γενομένων οὔτε φόρους αὐτοὺς τελεῖν ὑπομενοῦντας οὔτε δὲ ὑπακούειν ἐθελήσοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἀντιστήσονται καὶ ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ

24 ύπακούειν ἐθελήσουσιν. ἐνεργουμένων οὖν τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ σπουδαζομένων καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν ἡμιν γράψαι σοι, βασιλεῦ, καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν, ὅπως ἐπισκέψη τὰ τῶν πατέρων σου βιβλία· εὐρήσεις γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποστάτας καὶ τῶν βασιλέων

1 ckeî PWE.

2 δοῦλοι LA.

^a Cf. Herodotus i. 214.

b Here Josephus quietly corrects the bibl. chronology of the Persian kings. According to Scripture, the letter which follows (the first letter quoted in the book of Ezra) was written to Artaxerxes. The bibl. account, moreover, makes it appear that Xerxes (Heb. 'Aḥašwērôs) and Artaxerxes preceded Darius, and passes over Cambyses entirely. Josephus's corrections here and elsewhere result in presenting the proper historical sequence, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius (cf. § 30), Xerxes (cf. § 120) and Artaxerxes (cf. § 184).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 20-24

wars, was in ignorance of these matters and, as it happened, died soon after making war on the Massagetae. But, when Cyrus's son Cambyses took over the royal power, b the people in Syria, Phoenicia, Their letter Amman, Moab and Samaria wrote a letter which to Cambyses (bibl. Arread as follows: "To our sovereign of from his servants taxerres). Rathymos, the recorder of all things that happen, ii. 16; ii. 16; Semelios, the scribe, and the judges of the council Ezra iv. 7. in Syria and Phoenicia.9 You should know, O King, that the Jews who were carried off to Babylon have come to our land and are building their rebellious and mischievous city and its market-places, and are repairing the walls and erecting a temple. Know, therefore, that, if these things are done, they will neither consent to pay tribute nor be willing to obey, but will oppose the kings and seek rather to rule than to obey. Since, then, work is being done on the temple and zealously carried forward, we have thought it proper to write you, O King, and not to overlook these things, in order that you may examine the records of your fathers, for you will find in them that the Jews have been rebels and enemies of the

d So 1 Esdras (cod. B and Luc.; cod. A 'Paoθμος); Ezra

Rehum (Rehûm).

· Cf. § 26 note c.

' Cf. 1 Esdras cod. Α Σεμέλλιος, cod. Β Σαμέλλιος; Ezra

^c Bibl. Artaxerxes. By omitting the name Josephus avoids the awkwardness of openly correcting Scripture.

Shimshai, Lxx cod. A Σαμσαί, cod. B Σαμασά.

^o So Luc. 1 Esdras (cod. A has κραταιοί "rulers" for κριταί "judges," while cod. B omits the word); in Ezra we have what seems to be a mixed list of titles and ethnic names, the Aram. being corrupt. A.V. renders "the Dinaites, the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites and the Elamites."

JOSEPHUS

έχθροὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν, ἡ διὰ 25 τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἠρημώθη. ἔδοξε δ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτό σοι δηλῶσαι ἀγνοούμενον ἴσως, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως οὕτως συνοικισθείσης καὶ τὸν κύκλον τῶν τειχῶν ἀπολαβούσης ἀποκλείεταί σοι ἡ δδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φρινίκην "

Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην.''
26 (2) 'Αναγνοὺς δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ φύσει πονηρὸς ὧν κινεῖται πρὸς τὰ δεδηλωμένα καὶ γράφει τάδε λέγων· '' βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης 'Ραθύμω τῷ γράφοντι τὰ προσπίπτοντα καὶ Βεελζέμω καὶ Σεμελίω γραμματεῖ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς συντασσομένοις καὶ οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Σαμαρεία καὶ Φοιγικη τάδε λέγει. ἀναγνοὺς τὰ πεμφθέντα παρ' ὑμῶν γράμματα ἐκέλευσα ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ τῶν προγόνων μου βιβλία, καὶ εὐρέθη ἡ πόλις ἐχθρὰ βασιλεῦσιν ἀεὶ γεγενημένη, καὶ στάσεις καὶ πολέμους οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες πραγματευσάμενο, καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν

ἔγνωμεν δυνατούς καὶ βιαίους φορολογήσαντας 28 κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην. ἐγὼ τοίνυν προσέταξα μὴ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀνοικοδομεῖν τὴν πόλιν, μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον αὐξηθῆ τὰ τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν, ἢ χρώμενοι πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς διατετελέ-

^a So 1 Esdras; Ezra has "beyond the river," meaning the land west of the Euphrates. "Coele-Syria" includes 3 different geographical concepts in Hellenistic Greek: (1) the valley between Mt. Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, (2) the region south of Damascus and east of the Jordan, i.e. roughly corresponding to modern Transjordania, (3) Palestine and Transjordania together. In this last sense it is often used by Josephus, as well as by other Greek writers, to denote the Ptolemaic possessions in the East in the 3rd century B.c. On the various meanings of the term cf. G. Hölscher, Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit, 1903, pp. 6 ff., 98, U. Kahrstedt, Syrische Territorien in helleni-326

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 24-28

kings, as also their city, which for that reason has been laid waste until now. We have also thought it proper to make this known to you, lest you may perhaps be ignorant of it, namely that, if the city is thus refounded and has its circuit of walls restored, the road to Coele-Syria and Phoenicia q will be closed

to you."

(2) When Cambyses read this letter, being natur- Cambyses' ally bad, he was aroused by its contents and wrote as samaritans. follows: "Thus says King Cambyses to Rathymos, 1 Esdras the recorder of events, and Beelzemos and Semelios, 21); Ezaib; the scribe, and the rest of their colleagues resident in 17. Samaria d and Phoenicia. After reading the letter sent by you, I ordered the records of my forefathers to be examined, and it was found that that city has always been hostile to the kings and that the inhabitants have been engaged in rebellions and wars; and we have learned that their kings, being powerful and violent men, have levied tribute on Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. I have therefore given orders that the Jews shall not be permitted to rebuild the city, lest the amount of mischief which they have continually contrived against the kings be further increased."

stischer Zeit, 1926, pp. 6 ff., 96 ff., W. Otto in ABAW, phil.hist. Kl., xxxiv. 1, 1928, pp. 30 ff., and A. Jones in JRS xxv., 1935, p. 229.

b Unscriptural detail.

^e Cf. 1 Esdras Υαούμω τῶ γράφοντι τὰ προσπίπτοντα καὶ Βεελτεέμω (v.l. Βεελτεθμῶ). The Aramaic text of Ezra gives be el-te am as a title of Rehum (Rathymos), meaning something like "chancellor." Josephus, following 1 Esdras here, both translates it and transliterates it as a personal name (" Rathymos, the recorder of events, and Beelzemos"), with the result that we have three persons addressed by Artaxerxes (Cambyses) instead of the two named in Scripture (namely Rehum and Shimshai) and in § 22.

d 1 Esdras adds "and Syria."

29 κασιν. Τούτων ἀναγνωσθέντων τῶν γραμμάτων ὁ 'Ράθυμος καὶ Σεμέλιος ὁ γραμματεύς καὶ οἱ τούτοις συντεταγμένοι παραχρημα έπιπηδήσαντες ιπποις έσπευσαν είς Ἱεροσόλυμα πληθος ἐπαγόμενοι πολύ, καὶ διεκώλυσαν οἰκοδομεῖν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τὴν

30 πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναόν. καὶ ταθτα μὲν ἐπεσχέθη τὰ έργα μέχρι τοῦ δευτέρου έτους της Δαρείου βασιλείας τῶν Περσῶν ἐπ' ἄλλα ἔτη ἐννέα Καμβύσης γαρ εξ έτη βασιλεύσας και καταστρεψάμενος έν τούτοις την Αίγυπτον υποστρέψας ετελεύτησεν έν

Δαμασκώ.

31 (iii. 1) Μετά δὲ τὴν τῶν μάγων ἀναίρεσιν, οῖ μετά τὸν Καμβύσου θάνατον τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ένιαυτῷ κατέσχον, οἱ λεγόμενοι έπτά οἶκοι τῶν Περσών τον Υστάσπου παΐδα Δαρείον ἀπέδειξαν βασιλέα. οὖτος ἰδιώτης ὧν ηΰξατο τῷ θεῷ, εἰ γένοιτο βασιλεύς, πάντα τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅσα ην έτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, πέμψειν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἐν 32 Ἱεροσολύμοις. ἔτυχε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν

άφικόμενος πρός Δαρείον έξ Ίεροσολύμων Ζοροβάβηλος, δς των αίχμαλώτων Ιουδαίων ήγεμων ἀπεδέδεικτο· πάλαι γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ φιλία πρός τὸν βασιλέα, δι' ῆν καὶ σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτὸν μετ' άλλων δύο κριθείς ἄξιος ἀπέλαυεν ής ήλπισε τιμής.

33 (2) Τῷ δὲ πρώτω τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει Δαρείος ύποδέχεται λαμπρώς και μετά πολλής παρασκευής 1 V: τοῦ rell. 2 ήλπιζε AWE.

a On the death of Cambyses (not, of course, mentioned in Scripture) cf. Herodotus iii. 64, according to whom it occurred at Agbatana (= Hamath?) in Syria: cf. further E. Herzfeld in Indian and Iranian Studies Presented to George A. Grierson (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, viii.) 1936, pp. 589-597.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 29-33

When this letter was read by them, Rathymos and Semelios, the scribe, and their colleagues immediately leaped on their horses and, accompanied by a large number of people, hastened to Jerusalem and prevented the Jews from building the city and the temple. And so these works were stopped for nine years more until the second year of Darius's reign over Persia. For Cambyses after a reign of six years, during which he conquered Egypt, returned from there and died in Damascus.a

(iii. 1) After the killing of the Magi who held Darius and power in Persia for the year following the death of Zerubbabel Cambyses, the so-called "seven houses" of the babēlos) Persians appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, king.b While still a private citizen, he had vowed to God that, if he became king, he would send all the vessels of God which were still in Babylon to the temple in Jerusalem.c Now at that time there happened to come to Darius from Jerusalem Zorobabelos, who had been appointed governor of the Jewish captives, for there was an old friendship between him and the king, and having been on that account judged worthy of a place in the king's bodyguard together with two others, he was enjoying an honour for which he had hoped.d

(2) In the first year of his reign Darius gave a The contest splendid entertainment with great display for his guards.

b Cf. Herodotus iii. 71. ^c Cf. 1 Esdras iv. 43 f.

⁴ The preceding section, on Zerubbabel's visit to Darius, is the invention of Josephus, written to reconcile the scriptural account of Zerubbabel's activity as leader of the Jews in Jerusalem (Ezra ch. iv.) with the Apocryphal story of Zerubbabel at the court of Darius (1 Esdras ch. iii. ff.), which Josephus relates in what follows.

[·] Detail not found in 1 Esdras.

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τούς τε περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς οἴκοι γεγονότας καὶ τοὺς τῶν Μήδων ἡγεμόνας καὶ σατράπας τῆς Περσίδος¹ καὶ τοπάρχας τῆς² Ἰνδικῆς ἄχρι τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν έκατὸν εἴκοσι

34 καὶ έπτὰ σατραπειῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατευωχηθέντες ἄχρι κόρου καὶ πλησμονῆς ἀνέλυσαν κοιμηθησόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔκαστοι, Δαρεῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην καὶ βραχὺ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναπαυσάμενος ἔξυπνος γίνεται, καὶ μηκέτι κατακοιμηθηναι δυνάμενος εἰς ὁμιλίαν τρέπεται μετὰ τῶν

35 τριῶν σωματοφυλάκων, καὶ τῷ λόγον ἐροῦντι περὶ ῶν αὐτὸς ἀνακρίνειν μέλλει τὸν ἀληθέστατον καὶ συνετώτατον,³ τούτῳ γέρας δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται νικητήριον πορφύραν ἐνδύεσθαι⁴ καὶ ἐν ἐκπώμασι χρυσοῖς πίνειν καὶ ἐπὶ χρυσίου καθεύδειν καὶ ἄρμα χρυσοχάλινον καὶ κίδαριν βυσσίνην καὶ περιαυχένιον χρύσεον, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἔξειν προεδρίαν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν '' καὶ συγγενής μου,'' ἔφη, '' κληθή-36 σεται. 5'' ταύτας ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτοῖς παρέξειν

36 σεται. ταύτας επαγγειλάμενος αὐτοῖς παρέξειν τὰς δωρεὰς ερωτᾳ μεν τὸν πρῶτον εἰ ὁ οἶνος ὑπερισχύει, τὸν δεύτερον δέ, εἰ οἱ βασιλεῖς, τὸν τρίτον δέ, εἰ αἱ γυναῖκες ἢ τούτων μᾶλλον ἡ ἀλή-

² ἀπὸ τῆς ex LXX Naber.

¹ τῶν Περσῶν WE Lat.

³ ἀληθέστατον καὶ συνετώτατον WE: ἀληθέστερον καὶ συνετώτερον rell.

 ⁴ ἐνδύσεσθαι PF: ἐνδύσασθαι LV.
 ⁵ + καὶ περίοπτος διαδόξαν ἔσεται P.

^a Or "governors," cf. 1 Esdras, " to all the satraps and governors (στρατηγοῖs) and toparchs under him from India to Ethiopia in the 127 satrapies."

Ethiopia in the 127 satrapies."

^b So 1 Esdras. The 127 satrapies are also mentioned in the book of Esther (i. 1), of which this section in 1 Esdras is 330

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 33-36

court and those born in his house and the governors of Media, the satraps of Persia and the toparchs of the countries from India to Ethiopia, and the generals a of the one hundred and twenty-seven satrapies.b And, when they had feasted to satiety and repletion, they departed, each one going to his own house to sleep; and King Darius went to his bed, but, after resting a brief part of the night, he awoke and, being unable to sleep any longer, fell to talking with his three bodyguards. To him who should give the truest and most intelligent speech on the subject about which he would question them, he promised to give as the prize of victory purple garments to wear, gold cups to drink from, a gold bed to sleep on and a chariot with a bridle of gold, a head-dress of fine linen and a necklace of gold, and also to have the chief place after the king because of his wisdom, "and," he said, "he shall be called my Kinsman." After offering to bestow these gifts, he asked the first whether wine was the strongest thing, and the second whether kings were, and the third whether women were, or whether truth was strongest of all. When he had

reminiscent. Actually there were only some 20 satrapies in the reign of Darius, cf. G. B. Gray, CAH iv. 195. T. Reinach, in his note on this passage in Josephus, remarks that the Seleucids inaugurated a system of smaller provinces, and refers to the 120 satraps (A.V. "princes") mentioned in Daniel vi. I. It is doubtful, however, whether there was anything like so large a number of provinces (in the sense of large administrative units) in the Seleucid empire, cf. M. Rostovtzeff in CAH vii. 166 note 1, "Appian, Syr. 62, gives the number of satrapies as seventy-two, but if we put together the data of historians and inscriptions we cannot make up more than twenty-five. We must assume that Appian has counted as satrapies smaller units properly called hyparchiae in Asia Minor and Media Atropatene, merides in Coele-Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine."

θεια. ταθτα προθείς αὐτοῖς ζητεῖν ἡσύχασεν 37 ὄρθρου δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας καὶ σατράπας καὶ τοπάρχας τῆς Περσίδος καὶ Μηδικῆς καὶ καθίσας ἐν ὧ χρηματίζειν εἰώθει τόπω, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων έκαστον ἐκέλευσε πάντων ακουόντων αποφαίνεσθαι το δοκούν αὐτῶ περί τῶν προκειμένων.

38 (3) Καὶ ὁ πρώτος ἤρξατο λέγειν τὴν τοῦ οἴνου δύναμιν, οὕτως αὐτὴν ἐμφανίζων· '' ἄνδρες,'' γὰρ εἶπεν, '' ἐγὼ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ οἴνου τεκμαιρόμενος, πάντα ύπερβάλλουσαν εύρίσκω τούτω τῷ τρόπω. 39 σφάλλει τε γάρ των πινόντων αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπατᾶ την διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τῆ τοῦ ὀρφανοῦ καὶ δεομένου κηδεμόνος όμοίαν τίθησιν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ δούλου διεγείρει πρὸς παρρησίαν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, ἥ τε τοῦ πένητος όμοία γίνεται τῆ τοῦ πλουσίου. 40 μεταποιεί γάρ καὶ μεταγεννά τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν αὐταῖς

έγγενόμενος, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν συμφορῷ καθεστηκότων σβέννυσι το λυποῦν, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλότρια χρέα λαβόντας είς λήθην ἄγει καὶ ποιεί δοκείν αὐτοὺς άπάντων πλουσιωτάτους, ώς μηδέν μικρον φθέγγεσθαι, ταλάντων δὲ μεμνησθαι καὶ τῶν τοῖς

41 εὐδαίμοσι προσηκόντων ὀνομάτων. ἔτι γε μὴν στρατηγών καὶ βασιλέων ἀναισθήτους ἀπεργάζεται καὶ φίλων καὶ συνήθων έξαιρεῖ μνήμην όπλίζει γάρ τους ανθρώπους και κατά των φιλτάτων και

42 δοκεῖν ποιεῖ πάντων ἀλλοτριωτάτους. καὶ ὅταν νήψαντες τύχωσι καὶ καταλίπῃ διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ οἶνος κοιμωμένους, ἀνίστανται μηδέν ὧν

¹ τόπω om. PFW.

^{2 ¿}Éaioer PIFLAV.

a Josephus's version of the contest differs from that of 332

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 36-42

set these questions for them to examine, he took his rest. Then in the morning he summoned the nobles, satraps and toparchs of Persia and Media, and, taking his seat in the place where he was wont to give judgement, he bade each of the bodyguards give his opinion on the matters in question in the hearing of all.a

17 (LXX 16).

(3) And the first began to speak on the power of The first wine, describing it as follows. "Sirs," he said, guard "when I estimate the strength of wine, I find that it i Esdras iii. surpasses all things in the following way. It misleads and deceives those who drink it, and causes the king's understanding to be like that of an orphan or one who needs a guardian. It stirs up the mind of the slave to the outspokenness of the free man, while that of the poor man becomes similar to the rich man's. For it remakes and regenerates their souls when it enters them, and drowns the sorrow of those overtaken by misfortune, while to those who are in debt to others it brings forgetfulness and makes them think themselves the richest of all men, so that they do not mention any small sum but speak only of talents and such denominations as are familiar to the prosperous. Moreover, it makes men unaware of commanders and kings, and takes away their memory of friends and companions. For it arms men against even their best friends, and makes these seem more complete strangers than any others. Then, when they become sober and the wine has left them during their night's sleep, they arise knowing nothing of what

1 Esdras (iii. 4-17), according to which the three guards arrange the terms of the contest while Darius is asleep, and themselves suggest what the prize shall be, and write down their answers for Darius to read when he awakes; on awaking, he reads their answers and summons his nobles to hear each of the guards speak in support of his answer.

ἔπραξαν παρὰ τὴν μέθην εἰδότες. τούτοις ἐγὼ τεκμαιρόμενος εὐρίσκω τὸν οἶνον ὑπερκρατοῦντα

πάντων καὶ βιαιότατον."

43 (4) 'Ως δε ό πρώτος αποφηνάμενος περὶ τῆς ἰσχύος τοῦ οἴνου τὰ προειρημένα ἐπαύσατο, ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν ἤρξατο λέγειν περὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεως, ταύτην ἀποδεικνὺς ἰσχυροτάτην¹ καὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων δυναμένην, ὅσα βίαν ἔχειν ἢ σύνεσιν δοκεῖ. τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἐντεῦθεν

44 έλάμβανεν άπάντων μεν είπεν άνθρώπους περικρατείν, οἱ καὶ τὴν γῆν καταναγκάζουσι καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν είναι χρησίμην αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἃ θέλουσι, '' τούτων δ' ἄρχουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ τὴν έξουσίαν ἔχουσιν οἱ δὲ τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἰσχυροτάτου ζώου δεσπόζοντες ἀνυπέρβλητοι τὴν δύναμιν οὖτοι καὶ

45 τὴν ἰσχὺν εἰκότως ἃν εἶεν. ἀμέλει πολέμους ἐπιτάττοντες καὶ κινδύνους τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἀκούονται, καὶ πέμποντες αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς καταπειθεῖς διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν τὴν αὑτῶν ἔχουσι, καὶ ὅρη μὲν κατεργάζεσθαι καὶ τείχη κατασπᾶν καὶ πύργους κελεύουσι, καὶ κτείνεσθαι δ' οἱ κελευσθέντες καὶ κτείνειν ὑπομένουσιν, ἴνα μὴ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δόξωσι παραβαίνειν προστάγματα, νικήσαντες δὲ τὴν ἀφέλειαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζουσιν.

46 καὶ οἱ μὴ στρατευόμενοι δέ, ἀλλὰ γῆν ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ ἀροῦντες, ὅταν πονήσαντες καὶ ἄπασαν τὴν τῶν ἔργων ταλαιπωρίαν ὑπομείναντες θερίσωσι καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς συνέλωσι, τοὺς φόρους τῷ βασιλεῖ κομί-

47 ζουσιν. δ δ' αν οὖτος εἴπη καὶ κελεύση τοῦτο έξ ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ὑπερβαλλομένων γίνεται. ἔπειθ'² ὁ μὲν τρυφῆς ἀπάσης καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀναπιμπλάμενος

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 42-47

they have done during their drunkenness. Judging by these things, I find that wine is the strongest and

most forceful of all things."

(4) When the first had given the above views on The second the strength of wine and ceased speaking, the next guard praises the began to speak on the power of the king, showing king. that it was the strongest and most powerful of all iv. l. things that seem to have force or sense. He took the following line of demonstration. Men have power over all things, he said, for they compel the earth and the sea to be of use to them in whatever way they wish, " and they, in turn, are ruled by kings, since these have the authority. Now, that those who are masters of the strongest and mightiest of living things should therefore be of unsurpassed power and strength is only reasonable. Certain it is that when they impose war and danger upon their subjects they are obeyed and, when they send them against the enemy, they obtain obedience through their strength. They order them to level mountains and pull down walls and towers. When men are ordered to be killed and to kill, they submit, in order that they may not seem to transgress the king's commands, and, when they have won a victory, they bring the spoils of war to the king. And as for those who are not soldiers but till the soil and plough, when, after toiling and enduring all the hardships of their work, they have reaped and gathered in the fruits, they bring their tribute to the king. . Whatever he says and commands is done of necessity without any delay. Furthermore, when he goes to sleep after taking his fill of every luxury and

¹ τὴν ἰσχυροτάτην codd.
2 ἔτι Α: ἔτι θ' Niese.

καθεύδει, φυλάσσεται δὲ ὑπ' ἐγρηγορότων καὶ 48 ὡσανεὶ δεδεμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου· καταλιπεῖν γὰρ οὐδὲ εἶς τολμῷ κοιμώμενον οὐδὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναχωρήσας ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἔν ἔργον ἡγούμενος ἀναγκαῖον τὸ φυλάττειν τὸν βασιλέα, τούτῳ προσμένει. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἃν ὁ βασιλεὺς δόξειε τὴν πάντων ἰσχὺν ὑπερβάλλειν, ῷ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος πείθεται κελεύοντι;"

49 (5) Σιωπήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου, περὶ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ τρίτος Ζοροβάβηλος διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς ἤρξατο, λέγων οὕτως: "ἰσχυρὸς μὲν καὶ ὁ οἶνος καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς, ῷ πάντες ὑπακούουσιν, ἀλλὰ κρείττους τὴν δύναμιν τούτων αἱ 50 γυναῖκες: τόν τε γὰρ βασιλέα γυνὴ παρήγαγεν εἰς

50 γυναίκες τόν τε γὰρ βασιλέα γυνὴ παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸ φῶς, καὶ τοὺς φυτεύσαντας ἀμπέλους αι ποιοῦσι τὸν οἶνον γυναίκές εἰσιν αι τίκτουσαί τε καὶ τρέφουσαι. καθόλου δ' οὐδέν ἐστιν δ μὴ παρὰ τούτων ἔχομεν καὶ γὰρ τὰς ἐσθῆτας αιται ὑφαίνουσιν ἡμιν καὶ τὰ κατ' οἶκον διὰ ταύτας ἐπιμελείας 51 καὶ φυλακῆς ἀξιοῦται. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμιν ἀπο-

51 καὶ φυλακῆς ἀξιοῦται. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀποζευχθῆναι γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ χρυσὸν πολὺν κτησάμενοι καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν πολυτελῶν καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξίων, ὅταν ἴδωμεν εὔμορφον γυναῖκα, πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀφέντες τῷ εἴδει τῆς ὁραθείσης προσκεχήναμεν καὶ ὑπομένομεν παραχωρῆσαι τῶν ὄντων ἡμῖν, ἵνα τοῦ κάλλους ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ 52 μεταλάβωμεν. ἐγκαταλείπομεν δὲ καὶ πατέρας καὶ

οντων ημιν, ινα του καλλους απολαυσωμέν και 52 μεταλάβωμεν. έγκαταλείπομεν δε και πατέρας και μητέρας και τὴν θρεψαμένην γῆν και τῶν φιλτάτων πολλάκις λήθην ἔγομεν διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας, και τὰς

1 καὶ μητέρας om. PFWE Lat.

^a It is generally recognized by biblical scholars that the 336

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 47-52

pleasure, he is guarded by men who keep awake and are, as it were, chained to their post by fear, for while he sleeps no one dares to leave him or withdraw to attend to his own affairs but, holding only one task to be imperative, namely that of guarding the king, he devotes himself to that. How, then, should the king not seem to surpass all others in strength when so

great a number of men obey his commands?"

(5) When this one too was silent, the third, Zoro- zerubbabel babelos, began to discourse on women and truth, a praises speaking as follows: "Wine and the king, whom all I Esdras obey, are, to be sure, very strong, but greater in iv. 13. power than these are women. For it is a woman who brings a king into the world, and it is women who bear and bring up those who plant vines which produce wine. In short, there is nothing which we do not get from them. For it is they who weave our clothes for us, and it is through them that the affairs of the household receive due care and attention. And it is impossible for us to be separated from women, for when, after acquiring a large sum of gold and silver and other things of great value and importance, we see a beautiful woman, we let all these things go at the appearance of such a person and stare at her open-mouthed and submit to yielding our possessions, in order to enjoy and partake of her beauty. We even leave our fathers and mothers b and the land which nourished us, and often become forgetful of our best friends for the sake of women, and we have

original of the story in 1 Esdras must have made "women" the third (and correct) answer to the question "What is most powerful of all things?", and that the pious writer of the Apocryphal account has given this popular tale a moral by bringing in Truth.

b The variant omits " and mothers."

ψυχὰς ἀφιέναι μετ' αὐτῶν καρτεροῦμεν.¹ οὕτως δ'
αν μάλιστα τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν γυναικῶν κατανοήσαιτε·
δ3 οὐχὶ πονοῦντες καὶ πᾶσαν ταλαιπωρίαν ὑπομένοντες
καὶ διὰ γῆς καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, ὅταν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν
πόνων περιγένηταί τινα, αὐτὰ φέροντες ὡς δεσποί-

54 ναις ταις γυναιξί διδόαμεν; και τον βασιλέα δε τον τοσούτων κύριον είδον ποτε ύπο της 'Ραβεζάκου του Θεμασίου' παιδος 'Απάμης παλλακης δ' αὐτου ραπιζόμενον, και το διάδημα ἀφαιρουμένης και τη ίδια κεφαλη περιτιθείσης ἀνεχόμενον και μειδιώσης μεν μειδιώντα οργιζομένης δε σκυθρωπάζοντα και τη των παθων μεταβολη κολακεύοντα την γυναικα και διαλλάττοντα αὐτην' εκ του σφόδρα ταπεινον αὐτον ποιειν, εί ποτε δυσχεραίνουσαν ἔβλεπεν.''

55 (6) Εἰς ἀλλήλους δὲ ἀφορώντων τῶν σατραπῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων, περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἤρξατο λέγειν '' ἀπέδειξα μέν,'' εἰπών, '' ὅσον ἰσχύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, ἀσθενέστεραι δ' ὅμως καὶ αὖται καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπάρχουσιν. εἰ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ γῆ μεγίστη καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ταχὺς ὁ ἤλιος, 'ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κινεῖται κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀληθινὸς δέ ἐστιν οὖτος καὶ δίκαιος, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας δεῖ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἰσχυροτάτην ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὸ ἄδικον δυνά-56 μενον. ἔτι γε μὴν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θνητὰ καὶ ἀκύμορα

1 άξιοῦμεν καὶ καρτεροῦμεν LA.

3 αὐτὴν om. FLAV.

^a 1 Esdras codd. A, B Βαρτάκου, Luc. Βαζάκου.

² Oaimagion LA: Oanmagion WE: Themasi Lat.

⁴ ταχύς ὁ ἥλιος Ε: τοχύς FVW Lat. et P1 vid.: ταχύς τῷ δρόμῳ ὁ ἥλιος LA (cf. Lxx).

Variants Thaimasios, Thaumasios; 1 Esdras τοῦ Θαυμα-338

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 52-56

the courage to lose our lives by their side. But you may most clearly perceive the strength of women from the fact that when, after labouring and enduring all kinds of hardship both by land and by sea, we have gained something from these labours, we bring it to women as to our mistresses and give it to them. Even the king, who is the lord of so many men, I once saw being slapped by his concubine Apame, the daughter of Rabezakos a Themasios, and putting up with it when she took the diadem away from him and placed it on her own head, smiling when she smiled, and looking serious when she was angry, flattering the woman according to her change of feelings, and, if he happened to see her displeased, appeasing her by making himself very humble."

(6) Then, while the satraps and governors looked zerubbabel at one another, he began to speak on truth, saying, next praises "I have now shown how great is the strength of 1 Esdras women, but none the less both they and the king are iv. 33. weaker than truth. For, although the earth is very great and the heavens high and the sun swift, yet all these move in accordance with the will of God, and, since He is true and just, we must for the same reason believe truth also to be the strongest thing, against which no injustice can prevail. Furthermore, all other things that possess strength are by nature

στοῦ (which may be either a personal name or an epithet-"the illustrious Bartakos"). For various conjectures as to the identity of this possibly historical figure cf. C. C. Torrey, Ezra Studies, 1910, pp. 40 ff., and S. A. Cook in R. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T. i. 31 note 29. It may be added that a similar name, Thamasios, occurs in Herodotus vii. 194.

Or, less probably, "flattering the woman by his change of feeling."

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είναι συμβέβηκε τῶν ἰσχὺν ἐχόντων, ἀθάνατον δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια χρῆμα καὶ ἀίδιον. παρέχει δ' ἡμῖν οὐ κάλλος χρόνω μαραινόμενον οὐδὲ περιουσίαν ἀφαιρετὴν ὑπὸ τύχης¹ ἀλλὰ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ νόμιμα, διακρίνουσα ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἄδικα καὶ ἀπελέγχουσα."

57 (7) Καταπαύει² μεν δ Ζοροβάβηλος τον περί της ἀληθείας λόγον, επιβοήσαντος δε τοῦ πλήθους ώς ἄριστα εἰπόντος, καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀληθες ἰσχὺν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀγήρω μόνον ἔχοι, προσέταξεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασι λεὺς αἰτήσασθαί τι πάρεξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἦν ὑπεσχημένος δώσειν γὰρ ὄντι σοφῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον φανέντι συνετῷ " συγκαθεσθήση δε μοι," φησίν,

58 "καὶ κεκλήση συγγενης εμός." ταῦτ' εἰπόντος
ὑπέμνησεν αὐτὸν τῆς εὐχῆς ῆς ἐποιήσατο, εἰ λάβοι
τὴν βασιλείαν αὖτη δ' ῆν ἀνοικοδομῆσαι μὲν
'Ἱεροσόλυμα, κατασκευάσαι δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν τοῦ
θεοῦ ναόν, ἀποκαταστῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὰ σκεύη ὅσα
συλήσας Ναβουχοδονόσορος εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐκό-
μισεν. "καὶ τοῦτ'," ἔφη, "τοὐμὸν αἴτημά ἐστιν,
ὅ μοι νῦν ἐπιτρέπεις αἰτήσασθαι κριθέντι σοφῷ καὶ
συνετῶ." 4

59 (8) Ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναστὰς κατεφίλησέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς τοπάρχαις καὶ σατράπαις γράφει κελεύων προπέμψαι τὸν Ζοροβάβηλον
καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μέλλοντας ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν
60 ἐξιέναι τοῦ ναοῦ. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Συρία

1 + ἐν καιρῷ LA.
2 καὶ praem, LAVW.
3 κληθήση FLAV.
4 συνετωτάτω PFVW.

Oetails ("beauty... nor wealth") not found in 1 Esdras.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 56-60

mortal and short-lived, but truth is a thing immortal and eternal. And it gives us, not beauty, that fades with time, nor wealth, of which fortune may rob us, but what is just and lawful, and from this it keeps

away injustice and puts it to shame."

(7) And so Zorobabelos ended his speech on truth, Darlus whereupon the assembly acclaimed him as the best zerubbabel speaker, saying that it was truth alone which had I Esdras unchanging and unaging strength.b And the king directed him to ask for something beyond what he himself had promised, for, he said, he would give it to him for being wise and showing himself more intelligent than the others. "You shall," he added, "be seated next to me and be called my Kinsman." When the king had said this, Zorobabelos reminded him of what he had vowed to do if he obtained the throne: this was to rebuild Jerusalem and construct the temple of God there and restore the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken as spoil to Babylon. "And this," he said, " is the request which you have just permitted me to make for being judged wise and intelligent." c

(8) Being pleased with these words, the king arose Darius's and kissed him; and he wrote to the toparchs and benefactions to the Jews. satraps, d ordering them to escort Zorobabelos and 1 Esdras those who were to go with him to build the temple. He also wrote to those in Syria and Phoenicia, order-

b 1 Esdras, "Great is truth and it prevails" (this famous sentence is often misquoted as "Great is truth and it will prevail"); A.V. renders "Great is truth and mighty above

Variant "most intelligent." This detail is not found in

d Josephus omits the "stewards (οἰκονόμους) and governors (στρατηγούς) " mentioned in 1 Esdras.

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JOSEPHUS

καὶ Φοινίκη ξύλα κέδρινα κατακομίζειν ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου τεμόντας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ συγκατασκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πάντας ἔγραψεν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τῶν αἰχμα-

61 λώτων ἀπελθόντας. καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ σατράπας ἐκώλυσεν ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰς βασιλικὰς χρείας, ἀνῆκέ τε πᾶσαν ῆν ἄν κατασχεῖν δυνηθῶσι τῆς χώρας ἀτελῆ φόρων αὐτοὺς νέμεσθαι. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους καὶ Σαμαρείτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἀφεῖναι τὰς κώμας¹ ἃς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατεῖχον, καὶ προσέτι τάλαντα πεντήκοντα εἰς τὴν

62 οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ δοθῆναι, θύειν τε αὐτοῖς τὰς νενομισμένας ἐπέτρεψε θυσίας ἐπέτρεψε δὲ² καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν ἄπασαν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολήν, ἢ θεραπεύουσι τὸν θεὸν ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις τὰ ὅργανα

63 οξε ύμνοῦσι τὸν θεόν, καὶ τοις Ατειταίς τα οργανα 63 οξε ύμνοῦσι τὸν θεόν, καὶ τοις φύλαξι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ προσέταξε κλήρους γῆς δοθῆναι, καὶ κατὰ ἔκαστον ἔτος ώρισμένον τι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βίου χρείαν ἀργύριον, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ τὰ σκεύη, καὶ πάντα ὅσα Κῦρος πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐβουλήθη περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποκαταστάσεως, ταῦτα καὶ Δαρείος διετάξατο.

1 χώρας F¹VA².

² ἐπέτρεψε θυσίας· ἐπέτρεψε δὲ A: θυσίας ἐπέτρεψε δὲ (δὲ om. P) PFLV: ἐπέτρεψε θυσίας Ε.

a 1 Esdras "stewards." Josephus's term ἐπίτροπος is commonly used in the Greek literature of the Roman period to translate Latin procurator, the title of the emperor's financial representative in the provinces. In the earlier (Hellenistic) period it is sometimes used as a synonym of διοικητής, the title of the finance-minister in Ptolemaic Egypt.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 60-63

ing them to cut cedar wood from Lebanon and send it down to Jerusalem and aid him in building the city. And he decreed that all those captives returning to Judaea should be free. He also forbade his procurators a and satraps to require of the Jews any services to the king, and he gave permission for them to live, without payment of tribute, on as much of the land as they could occupy. And he also commanded the Idumaeans and Samaritans and those in Coele-Syria b to give up the villages c which they had taken from the Jews and now held, and that an additional fifty d talents should be given for the building of the temple. He allowed them to offer the customary sacrifices, and allowed all the charges, including that of the sacred vestments in which the high priest and the priests worshipped God, to come out of his own treasury; he commanded that the Levites should be given the instruments with which they sang the praises of God,e and the guards of the city and the temple allotments of land as well as a fixed sum of silver yearly f for the necessities of life, and also that the vessels for the temple should be sent. Whatever Cyrus before him had wished to be done for the restoration of the temple, all this did Darius decree.

" Variant " countries " or " territories."

⁶ The instruments are not mentioned in 1 Esdras, which

^b Only the Idumaeans are mentioned in most MSS. of 1 Esdras (for "Idumaeans" cod. B has "Chaldaeans"). On Josephus's motive in adding the Samaritans cf. § 16 note b.

d 1 Esdras 20. Josephus, moreover, omits the "10 talents yearly for the daily burnt-offerings" mentioned in the next verse in 1 Esdras.

has "provisions" (χορηγίαν).

For "fixed sum of silver yearly" 1 Esdras has "wages" (οψώνια).

64 (9) Τυχών οὖν τούτων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ζοροβάβηλος ἐξελθών ἀπὸ¹ τῶν βασιλείων καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐχαριστεῖν ἤρξατο τῷ θεῷ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῆ νίκης, ἣν Δαρείου παρόντος ἔλαβεν οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτων ἀξιωθῆναι '' μὴ

65 σοῦ,'' φησί, '' δέσποτα, τυχὼν εὐμενοῦς.'' ταῦτ' οὖν περὶ τῶν παρόντων εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα δεηθεὶς αῦτὸν παρέχειν ὅμοιον, ἦκεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις εὐηγγελίσατο

66 τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες εὐχαριστοῦσι μὲν τῷ θεῷ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντι τὴν πάτριον γῆν, εἰς δὲ πότον καὶ κώμους τραπέντες ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ διήγαγον εὐωχούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀνάκτησιν καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν τῆς πατρίδος

και την ανακτησιν και παλιγγενεσιαν της πατριοος 67 έορτάζοντες. ἔπειτα τοὺς ἀναβησομένους εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῶν πατριῶν καὶ φυλῶν³ σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ ὑποζυγίοις ἐπελέξαντο, οῖ Δαρείου συμπέμψαντος ἔως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὥδευον μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ τρυφῆς, ψαλλόμενοι καὶ καταυλούμενοι καὶ περιψοφούμενοι τοῖς κυμβάλοις. προέπεμψε δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος μετὰ παιδιᾶς.

68 (10) Καὶ οἱ μέν οὕτως ἀπήεσαν ἐξ ἐκάστης πατριᾶς ἀριθμὸς ὄντες ὡρισμένος. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔδοξε τὰ τῶν πατριῶν καταλέγειν ὀνόματα, ἵνα μὴ τὴν τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων διάνοιαν τῆς συναφῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποσπάσας δυσπαρακολούθητον αὐτοῖς

69 ποιήσω την διήγησιν. το δε κεφάλαιον των απερχο-

¹ čk WE.

² Zonaras, ed. pr.: περί codd. E.

³ πατριῶν καὶ φυλῶν conj.; πατρίων φυλῶν codd.: tribuum Lat.: πατριῶν Niese.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 64-69

(9) And so, having obtained these favours from the Zerubbabel king, Zorobabēlos went out from the palace and, announces looking up to heaven, began to return thanks to God news to the for his wisdom and for the victory which he had 1 Esdras obtained through it in the presence of Darius. For, iv. 58. he said, he would not have been granted these things, "if I had not, O Lord, found favour with Thee." And so, having thus returned thanks to God for His present favours and besought Him to show Himself similarly favourable in the future, he came to Babylon and brought to his countrymen the good news from a the king. When they had heard it, they returned thanks to God for giving them back the land of their fathers, and gave themselves up to drinking and revelry, and spent seven days in feasting and celebrating the recovery and rebirth of their native land. Then they selected from the families and tribes b the leaders who were to go up to Jerusalem with their wives and children and beasts of burden, and these, with an escort sent by Darius to take them as far as Jerusalem, went their way with joy and ease to the sound of harps and flutes and the clashing of cymbals. They were also sent on their way with merriment by a crowd of those Jews who were left behind.

(10) Thus, then, did they depart, from each family a fixed number. But I have thought it better not to The number give a list of the names of the families lest I distract of exiles the minds of my readers from the connexion of events Jerusalem. and make the narrative difficult for them to follow. However, the total number of those who went from

[&]quot; Variant " about."

b Emended text; Mss. "from the country's tribes."

⁴ V: προέπεμπε rell.

μένων περί έτη δώδεκα την ήλικίαν γεγονότων έκ της 'Ιούδα φυλης καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος ην μυριάδες τέσσαρες τετρακόσιαι έξήκοντα δύο καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι, Λευίται δὲ τέσσαρες³ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, γυναικῶν δὲ ἀναμὶξ καὶ νηπίων σώματα ἦν τε-70 τρακισμύρια ἐπτακόσια τεσσαράκοντα δύο. πάρεξ

δὲ τούτων Λευῖται μὲν ἦσαν ὑμνῳδοὶ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ὀκτώ, πυλωροί δὲ έκατὸν δέκα, δοῦλοι δὲ ίεροὶ τριακόσιοι ἐνενήκοντα δύο, ἄλλοι τε πρὸς τούτοις λέγοντες μὲν είναι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὐ δυνάμενοι δε επιδείξαι το γένος αὐτῶν εξακόσιοι

71 πεντήκοντα δύο. έξεβλήθησαν δέ τινες καὶ τῶν ίερέων ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς ἡγμένοι γυναῖκας ὧν οὔτ' αὐτοὶ τὸ γένος εἶχον εἰπεῖν οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς γενεαλογίαις τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ ἱερέων εὐρέθησαν ώς6

72 πεντακόσιοι καὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. τὸ δὲ τῶν θεραπόντων πληθος είπετο τοις αναβαίνουσιν είς Ἱεροσόλυμα έπτακισχιλίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα έπτά, ψάλται δὲ καὶ ψάλτριαι διακόσιοι τεσσαράκοντα πέντε, κάμηλοι τετρακόσιαι τριάκοντα πέντε, ύποζύγια δὲ πεντακισχίλια πεντακόσια εἴκοσι

73 πέντε. ήγεμων δὲ τῆς κατηριθμημένης πληθύος ἦν ὁ Σαλαθιήλου παῖς Ζοροβάβηλος ἐκ τῶν υίῶν

1 ὑπὲρ Hudson. ² μυριάδες τέσσαρες ex LXX Ernesti: μυριάδες codd.
³ quattuor milia Lat.

4 δεκαδύο LA. 6 WE: ἦσαν δὲ ώς rell. δ έξήκοντα WE.

 ^a Cf. § 133.
 ^b Lit. "about"; Hudson reads ὑπèρ "above" (cf.

¹ Esdras " from ").

⁶ Emended text; Mss. read literally "myriads four hundred sixty-two and eight thousand" which apparently is to 346

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 69-73

the tribes of Judah and Benjamin a and were at least b 1 Esdras v. twelve years of age was forty-eight thousand four ii. 64. hundred and sixty-two.c There were also seventyfour Levites and a mixed number of women 1 Esdras v. and children amounting to forty thousand seven ²⁶; Ezra ii hundred and forty-two.^d Beside these there were one hundred and twenty-eight Levite singers, one hundred and ten e porters, three hundred and ninetytwo temple servants and, in addition, six hundred and fifty-two others, who said that they were of Israelite stock but were unable to prove their descent. Some of the priests also were expelled from office for having married wives whose descent they themselves could not tell and who could not be found in the genealogies of Levites and priests; of these there were some five hundred and twenty-five.9 The number of servants who accompanied those going up to Jerusalem was seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven, and there were two hundred and forty-five h men and women musicians, four hundred and thirty-five camels and five thousand five hundred and twentyfive beasts of burden. The leaders of the host here 1 Esdras v. enumerated were Zorobabēlos, son of Salathiēlos, 5; Ezra ii. 2 who was of the tribe of Judah, being one of the

be summed as 4,628,000 (multiplying 10,000 by 462 and adding 8000). But even the emended text differs from 1 Esdras and Ezra, which have 42,360.

d No number is given for the women and children in

1 Esdras or Ezra.

^e 1 Esdras and Ezra 139.

^f So Ezra: 1 Esdras 372.

9 No such number is given for the rejected priests in 1 Esdras or Ezra.

^h So 1 Esdras: Ezra 200.

So 1 Esdras; Ezra 6720 asses. 1 Esdras and Ezra, moreover, add 736 (1 Esd. v.l. 7036) horses and 245 mules. f. 1 Esdras Σαλαθιήλ; Ezra Shealtiel (Še'altî'ēl).

ων των Δαυίδου γεγονως έκ της 'Ιούδα φυλης, καὶ 'Ιησοῦς υίὸς 'Ιωσεδέκου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὁ Μαρδοχαῖος καὶ Σερεβαῖος ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους κεκριμένοι ἄρχοντες ήσαν, οῖ καὶ συνεβάλοντο μνᾶς μὲν χρυσίου ἐκατὸν ἀργύρου δὲ 74 πεντακισχιλίας. οὕτως μὲν οὖν οἵ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ

εραλονιό μνας μεν χρυσιού εκάτον αργυρού δε 74 πεντακισχιλίας. οὕτως μεν οῦν οῖ τε ίερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ παντός λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅσον ἢν ἐν τῆ Βαβυλῶνι, μετωκίσθησαν³ εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος εἰς τὰς ἰδίας ἀνεχώρησε πατρίδας.

75 (iv. 1) Ἑβδόμω δέ μηνὶ τῆς ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος αὐτῶν ἐξόδου περιπέμψαντες ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰησοῦς καὶ Ζοροβάβηλος ὁ ἄρχων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας συνήγαγον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πανδημεὶ μηδὲν προ-

- 76 θυμίας ἀπολιπόντες, κατεσκεύασάν τε θυσιαστήριον ἐφ' οὖ καὶ πρότερον ἢν ῷκοδομημένον τόπου, ὅπως τὰς νομίμους ἀναφέρωσι θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους. ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἦσαν ἐν ἡδονῆ τοῖς προσχωρίοις 77 ἔθνεσιν πάντων αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθανομένων. ἤγαγον
 - δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν,

 1 υἰῶν ὢν P¹LA: υἰωνῶν P²VW: υἰῶν FΟΕ.
 2 κεχρισμένοι WE.
 3 Naber: κωτωκίσθησαν codd.
 4 ἀπολιπόντας Hudson: ἀπολειπόντας FW.

° Cf. 1 Esdras 'Ιωσεδέκ; bibl. Jozadak (Υδṣādāq), cf. Ant. x. 150 note g.

d So 1 Esdras; Ezra Mordecai.

^a So 1 Esdras; Ezra does not mention his Davidic lineage. ^b So 1 Esdras; Ezra Jeshua ($Y \in \delta \hat{u}'a$). The Heb. name is a contraction of $Y \in h \circ \delta \hat{u}'a = bibl$. Joshua.

 ¹ Esdras cod. A Zapáov, cod. B Zapaíov, Luc. Σapaíov;
 Ezra Seraiah (S^erāyāh). Other names are added in both books.

¹ Esdras 1000 minae of gold and 5000 minae of silver; 348

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 73-77

descendants of David, and Jēsūs, son of the high priest Jösedekos.c In addition to these, Mardochaios d and Serebaios e were selected from the host as officers, and they also contributed one hundred 1 Esdras v. minae of gold and five thousand of silver. Thus, 45; Ezra ii. then, did the priests and Levites and a portion of the entire Jewish people in Babylon emigrate to Jerusalem, while the rest of the people went off, each to

his native place.

(iv. 1) In the seventh month after the departure The festival from Babylon g the high priest Jesus and Zorobabelos, of Taberthe governor, sent round and, showing no lack of observed at zeal, brought the country people together in a body h Jerusalem. at Jerusalem. And they constructed an altar on 47; Ezra iii. the spot where the former one had been built, in order that they might offer on it the customary sacrifices to God in accordance with the laws of Moses. But in doing this they incurred the displeasure i of the neighbouring nations, all of whom were hostile to them. They also celebrated the festival of Tabernacles at that time, in the manner

Ezra 61,000 drachmae (darkemônîm) of gold and 5000 minae (manim) of silver (A.V. renders darkemonim by "dram" and manim by "pound"). Josephus omits the 100 priestly garments mentioned in both books. These contributions were made by "some of the heads of families" according to 1 Esdras and Ezra, not necessarily by the leaders named here, as Josephus implies.

* 1 Esdras and Ezra have merely "when the seventh month was come." Both books, moreover, state that the work on the temple was begun in the reign of Cyrus and continued until the reign of Darius. Josephus simplifies the chronological problem by passing over the connexion of Jeshua and Zerubbabel with Cyrus, cf. § 78.

h The phrasing here is Thucydidean, cf. Thuc. viii. 22. This phrase (οὐκ ἡσαν ἐν ἡδονῆ) also is Thucydidean, cf. Thuc. i. 99.

ώς δ νομοθέτης περὶ αὐτῆς διετάξατο, καὶ προσφορὰς μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἐνδελεχισμοὺς καὶ τὰς θυσίας τῶν σαββάτων καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἐορτῶν, οἴ τε πεποιημένοι τὰς εὐχὰς ἀπεδίδοσαν θύοντες ἀπὸ νουμηνίας τοῦ

78 έβδόμου μηνός. ἤρξαντο δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ, πολλὰ τοῖς τε λατόμοις καὶ τέκτοσι χρήματα δόντες καὶ τὰ πρὸς τροφὴν τῶν εἰσαγομένων, τοῖς τε Σιδωνίοις ἡδὰ καὶ κοῦφον ἦν τά τε κέδρινα κατάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου ξύλα, δήσασιν αὐτὰ καὶ σχεδίαν πηξαμένοις, εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἰόπης κομίζειν λιμένα τοῦτο γὰρ πρῶτον² μὲν Κῦρος ἐκέλευσεν, τότε δὲ Δαρείου κελεύσαντος³ ἐγίνετο.

79 (2) Ἐν⁴ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καθόδου τῶν Ἰουδαίων μηνὶ δευτέρῳ παραγενομένων συνείχετο⁵ ἡ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευή· καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους ἐγείραντες τῆ νουμηνία τοῦ δευτέρου μηνὸς τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους ἐπωκοδόμουν, προστησάμενοι τῶν ἔργων Λευιτῶν τε τοὺς εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη γεγονότας καὶ Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς υίοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς αδελφοὺς καὶ Ζοδμίηλον⁵ τὸν

2 πρώτος ΡΑ.

³ γράψαντος AW. ⁴ *Ων FLAV.

⁵ συνήγετο Cocceji: ἡπείγετο conj. Naber sed συνείχετο retin. in edd.: cf. § 171.

6 Ζοδμιήλον L: Ζοδμοήλον F: Ζολιμήηλον P: Ζωλιμίηλον V: Ζολιμήει W: Obdoilum Lat.

¹ ἐργαζομένων ex Lat. (operantibus) Cocceji.

^a So Ezra and most Mss. of 1 Esdras; cod. B "first."
^b "Pleasant and easy" (ήδὸ καὶ κοῦφον) reflects the reading χάρα "joy" found in some Mss. of 1 Esdras; the other Mss. have κάρρα "carts" or κάρνα "nuts" or καρπούς "fruits" in the list of supplies furnished the workmen, cf.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 77-79

which the lawgiver had ordained, and after that they brought the offerings and the so-called continual burnt-offerings and the sacrifices of the sabbaths and all the sacred festivals; and those who had made vows paid them by sacrificing, from the new moon of the seventh a month on. They also began the building of the temple, giving large sums of money to the stone-cutters and carpenters and the sums needed for the sustenance of the workmen who were brought in; and it was pleasant and easy b for the Sidonians to bring down cedar wood from Lebanon, bind the logs together and fasten them into rafts to convey them to the harbour of Jope.c This had first been ordered by Cyrus but was now being carried out at the order of Darius.d

(2) In the second year after the return of the Jews The comto Jerusalem, in the second month when they came the second there, the construction of the temple was undertaken; temple. 1 Esdras v. after raising the foundations on the new moon of the 56; Ezra iii. second month of the second year, they began to build 8. on them and placed in charge of the work those of the Levites who had reached the age of twenty years, and Jēsūs and his sons and brothers, and Zodmiēlos, the

Ezra iii. 7, "They gave . . . food and drink and oil to the Sidonians and Tyrians."

Bibl. Joppa, modern Jaffa, cf. Ant. ix. 208 note b.

d Cf. § 75 note q.

Luc. 1 Esdras adds " of Darius," cf. § 106 note e.

This rendering of συνείχετο is supported by the chronology implied in § 106, but in § 171 συν-έχειν seems to mean "continue." Perhaps, in view of the statement in Ezra iv. 24 that the work "ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius," we should here render "resumed."

⁹ Variants Zolimiēlos, Obdoilos, etc.; Ezra Kadmiel; 1 Esdras cod. A Καδωήλ, cod. Β Δαμαδιήλ, other Mss. Καδμιήλ,

Luc. Κεδιμήλ.

άδελφον 'Ιούδα τοῦ 'Αμιναδάβου' καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς 80 αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ναὸς πάση χρησαμένων σπουδῆ τῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐγκεχειρισμένων θᾶττον ἢ προσεδόκησεν ἄν τις ἔλαβεν τέλος. ἀπαρτισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μετὰ σαλπίγγων οἱ ἱερεῖς ταῖς συνήθεσι στολαῖς κεκοσμημένοι καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ οἱ 'Ασάφου παῖδες ἀναστάντες ὕμνουν τὸν θεόν, ὡς τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν εὐλογίαν Δαυίδης κατέδειξε πρῶτος.

81 οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται καὶ τῶν πατριῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν πρότερον ναὸν ταῖς μνήμαις ἀναπολοῦντες μέγιστόν τε καὶ πολυτελέστατον, καὶ τὸν γεγενημένον ὁρῶντες ὑπὸ πτωχείας ἐνδε-έστερον τοῦ πάλαι κατασκευαζόμενον, ὅσον εἶεν τῆς ἀρχαίας εὐδαιμονίας ὑποβεβηκότες καὶ² τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ ναοῦ λογιζόμενοι κατήφουν, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτω λύπης κρατεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι μέχρι θρήνων

82 καὶ δακρύων προήγοντο. ὁ δὲ λαὸς ἠγάπα τοῖς παροῦσιν καὶ τῷ μόνον οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸ ἱερόν, τοῦ πρότερον ὄντος οὐδένα λόγον ποιούμενος οὐδ' ἀνάμνησιν, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν σύγκρισιν τὴν ἐκείνου βασανίζων αὐτὸν ώς ἐπ' ἐλάττοσιν ἢ οἷς³ ὑπ-

83 ελάμβανεν. ὑπερεφώνει δὲ τὸν τῶν σαλπίγγων ἢχον καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους χαρὰν ἡ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἱερέων, ἐφ' οἶς ἐδόκουν ἐλαττοῦσθαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κατασκαφέντος, οἰμωγή.

84 (3) Της δέ βοης των σαλπίγγων ακούσαντες οί

 ^{&#}x27;Aβιναδάβου PW.
 ² ἐκ Naber.
 ³ ἢ οἶs Dindorf: οἷs codd.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 79-84

brother of Judas, son of Aminadabos, and his sons.a And so, because those into whose hands the superintendence of the work was given, carried it out with all zeal, the temple was completed sooner than one would have expected. And, when the sanctuary was finished, the priests with trumpets, robed in their customary vestments, and the Levites and the sons of Asaph arose and sang the praises of God as David had first shown how to bless Him. But the priests and Levites and the elders of the families. recalling to mind the former temple which had been very great and costly, and seeing that the one recently constructed fell short of the old one because of their poverty, and considering how far they had fallen below their ancient prosperity and a state worthy of the temple, were downcast, and being unable to master their grief at this thought, were moved to laments and weeping. The people, however, were content with the present state of things and the mere building of the temple, and had no thought nor memory of the former one, nor did they torment themselves by comparing this one with the other as being less than what they had supposed. But louder than the sound of the trumpets and the joy of the multitude was heard the wailing of the elders and priests because the temple seemed to them inferior to that which had been destroyed.

(3) On hearing the sound of the trumpets, the

· Josephus here amplifies somewhat.

^a Ezta "Kadmiel and his sons, the sons of Judah together . . . and the sons of Henadad, their sons and their brothers, the Levites"; the MSS. of 1 Esdras have confused texts. Josephus's Aminadabos corresponds to bibl. Henadad (Hēnādād).

^{*} This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

Σαμαρείται (ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ἀπεχθανόμενοι τῆ τε Ἰούδα φυλῆ καὶ τῆ Βενιαμίτιδι) συνέδραμον, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θορύβου μαθεῖν θέλοντες. γνόντες δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνακτίζοντας τὸ ἱερόν, προσίασιν τῷ Ζοροβαβήλῳ καὶ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν πατριῶν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἐπιτραπῆναι συγκατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς οἰκοδομίας. 85 "σεβόμεθα γὰρ οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐκείνων τὸν θεόν,"

δεδομεθα γαρ ουκ ελαττον εκείνων τον θεον, ἔφασκον, '' καὶ τοῦτονὶ ὑπερευχόμεθαὶ καὶ τῆς θρησκείας ἐσμὲν ἐπιθυμηταὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἀφ' οῦ Σαλμανάσσηςὶ ὁ τῶν ᾿Ασσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Χουθίας ἡμᾶς μετήγαγεν καὶ Μηδίας

86 ένθάδε." τούτους αὐτῶν ποιησαμένων τοὺς λόγους Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ τῶν πατριῶν ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν τῆς μὲν οἰκοδομίας αὐτοῖς ἀδύνατον εἶναι κοινωνεῖν, αὐτῶν προσταχθέντων κατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Κύρου νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ

87 Δαρείου· προσκυνεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ἐφιέναι καὶ τοῦτο μόνον εἶναι κοινόν, εἰ βούλονται, πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν σέβειν τὸν θεόν.

1 τούτων P1: τούτω Ernesti,
2 ὑπερχόμεθα Naber.
3 ex libr. non. Niese: Σαλ(α)μανασ(σ)άρης codd.

^a 1 Esdras and Ezra "the enemies of Judah and Benjamin." Further on in both books we read that these "enemies" were the people settled in Samaria by the Assyrians.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 84-87

Samaritans, who were, as it happened, hostile to the The Jews reject the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, came running there, Samaritans for they wished to learn the reason for the disturb-offer to help ance. And, when they found that the Jews who had temple. been taken captive to Babylon were rebuilding the 1 Esdras v. sanctuary, they approached Zorobabelos and Jesūs 1. and the chiefs of the families, and asked to be allowed to join in constructing the temple and to have a share in the building. "For we worship God no less than they," they asserted, " and pray fervently to Him and have been zealous in His service from the time when Salmanasses, b the king of Assyria, brought us hither from Chuthia and Media." Such was the speech they made, but Zorobabelos and the high priest Jēsūs and the chiefs of the Israelite families told them that it was impossible for them to have a share in the building since none but themselves had been commanded to build the temple, the first time by Cyrus and now by Darius.c They would, however, allow them to worship there, they said, but the only thing which they might, if they wished, have in common with them, as might all other men, was to come to the sanctuary and revere God.d

^c The reference to Darius is an addition to Scripture, cf.

d This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

b Emended form: MSS. Sal(a)manas(s)arēs; bibl. Esarhaddon; 1 Esdras cod. A 'Ασβασαρέθ, cod. Β 'Ασβακαφάθ, Luc. 'Αχορδάν. The form Asbasareth in cod. A is probably due to confusion with the name Sheshbazzar, and Achordan in Luc. is probably a corruption of Asorchadan (=bibl_Esar-haddon), cf. C. C. Torrey, Ezra Studies, p. 169. Josephus has altered Esar-haddon to Salmanasses (=bibl. Shalmaneser), in order to make the reference consistent with the earlier bibl. account in 2 Kings ch. xvii., cf. Ant. ix. 277 ff.

88 (4) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ Χουθαῖοι (τὴν γὰρ προσηγορίαν οι Σαμαρείται ταύτην έχουσιν) ήγανακτησαν καὶ πείθουσιν τὰ ἐν Συρία ἔθνη τῶν σατραπών δεηθήναι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ ἐπὶ Κύρου πρότερον είτ' ἐπὶ Καμβύσου μετ' αὐτόν, έπισχεῖν τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευήν, καὶ σπουδά-ζουσιν περὶ αὐτὸν¹ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀναβολὴν καὶ

89 τριβήν πραγματεύσασθαι. κατά δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀναβάντων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα Σισίνου τοῦ τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης ἐπάρχου καὶ Σαραβαζάνου² μετὰ καί τινων ἐτέρων καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν Τουδαίων έρομένων τίνος αὐτοῖς συγχωρήσαντος ούτως οἰκοδομοῦσιν τὸν ναόν, ώς φρούριον αὐτὸν είναι μαλλον η ίερόν, και τί δήποτε τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὰ τείχη περίβεβλήκασι τῆ πόλει σφόδρα όχυρά, 90 Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰησοῦς δούλους μὲν

αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν είναι τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ ναὸν τοῦτον αὐτῷ κατασκευασθέντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εὐδαίμονος καὶ πάντας ὑπερβάλλοντος ἀρετῆ

91 πολύν διαμείναι χρόνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν πατέρων

1 αὐτὴν FLAVW.

² Σαρωβαζάνου PF: Σαραβασάνου L: Σαροβαζάνου WE: Sarobazanes Lat.

^a Josephus, to preserve the chronological order of events, here follows 1 Esdras as against Ezra, in passing over the references in the latter (iv. 6 ff.) to complaints made by the Jews' adversaries to Xerxes (bibl. Ahasuerus) and Artaxerxes, which interrupt the narrative of events in Darius's reign, resumed in Ezra v. 3=1 Esdras vi. 3, cf. § 97 note d. Both books, moreover, in the verses following those dealing with the Jews' refusal of Samaritan help, state that the "people of the land "interfered with the work of building the temple all the days of Cyrus until the reign of Darius (1 Esdras 356

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 88-91

(4) a On hearing this, the Chuthaeans—it is by this The Samariname that the Samaritans are called—were indignant tans again and persuaded the nations in Syria to request the the Jews. 1 Esdras v. satraps, in the same way as they had formerly done 72; Ezra iv. under Cyrus and again, after his reign, under 4. Cambyses, to stop the building of the temple and put hindrances and delays in the way of the Jews as they busied themselves about it. At the same time Sisinēs, the governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Sarabazanes d together with certain others went up to Jerusalem and asked the leaders of the Jews who it was that had given them permission to build the temple in such a way that it was more like a fortress than a sanctuary, and why indeed they had built porticoes round the city, as well as very strong walls. Thereupon Zorobabēlos and the high priest Jēsūs said g that they were servants of the Most High God and that this temple, which had been built for Him by one of their kings, a fortunate man who surpassed all others in virtue, had stood for a long time. But,

"they were prevented from building for two years until the reign of Darius").

Bibl. Tatnai, cf. § 12 note c.
 So 1 Esdras; Ezra "beyond the river," cf. § 25 note a.

d Bibl. Shethar-boznai, cf. § 12 note d.

The leaders here mentioned in 1 Esdras and Ezra are (beside Jeshua and Zerubbabel) the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, cf. § 96.

The reference to "porticoes" and "strong walls" is a detail invented by Josephus; in 1 Esdras the officials speak of "this temple (lit." house ") and this roof and all the other things," in Ezra of "this temple . . . and this wall."
In 1 Esdras and Ezra the following statements by

Zerubbabel and Jeshua are introduced as quotations into the letter written to Darius by Tatnai and Shethar-boznai.

* 1 Esdras "a great and mighty king"; Ezra "a great

ό Βαβυλωνίων και Χαλδαίων βασιλεύς έλων την πόλιν κατά κράτος αὐτήν τε καθείλεν καὶ τὸν ναὸν συλήσας ἐνέπρησεν καὶ τὸν λαὸν μετώκισεν

2 αἰχμάλωτον μεταγαγὼν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, Κῦρος ὁ
μετ' αὐτὸν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας καὶ Περσίδος βασιλεύς ἔγραψεν οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸν ναόν, καὶ πάνθ' οσα μετήνεγκεν έξ αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἀναθήματα καὶ σκεύη Ζοροβαβήλω παραδούς καὶ Μιθριδάτη τῶ γαζοφύλακι προσέταξε κομίσαι εἰς Ίεροσόλυμα καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀποκαταστῆσαι²

93 ναὸν οἰκοδομηθέντα. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπέστειλεν ἐν τάχει γενέσθαι, Σαναβάσαρον³ κελεύσας αναβάντα είς Ίεροσόλυμα της οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν. δς μετά τὸ λαβεῖν τὰ παρά Κύρου γράμματα παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς τοὺς θεμελίους κατεβάλετο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου κατασκευαζόμενος μέχρι καὶ τοῦ δεῦρο διὰ τὴν 94 τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακοήθειάν ἐστιν ἀτελής. " εἰ τοίνυν

βούλεσθε καὶ δοκιμάζετε, γράψατε ταῦτα Δαρείω, όπως ἐπισκεψάμενος τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ὑπομνήματα ευρη μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ὧν λέγομεν καταψευσαμένους.'' (5) Ταῦτ' εἰπόντων τοῦ τε Ζοροβαβήλου καὶ τοῦ

95 άρχιερέως ὁ Σισίνης καὶ οἱ σὸν αὐτῶ τὴν μὲν οἰκοδομίαν ἐπισγεῖν οὐ διέγνωσαν εως αν ταῦτα

¹ μετήγαγεν Ρ. 2 ἀποκατασταθῆναι PF.

³ Σαβάσηρον P: Σαβανάσαρον ΑΕΡ marg.: 'Αβάσσαρον V (cf. supra § 11): Σαβανάσσαρον W: Sabassirum Lat.
⁴ τὰ παρὰ Naber: τὰ ὑπὸ LAW: παρὰ rell.

a Zerubbabel is mentioned here in 1 Esdras but not in Ezra.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 91-95

because their fathers had acted impiously toward God, Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylonia and Chaldaea, had taken the city by force and destroyed it and, after despoiling the temple, had burned it and had taken the people captive to Babylon where he settled them. Then Cyrus, who was king of Babylonia and Persia after him, had written that the temple should be built, and had given over to Zorobabelos a and his treasurer Mithridates b all the dedicatory offerings and vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken from it, commanding them to carry these to Jerusalem and put them back in the temple, where they belonged, after it should have been built. This he had instructed them to have speedily done, and had ordered Sanabasaros d to go up to Jerusalem and see to the building of the temple. On receiving this letter from Cyrus, he had, soon after his arrival, laid the foundations, but, though he had been constructing it from that time on, it had not been completed down to the present because of the malice of their enemies. "If, therefore, you so desire and see fit, write these things to Darius in order that he may examine the archives of the kings and find that we have not spoken falsely in anything which we have said." e

(5) When Zorobabelos and the high priest had The spoken to this effect, Sisines and those with him Haggai and decided not to stop the building until they had Zechariah.

l Esdras vi. 6; Ezra v. 5

Lit. "their own temple."

d Bibl. Sheshbazzar, cf. § 11 note a.

b Neither book mentions Mithridates at this point, but cf. § 11 on 1 Esdras ii. 10 = Ezra i. 8.

[·] According to 1 Esdras and Ezra it is the satraps, not the Jews, who ask that Darius have a search made for Cyrus's decree.

δηλωθη Δαρείω, παραχρήμα δ' αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων 96 ἔγραψαν. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων κατεπτηχότων καὶ δεδιότων μὴ μεταδόξη τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευῆς, ὄντες κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον δύο προφηται παρὰ αὐτοῖς ᾿Αγγαῖος καὶ Ζαχαρίας θαρρεῖν αὐτοὺς παρώρμων καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν ὑφορᾶσθαι δύσκολον, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα προλέγοντος αὐτοῖς. πιστεύοντες δὲ τοῖς προφήταις ἐντεταμένως εἴχοντο τῆς οἰκοδομίας, μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀνιέμενοι.

97 (6) Δαρείος δε των Σαμαρειτων αυτώ γραψάντων και κατηγορούντων δια της επιστολης των 'Ιουδαίων ως την τε πόλιν ζχυρουσι και τον ναον
φρουρίω προσεοικότα μαλλον η ιερώ κατασκευάζουσιν, λεγόντων δε μη συνοίσειν αυτώ τα γινόμενα και προσέτι τας επιστολας επιδεικνύντων
τας Καμβύσου, δι' ων εκώλυσεν εκείνος οικοδομείν

98 τον ναόν, μαθών παρ' αὐτών οὐκ ἀσφαλή τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτοῦ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀποκατάστασιν ἔσεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Σισίνου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ κομισθέντα ἀνέγνω γράμματα, προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ζητη-

προσέταξεν εν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ζητη-99 θῆναι τὰ περὶ τούτων. καὶ εὐρέθη εν Ἐκβατάνοις τῆ βάρει τῆ εν Μηδία βιβλίον εν ῷ τάδε ἦν ἀναγεγραμμένα: " εν τῷ πρώτω τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει

1 τῷ (τῷ om. W) βασιλεῖ Δαρείω AW Lat.

a Cf. § 89 note e.

b The Jews' fear and anxiety are not mentioned in 1 Esdras or Ezra.

^e According to 1 Esdras and Ezra, Haggai and Zechariah merely "prophesied . . . in the name of the Lord God of Israel." This detail about their encouraging the Jews is based on the contents of the bibl. books ascribed to them.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 95-99

reported these things to Darius, but they at once wrote to him about them.a Now, as the Jews were trembling with fear that the king might change his mind about the building of Jerusalem and the temple, b 1 Esdras vi Haggai and Zechariah, two prophets who were among them at that time, urged them to take courage and not be apprehensive of any untoward action by the Persians, for God, they said, foretold this to them. And so, having faith in the prophets, they applied themselves vigorously to the building, without relax-

ing for a single day.

(6) But the Samaritans wrote to Darius and in Darius discovers their letter accused the Jews of fortifying the city Cyrus's and constructing the temple so as to resemble a letter. fortress rather than a sanctuary, and said that what was being done would not be to his advantage and, in addition, cited the letter of Cambyses in which he had forbidden them to build the temple.d And so, when I Esdras v. Darius heard from them that the restoration of Jeru- 23; Ezra vi. salem would not be safe for his government, and also read the letter that came from Sisinës and those with him, he commanded that a search be made in the royal archives concerning these matters. And there was found at Ecbatana, a fortress in Media, a document in which the following was written. "In the first year of his reign King Cyrus ordered the

d No such letter from the Samaritans to Darius, referring to a decree of Cambyses, is mentioned in 1 Esdras or Ezra. Josephus here alludes to the letters written by Bishlam, Mithridath, Tabeel and others to Artaxerxes, Ezra iv. 7 ff.a passage which (like 1 Esdras) he does not reproduce in detail because of the chronological difficulty involved in the bibl. account, namely that Artaxerxes precedes Darius, cf. § 88 note a.

[·] So 1 Esdras; Ezra Achmetha ('Aḥmethā). It was the summer residence of the Persian kings.

Κῦρος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσε τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὕψος μὲν πηχῶν έξήκοντα εὖρος δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν, διὰ δόμων λιθίνων εὐξεστῶν¹ τριῶν καὶ ξυλίνου δόμου

100 ένὸς ἐγχωρίου. καὶ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην ἐκ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως γίνεσθαι διετάξατο, καὶ² τὰ σκεύη, ἃ συλήσας. Ναβουχοδονόσορος εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐκόμισεν, ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις,

101 τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν τούτων εἶναι Σαναβασσάρου τοῦ ἐπάρχου καὶ τῆς Συρίας τε καὶ Φοινίκης ἡγεμόνος καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ, ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀφέξονται³ τοῦ τόπου, τοῖς δὲ δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέψουσιν⁴ οἰκοδομηθῆναι

102 τον ναόν. καὶ συλλαβέσθαι δὲ προς το ἔργον διετάξατο, κἀκ τοῦ φόρου τῆς χώρας ῆς ἐπετρόπευον τελεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἰς θυσίας λόγον ταύρους καὶ κριοὺς καὶ ἄρνας καὶ ἐρίφους καὶ σεμίδαλιν καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον καὶ τάλλα ὅσα ἂν οἱ ἰερεῖς ὑπαγορεύσωσιν, εὔχωνται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς

103 σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Περσῶν. τοὺς δὲ παραβάντας τι τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων συλληφθέντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασταυρωθῆναι, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν καταταγῆναι κτῆσιν. καὶ κατ-

¹ ed. pr.: βία τε ξεστῶν P: διά τε ξεστῶν FLAV: ἀξέστων W.
2 καὶ πορσέταξε δὲ καὶ LAV.

καὶ] προσέταξε δὲ καὶ LAV.

³ ἀφέξωνται FLA¹VWE.

⁴ ἐπιτρέψωσιν P²L²AVWE.

^a Text slightly uncertain.

b Josephus apparently confuses Sanabassarës = bibl. Shesh-bazzar (cf. § 11 note a) with Sarabazanes = bibl. Shethar-362

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 99-103

temple in Jerusalem to be built with its altar, to a height of sixty cubits and the same breadth, its walls to be made of three courses of well-polished a stone and one of wood of the country. And the costs of this he decreed should come out of the king's treasury, and that the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken to Babylon should be given back to the people of Jerusalem, and that the supervision of these matters should be undertaken by Sanabassares, the eparch and governor of Syria and Phoenicia, b and his companions, but that they themselves should keep away from the (sacred) place and should leave the building of the temple to the servants of God, the Jews and their leaders. He also decreed that they should assist in the work and from the tribute of the territory which they governed should pay for the expenses of the Jews in sacrificing bullocks, rams, sheep and kids d and fine flour, oil and wine e and whatever other things the priests might suggest, in order that they might pray for the well-being of the king and the Persians. But those who should transgress any of these commands he ordered to be seized and crucified and their possessions to be confiscated to the royal

boznai (cf. § 12 note d). Moreover it was Tatnai (Sisinës), and not Shethar-boznai, who was governor of Syria and Phoenicia according to 1 Esdras and Ezra, followed by

Josephus in §§ 89, 104; cf. following note.

^e According to 1 Esdras and Ezra, Sisinēs (bibl. Tatnai), the governor of Syria and Phoenicia (bibl. "beyond the river"), and Sathrabūzanēs (bibl. Shethar-boznai) and their companions are told to keep away from the temple, which is to be built under the direction of "the governor of the Jews" (1 Esdras "Zorobabēlos, eparch of Judaea").

d "Kids" are not mentioned in 1 Esdras and Ezra.

" 1 Esdras and Ezra add " salt."

1 1 Esdras and Ezra "for the king and his children."

ηύξατο πρός τούτοις τῷ θεῷ, ὅπως εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειε διακωλύσαι την οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ, βαλών αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐπίσχη τῆς ἀδικίας.'

104 (7) Ταθθ' εύρων έν τοις ύπομνήμασιν τοις Κύρου Δαρεῖος ἀντιγράφει τῷ Σισίνη καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγων " βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Σισίνη τῷ ἐπάρχῳ¹ καὶ Σαραβαζάνη καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις αὐτῶν χαίρειν. τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὑμῖν ἦς ἐν τοις ύπομνήμασιν εύρον τοις Κύρου απέσταλκα καί βούλομαι γίνεσθαι πάντα καθώς έν αὐτῆ περιέχει. 105 ἔρρωσθε.'' μαθόντες οὖν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὁ

Σισίνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν, ταύτη τὰ λοιπὰ ἀκόλουθα ποιεῖν διέγνωσαν. έπεστάτουν οὖν τῶν ἱερῶν ἔργων συλλαμβανόμενοι τοις πρεσβυτέροις των Ἰουδαίων και των γερόντων

106 ἄργουσιν, καὶ ἡνύετο κατὰ πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἡ κατασκευή τοῦ ναοῦ, προφητευόντων 'Αγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου, κατά πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μετά βουλήσεως Κύρου τε καὶ Δαρείου τῶν βασιλέων, 107 ῷκοδομήθη δ' ἐν ἔτεσιν ἐπτά. τοῦ δ' ἐνάτου τῆς

Δαρείου βασιλείας έτους εἰκάδι καὶ τρίτη μηνὸς

b Emended text; Mss. "hipparch."

d 1 Esdras and Ezra add "and Artaxerxes, king of Persia." Josephus, of course, omits this name because of the anachronism.

¹ Hudson: ὑπάρχη L: ὑππάρχη rell. Lat.

a This reference to confiscation is based on the interpretation in 1 Esdras of the Aram. phrase baytheh newalû yith abed, which Jewish commentators and A.V. render "let his house be made a dunghill." Confiscation is expressly mentioned in the similar decree of Artaxerxes, Ezra vii. 26.

c In place of the letter quoted here, 1 Esdras and Ezra have "I, King Darius, have made a decree. Let it be done with diligence (A.V. "speed")."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 103-107

treasury.a Furthermore he prayed to God that, if anyone should attempt to prevent the building of the temple, He should strike him down and restrain him from his wicked deed."

(7) Darius on finding these things in the archives Darius of Cyrus wrote an answer to Sisinës and his companions, which read as follows. "King Darius to the assist the panions, which read as follows. "King Darius to the assist the parch b Sisinës and Sarabazanës and their companions, Cf. 1 Esdras greeting. I have sent to you a copy of the letter vi. 12. which I found in the archives of Cyrus, and it is my will that everything should be done as is stated therein. Farewell." and so, when Sisines and those with him learned the king's wishes from this letter, they decided to act accordingly. They therefore 1 Esdras began to superintend the sacred works and assisted vii. 1; Ezra the Jewish elders and the chiefs of the senate. And the construction of the temple was carried out with great zeal, while Haggai and Zechariah were prophets, in accordance with the command of God and with the consent of Kings Cyrus and Darius.^d Thus it was built in seven years.^e Then, in the ninth f year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third g day

 This reckoning is based on the assumption that the statement in 1 Esdras v. 56 ff., "In the second year after his coming to the temple of God in Jerusalem, in the second month, began Zorobabēlos . . . and the Jews . . . and they laid the foundation," etc. refers to the second year of Darius (so Luc. expressly states). Since, according to Josephus (in the following sentence), the temple was completed in the 9th year of Darius, the building must have taken 7 years.

Variant 11th; 1 Esdras and Ezra 6th. In Ap. i. 154 Josephus writes, "in the second year of the reign of Cyrus its foundations were laid, and, lastly, in the second year of the reign of Darius it was completed" (cf. Dr. Thackeray's note

ad loc.).

9 So 1 Esdras : Ezra 3rd.

δωδεκάτου, δς καλείται παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν "Αδαρ παρὰ δὲ Μακεδόσιν Δύστρος, προσφέρουσιν θυσίας οἴ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πλῆθος ἀνανεωτικὰς τῶν πρότερον ἀγαθῶν μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνακαινισθὲν ἀπειληφέναι ταύρους έκατὸν κριοὺς διακοσίους ἄρνας τετρακοσίους χιμάρους δώδεκα κατὰ φυλήν (τοσαῦται γάρ εἰσιν αὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν φυλαί),

108 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἥμαρτεν ἐκάστη. ἔστησάν τε κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους οι τε ἱερεις καὶ οι Λευιται θυρωροὺς ἐφ' ἐκάστου πυλώνος ϣκοδομήκεσαν γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαιοι καὶ τὰς ἐν κύκλω τοῦ ναοῦ στοὰς τοῦ

ένδοθεν ίεροῦ.

109 (8) Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς μηνὶ τῷ πρώτῳ, κατὰ μὲν Μακεδόνας Ξανθικῷ λεγομένω κατὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς Νισάν, συνερρύη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἤγαγον άγνεύοντες μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων τῷ

110 πατρίω νόμω, καὶ τὴν πάσχα προσαγορευομένην θυσίαν τἢ τετάρτη καὶ δεκάτη τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἐπιτελέσαντες κατευωχήθησαν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐπτά, μηδεμιᾶς φειδόμενοι πολυτελείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις ἐπιφέροντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ χαριστηρίους θυσίας ἱερουργοῦντες ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτοὺς² τὸ

> 1 ἐνδεκάτου PF(L)AV Lat. 2 + ποθοῦν PFL¹V: + ποθοῦντας L².

Neither book mentions porticoes.

^a 1 Esdras and Ezra omit the detail of Adar being the 12th month.

Roughly March in the Julian calendar. The equation of Adar with Dystros is made in Ant. iv. 327, xi. 286, xii. 412.
 The porters are mentioned in 1 Esdras but not in Ezra.

^d Both 1 Esdras and Ezra first mention the festival of 366

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 107-110

of the twelfth month, which is called by us Adar a and by the Macedonians Dystros, b the priests and Levites and the rest of the Israelite people brought sacrifices to celebrate the renewal of their former prosperity after their captivity and in token of having a sanctuary once more after it had been rebuilt, the sacrifices being a hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs and twelve he-goats, one for each tribe—this is the number of Israelite tribes to atone for the sins of each. And in accordance with the laws of Moses the priests and Levites set porters at each gateway, for the Jews had built porticoes round the temple within the sacred precincts.c

(8) When the festival of Unleavened Bread d came The celeround in the first month, which by the Macedonians is Passover. called Xanthikos and by us Nisan, all the people 1 Esdras vii streamed from their villages to the city and cele- 22. brated the festival in a state of purity with their wives and children, according to the law of their fathers ; and, after offering the sacrifice called Paschaf on the fourteenth of the same month, they feasted for seven days, g sparing no expense but bringing the whole burnt-offerings to God and performing the sacrifices of thanksgiving because the Deity had

Passover (which immediately precedes the festival of Unleavened Bread).

Roughly April in the Julian calendar. The equation of Nisan with Xanthikos is made in Ant. i. 81, ii. 311, iii. 201.

1 Cf. note d above.

The two festivals of Passover and Unleavened Bread together are observed for 8 days, Nisan 14-21 incl. In 1 Esdras and Ezra the 7-day celebration is referred to the festival of Unleavened Bread alone. Josephus is here writing carelessly, cf. Ant. x. 70 note.

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θείον πάλιν εἰς τὴν πάτριον γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῆ νόμους ἤγαγε καὶ τὴν τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως 111 διάνοιαν εὐμενῆ κατέστησεν αὐτοῖς. καὶ οἱ μὲν

ύπερ τούτων επιδαψιλευόμενοι ταις θυσίαις και τη περί τὸν θεὸν φιλοτιμία κατώκησαν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, πολιτεία χρώμενοι ἀριστοκρατική μετ'
όλιγαρχίας· οι γὰρ ἀρχιερείς προεστήκεσαν τῶν
πραγμάτων ἄχρις οὖ τοὺς 'Ασαμωναίου συνέβη

112 βασιλεύειν έκγόνους. πρό μέν γάρ της αίχμαλωσίας καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐβασιλεύοντο ἀπὸ Σαούλου πρώτον ἀρξάμενοι καὶ Δαυίδου ἐπὶ ἔτη πεντακόσια τριάκοντα δύο μῆνας εξ ἡμέρας δέκα προ δέ των βασιλέων τούτων ἄρχοντες αὐτούς διείπον οί προσαγορευόμενοι κριταί καὶ μόναργοι. καὶ τοῦτον πολιτευόμενοι τὸν τρόπον ἔτεσιν πλέον η πεντακοσίοις διήγαγον μετὰ Μωυσην ἀποθανόντα

113 καὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν στρατηγόν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ των ανασωθέντων έκ της αιχμαλωσίας Ίουδαίων έν τοις Κύρου και Δαρείου χρόνοις έν τούτοις

114 (9) Οί δὲ Σαμαρεῖς³ ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ βασκάνως διακείμενοι πολλά κακά τους 'Ιουδαίους

¹ ἀρξαμένου PWE Lat. (vid.).

² єїкоді Ernesti, cf. х. 143.

3 Σαμαρείται Α (et infra, 117, Σαμαρειτών pro Σαμαρέων hab.).

a 1 Esdras and Ezra "king of Assyria." The medieval Jewish commentators, like Josephus, assume that the king

of Persia is meant.

b Cf. Ant. x. 143 where the figure 514 years, 6 months, 10 days is given for the interval between David and the end of the kingdom of Judah. If we add 20 years for Saul's reign (cf. note ad loc.) we get 534 years, 6 months, 10 days. 368

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 110-114

brought them back to the land of their fathers and to its laws, and had disposed the mind of the Persian king a favourably to them. And so, with lavishness of sacrifice in return for these favours and with magnificence in their worship of God, they dwelt in Jerusalem under a form of government that was aristocratic and at the same time oligarchic. For the high priests were at the head of affairs until the descendants of the Asamonaean family came to rule as kings. Before the captivity and deportation they were ruled by kings, beginning first with Saul and David, for five hundred and thirty-two years, six months and ten days b; and before these kings the rulers who governed them were the men called judges and monarchs, and under this form of government they lived for more than five hundred years after the death of Moses and the commander Joshua. Such. then, was the condition of the Jews who had been delivered from captivity in the time of Cyrus and Darius.

(9) d But the Samarians, who regarded them with The Jews feelings of hostility and envy, inflicted many injuries parius

I am unable to suggest an explanation of the discrepancy of samaritans. 2 years except the obvious ones of a scribal error or carelessness on Josephus's part. Ernesti's correction of 32 to 22 years makes the discrepancy greater.

For earlier reckonings of the interval between the Exodus and the beginning of the kingdom cf. Ant. x. 147

4 Almost the whole of the following section, §§ 114-119, is an addition to 1 Esdras and Ezra in which (1 Esdras viii. 1= Ezra vii. 1) the account of the festival celebration is followed by that of Ezra's appearance in the reign of Artaxerxes (cf. §§ 120 ff.). The interpolated section is modelled in part on the account in 1 Esdras vi. 27 ff., which Josephus has already reproduced in §§ 100 ff. He takes special delight in describing the various rebuffs suffered by the Samaritans.

εἰργάσαντο, πλούτω τε πεποιθότες καὶ συγγένειαν προσποιούμενοι τὴν Περσῶν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκεῖθεν

115 ήσαν. ὅσα τε γὰρ ἐκελεύσθησαν ἐκ τῶν φόρων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὰς θυσίας τελεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, παρέχειν οὐκ ἤθελον, τούς τε ἐπάρχους¹ σπουδάζοντας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ συνεργοῦντας εἶχον, ἄλλα τε ὅσα βλάπτειν ἢ δι' ἐαυτῶν ἢ δι' ἐτέρων ἠδύναντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ἀπώκνουν.

116 ἔδοξεν οὖν πρεσβευσαμένοις τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δαρεῖον κατηγορῆσαι τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν, καὶ πρεσβεύουσι Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ 117 ἄλλοι τῶν ἀρχόντων τέσσαρες.² ὡς δὲ τὰ ἐγκλή-

117 ἄλλοι τῶν ἀρχόντων τέσσαρες. τως δε τὰ ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἃς κατὰ τῶν Σαμαρέων
ἐπέφερον ἔγνω παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ὁ βασιλεύς,
δοὺς αὐτοῖς κομίζειν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπάρχους
τῆς Σαμαρείας καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀπέπεμψεν. τὰ δὲ

τῆς Σαμαρείας καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀπέπεμψεν. τὰ δὲ 118 γεγραμμένα ἦν τοιάδε· '' βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Ταγανῷ καὶ Σαμβαβῷ³ τοῖς ἐπάρχοις Σαμαρειτῶν καὶ Σαδράκη καὶ Βουήδωνι⁵ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς συνδούλοις⁵ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ. Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ 'Ανανίας καὶ Μαρδοχαῖος 'Ιουδαίων πρεσβευταὶ ἢτιῶντο ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐνοχλοῦντας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ μὴ χορηγοῦντας ἃ προσ-

¹ Hudson: ἱππάρχας (-ovs F) codd. Lat., sic et in seqq.: ὑπάρχους Gutschmid.
² δύο Gutschmid.

³ Σαββậ F: Σαβαậ LA: Σαβậ V: Sambalae Lat.

Σαμαρειτῶν καὶ conj.: καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν codd. Lat.
 Βουήλωνι F: Βουτήλωνι LAW: Βοήλωνι V: Βοβήλωνι

ed. pr.: Veloni Lat.

⁶ συμβούλοις haud recte conj. Naber.

Emended text; MSS. "hipparchs," cf. § 104 note.
 Perhaps a corruption of Τατταναί = bibl. Tatnai.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 114-118

on the Jews, for they relied on their wealth and pretended to be related to the Persians, since they had come from their country. And the sums which they had been ordered by the king to pay to the Jews out of their tribute for the sacrifices, they refused to furnish, and they had the eparchs a zealously aiding them in this; and whatever else they could do to injure the Jews either by themselves or through others, they did not hesitate to try. The people of Jerusalem therefore resolved to send an embassy to King Darius to accuse the Samaritans; the envoys were Zorobabēlos and four other leaders. When the king learned from these envoys the complaints and charges which they brought against the Samarians, he gave them a letter and sent them off to bring it to the eparchs of Syria and the council. It was written as follows. "King Darius to Taganas b Cf. 1 Esdras and Sambabas, the eparchs of the Samaritans, and vi. 6. Sadrakēs and Būēdon and the rest of their fellowservants e in Samaria. Zorobabēlos, Ananias and Mardochaios, the envoys of the Jews, have charged you with hampering them in building the temple and with failing to provide them with the sums which I

d Variants Būēlon, Būtēlon, etc.; the names Sadrakēs and Būēdon seem to be a corrupt division of Σαθραβουζάιης

= bibl. Shethar-boznai.

Variants Sambas, Sab(b)as, Sambalas, etc.; these forms appear to be corruptions of Σαναβαλλέτες (or the like) = bibl. Sanballat, a Samaritan name familiar from the book of Nehemiah and Jewish or Samaritan tradition, cf. §§ 302 ff.

Naber's conjecture συμβούλοις "counsellors" is hardly needed: σύνδουλοι is used of the Samaritan leaders in LXX 2 Esdras vi. 13.

¹ These two names (=bibl. Hananiah and Mordecai) are given in Scripture (Ezra ii. 2, Neh. vii. 2) as those of leaders associated with Zerubbabel and Nehemiah.

έταξα ύμιν είς τὰς θυσίας τελείν αὐτοίς ἀναλώματα. 119 βούλομαι οὖν ύμᾶς ἀναγνόντας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν χορηγείν αὐτοίς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γαζοφυλακείου τῶν φόρων τῆς Σαμαρείας πάνθ' ὅσα πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς χρήσιμα, καθὼς οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀξιοῦσιν, ἴνα μὴ διαλείπωσι καθ' ἡμέραν θύοντες μηδ' ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ Περσῶν εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ.'' καὶ ή μὲν ἐπιστολή ταῦτα περιείχεν.

120 (ν. 1) Δαρείου δε τελευτήσαντος παραλαβών την βασιλείαν ὁ παις αὐτοῦ Ξέρξης ἐκληρονόμησεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ τιμήν ἄπαντα γὰρ ἀκολούθως τῷ πατρὶ τὰ πρὸς

τὴν θρησκείαν ἐποίησε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους 121 ἔσχε φιλοτιμότατα. κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν άρχιερεύς ήν Ἰησοῦ παῖς Ἰωάκειμος ὄνομα. ύπηρχε δέ καὶ ἐν Βαβυλώνι δίκαιος ἀνηρ καὶ δόξης ἀπολαύων ἀγαθης παρὰ τῶ πλήθει πρῶτος ἱερεὺς τοῦ λαοῦ¹ καλούμενος "Εσδρας, δς τῶν Μωυσέος

νόμων ίκανῶς ἔμπειρος ὢν γίνεται φίλος τῷ 122 βασιλεῖ Ξέρξη. γνοὺς δὲ ἀναβῆναι εἰς τὰ Ἱερο-σόλυμα καὶ ἐπαγαγέσθαι τινὰς τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τυγχανόντων Ἰουδαίων παρεκάλεσε τὸν βασιλέα δοῦναι αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας τῆς Συρίας

έπιστολὴν ἀφ'³ ἡς αὐτοῖς γνωρισθήσεται τίς εἴη. 123 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς γράφει πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας ἐπιστολὴν τοιάνδε. " βασιλεύς βασιλέων Ξέρξης "Εσδρα ίερει καὶ ἀναγνώστη τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων χαίρειν. τῆς

1 θεοῦ Ρ. 2 "Εζδρας P: "Εζρας Ε.

⁸ ὑφ' LWE: per Lat. 4 τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων P: τοῦ θείου (θεοῦ) νόμου rell.: legis

^a Here again Josephus corrects the chronological order of Scripture, in which Artaxerxes follows Darius.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 118-123

commanded you to pay them for the expenses of the sacrifices. It is my will, therefore, that, when you have read this letter, you shall furnish them out of the royal treasury, from the tribute of Samaria, everything which they may need for the sacrifices as the priests request, in order that they may not leave off their daily sacrifices or their prayers to God on behalf of me and the Persians." These were the contents of the letter.

(v. 1) When Darius died, his son Xerxes, a who took Xerxes over the royal power, inherited also his piety toward (bibl. Artaxerxes) God and his way of honouring Him. For he followed and Ezra. his father in all the things which he had done for His viii. 1; Ezra service, and he held the Jews in the highest esteem. vii. 1. Now the high priest at that time was named Joakeimos, the son of Jēsūs. And there was also in Babylon a righteous man who enjoyed the good opinion of the masses, called Ezra d; he was the chief priest e of the people f and, being very learned in the laws of Moses, became friendly with King Xerxes. Now, having decided to go up to Jerusalem and take with him some of the Jews who were then living in Babylon, he requested the king to give him a letter to the satraps of Syria, which would inform them who he was. The king, therefore, wrote the following letter Xerxes to the satraps. "Xerxes, king of kings, to Ezra, the authorizes priest and reader of the laws of God, greeting. As I return to

b Cf. Neh. xii. 10, "and Jeshua (Gr. Jēsūs) begat Joiakim 1 Esdras

viii. 8; Ezra vii. 11.

Unscriptural detail.

d Gr. Esdras, as in many LXX MSS. (cod. A "Εζρας, cod. B

"Eopas); variant (in Jos.) Ezdras as in Luc.

In 1 Esdras and Ezra, in the passage introducing Ezra, it is not he but his remote ancestor Aaron who is called chief priest. In 1 Esdras ix. 40, however, Ezra is called high priest. ' Variant " of God."

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(Gr. Joakeimos)."

έμαυτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ἔργον εἶναι νομίσας τὸ τοὺς βουλομένους ἐκ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους καὶ Λευιτῶν¹ ὄντων ἐν τῆ ἡμετέρα βασιλεία συναπαίρειν εἰς τὰ

124 Ἱεροσόλυμα, τοῦτο προσέταξα, καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος ἀπίτω, καθάπερ ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπτά μου συμβούλοις, ὅπως τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπισκέψωνται τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκολούθως καὶ ἀπενέγκωσι² δῶρα τῷ Ἰσραηλιτῶν θεῷ, ἄπερ ηὐξάμην 125 ἐγώ τε καὶ οἱ φίλοι. καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον ὅσον ἂν εὐρεθῆ ἐν τῆ χώρα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων

125 έγώ τε καὶ οἱ φίλοι. καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον ὅσον ἃν εὐρεθἢ ἐν τἢ χώρα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἀνομασμένον τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο πᾶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα κομισθἢναι τῷ θεῷ εἰς τὰς θυσίας, πάντα τε ὅσα βούλει ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ κατασκευάσαι,

126 ποιείν εξέστω σοι μετά τῶν ἀδελφῶν. καὶ τὰ δεδομένα σοι ἱερὰ σκεύη ἀναθήσεις καὶ ὅσων ἂν ἐπίνοιαν λάβης καὶ ταῦτα προσεξεργάση, τὴν εἰς αὐτὰ δαπάνην ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ποιούμενος γαζο127 φυλακείου. ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ τοῖς γαζοφύλαξιν τῆς

127 φυλακείου. ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ τοῖς γαζοφύλαξιν τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης, ἴνα τῶν ὑπὸ Ἐσδρα τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ ἀναγνώστου τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων ἐπισταλέντων ἐπιμεληθῶσιν. ὅπως δὲ μηδεμίαν ὀργὴν ἐπ' ἐμὲ λάβη τὸ θεῖον ἢ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐκγόνους, πάντ' ἀξιῶ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πυροῦ κόρων ἑκατὸν

128 ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον. καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω ὅπως τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ Λευίταις καὶ ἱεροψάλταις καὶ θυρωροῖς καὶ ἱεροδούλοις καὶ γραμματεῦσι τοῦ ἱεροῦ μήτε φόρους ἐπιτάξητε μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν ἐπίβουλον ἢ φορτικὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς
129 γένηται. καὶ σὺ δέ, "Εσδρα, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ

1 καὶ ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτῶν Hudson. 2 ἀνενέγκωσι Niese.

a i.e. the Jews.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 123-129

consider it a part of my friendliness to mankind to allow those of the Jewish nation and the Levites in our kingdom who may so desire to go up with you to Jerusalem, I have given the command for this, and whosoever desires may depart; for it has seemed good both to me and my seven counsellors that they a should look after matters in Judaea in accordance with the law of God, and bring to the God of the Israelites the gifts which I and my friends have vowed to send. And all the gold and silver dedicated to God which may be found in the country of the Babylonians shall be taken to Jerusalem for the sacrifices to God, and whatever vessels you may wish to fashion out of the gold and silver, it shall be permitted you and your brothers to make. And you shall dedicate the sacred vessels which have been given you, and may, in addition, make as many as you have a mind to make, taking the expenses for these out of the royal treasury. I have also written to the treasurers of Syria and Phoenicia that they shall see to it that the orders of Ezra, the priest and reader of the laws of God, are carried out. And in order that the Deity may not conceive any anger against me or my descendants, I grant that all things up to a hundred kors b of wheat c shall be offered to God in accordance with the law. And to you I say that on the priests, Levites, temple-musicians, porters, temple-servants and scribes of the sanctuary you shall impose no tribute, nor shall any other thing be done which is designed to hurt them or be a burden to them. And as for you, Ezra, you shall in

The kor equalled about 370 litres or 11 bushels.

c 1 Esdras and Ezra also mention 100 talents of silver and quantities of wine, oil and salt.

σοφίαν ἀπόδειξον κριτάς, ὅπως δικάσωσιν ἐν Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη πάση, τοὺς ἐπισταμένους σου τὸν νόμον, καὶ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν δὲ παρέξεις αὐτὸν

130 μαθείν, ιν' ἄν τις των όμοεθνων σου παραβαίνη τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμον η τὸν βασιλικόν, ὑπόσχη τιμωρίαν ώς οὐ κατ' ἄγνοιαν αὐτὸν παραβαίνων, ἀλλ' ώς έπιστάμενος μεν τολμηρώς δε παρακούων καὶ καταφρονών. κολασθήσονται δ' ἤτοι θανάτῳ ἢ ζημία χρηματική. ἔρρωσο."

131 (2) Λαβών δὲ "Εσδρας ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ύπερήσθη καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσκυνεῖν ἤρξατο, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως πρός αὐτὸν χρηστότητος ἐκεῖνον αἴτιον όμολογῶν γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῷ³ χάριν ἔλεγεν εἰδέναι. ἀναγνοὺς δ' ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς αὐτόθι παροῦσιν Ἰουδαίοις αὐτὴν μὲν κατέσχεν, τὸ δ' ἀντίγραφον αὐτῆς

132 πρός απαντας επεμψε τούς όμοεθνείς τούς κατά την Μηδίαν όντας. μαθόντες δε ούτοι τὰ παράδ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ την πρός τον "Εσδραν εύνοιαν απαντες μέν ύπερ-

ηγάπησαν, πολλοὶ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἀνα-133 λαβόντες ἦλθον εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ποθοῦντες τὴν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κάθοδον. ὁ δὲ πᾶς λαὸς τῶν 'Ισραηλιτών κατά χώραν ἔμεινεν διὸ καὶ δύο φυλάς είναι συμβέβηκεν έπί τε της 'Ασίας καὶ της Εὐρώπης 'Ρωμαίοις ὑπακουούσας, αί δὲ δέκα φυλαί πέραν είσιν Ευφράτου εως δεύρο, μυριάδες

> 1 πάση καὶ FLAV. 2 τοις έπισταμένοις PFLAV. 4 Elvas PIFL. αὐτοῦ Ρ.

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accordance with your God-given wisdom appoint as judges to hold court in all of Syria and Phoenicia men who know the law, and to those ignorant of it you shall give an opportunity to learn it, in order that if any of your countrymen transgresses the law of God or the king, he may suffer punishment as one who transgresses it not through ignorance but as one who, in spite of knowing it, boldly disobeys and shows contempt for it. Such men shall be punished either with death or with the payment of a fine. Fare-

(2) When Ezra received this letter, he was over- Ezra joyed and began to do obeisance to God whom he informs the acknowledged to have been the cause of the king's Xerxes' kindness to him, for which reason, he said, he ren-decree. dered Him all his thanks. Then he read the letter viii. 25; in Babylon to the Jews who were there, and, while he kept the letter itself, sent a copy of it to his countrymen who were in Media. When they learned of the king's orders and of his piety toward God as well as his goodwill toward Ezra, they were all greatly pleased, and many of them, taking along their possessions also, came to Babylon out of longing to return to Jerusalem. But the Israelite nation as a whole remained in the country. In this way has it come about that there are two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while until now there have been ten tribes beyond the Euphrates-count-

a 1 Esdras and Ezra add banishment and imprisonment to the penalties threatened.

⁵ τὰ παρὰ FL: τὴν παρὰ P: om. AV. * την . . . κάθοδον] της . . καθόδου P1FW Λ1. ⁷ ύπηκόους LAWE.

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ἄπειροι καὶ ἀριθμῷ γνωσθῆναι¹ μὴ δυνάμεναι. 134 πρὸς δὲ Ἐσδραν ἀφικνοῦνται ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτῶν καὶ θυρωρῶν καὶ ἱεροψαλτῶν καὶ ἱεροδούλων πολλοὶ τὸν ἀριθμόν. συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τρεῖς ἐπιδιατρίψας ἐκεῖ ἡμέρας, νηστείαν αὐτοῖς παρ-ήγγειλεν ὅπως εὐχὰς ποιήσονται τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν παθεῖν ἄτοπον ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἤ τινος ἄλλου

135 δυσκόλου προσπεσόντος αὐτοῖς φθάσας γὰρ ὁ εσδρας εἰπεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅτι διασώσει αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός, οὐ κατηξίωσεν ἱππεῖς αὐτὸν αἰτῆσαι τοὺς προπέμψοντας. ποιησάμενοι δὲ τὰς εὐχάς, ἄραντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δωδεκάτη τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς τοῦ έβδόμου ἔτους τῆς Ξέρξου βασιλείας παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μηνὶ πέμπτῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ²

136 έτους. καὶ παράχρημα τοις γαζοφύλαξιν ο Έσδρας οὖσιν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἱερέων γένους παρέστησε τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα, ἀργυρίου τάλαντα έξακόσια πεντήκοντα, σκεύη ἀργυρᾶ ταλάντων έκατόν, καὶ χρύσεα σκεύη ταλάντων εἴκοσι, καὶ χαλκᾶ σκεύη χρυσοῦ κρείττονα σταθμὸν ἔχοντα³ ταλάντων δώδεκα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδωρήσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ

1 γνωρισθήναι Α. 2 έβδόμου Ρ. 3 έλκοντα ΑWE.

^a The foregoing details about the public reading of the king's letter and the sending of it to Media, as well as the statement about the number of those remaining in Babylonia, are additions to 1 Esdras and Ezra. For the later history of the Babylonian Jews see Ant. xviii. 310 ff.

b 1 Esdras, "to the river called Theras (Luc. Eeia)," Ezra "to the river that comes to Ahava ("Ahawā)." It has been conjectured by Lupton (cited by S. A. Cook in R. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha etc. i. 50 note) that πέραν in 378.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 133-136

less myriads whose number cannot be ascertained.4 And so there came to Ezra a great number of priests. Levites, porters, temple-musicians and templeservants. And he assembled those from the captivity in the country beyond the Euphrates, b where he tarried for three days and proclaimed a fast for them in order to offer prayers to God for their safety and that they might not suffer any harm on the way either from their enemies or from any other mischance that should befall them. For, as Ezra had already told the king that God would preserve them, he did not think it proper to ask him for horsemen to escort them.c And so, when they had offered up The Jews prayers, they set out from the Euphrates on the set out for twelfth day of the first month in d the seventh year 1 Esdras of the reign of Xerxes and arrived at Jerusalem in viii. 61; Ezra the fifth month of the same year. Thereupon Ezraimmediately turned over to the treasurers who were of priestly descent the sacred property consisting of six hundred and fifty talents of silver, silver vessels weighing one hundred talents, gold vessels weighing twenty f talents and vessels of bronze more precious than gold, weighing twelve talents.9 These were the gifts presented by the king and his counsellors

Josephus is a corruption of Oépav in 1 Esdras, but this is unlikely.

The preceding is an abridgement of the account of the preparations given in 1 Esdras and Ezra.

• The dating of the arrival in Xerxes' 7th year, in the 5th month, is based on an earlier passage, 1 Esdras viii. 6= Ezra vii. 8.

1 1 Esdras and Ezra 100.

1 Esdras and Ezra "twelve (Ezra "two") bronze vessels of fine bronze, gleaming like gold." Josephus omits the 20 gold bowls mentioned in both books.

οί σύμβουλοι αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
137 μένοντες Ἰσραηλῖται. παραδοὺς δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς
ἱερεῦσιν ὁ Ἔσδρας ἀπέδωκε τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἐκ τῶν
ὁλοκαυτώσεων νενομισμένας γίνεσθαι θυσίας, ταύρους δώδεκα ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας,
κριοὺς ἐνενήκοντα, ἄρνας ἐβδομήκοντα δύο, ἐρίφους

138 είς παραίτησιν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δώδεκα. τοῖς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκονόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπάρχοις τῆς κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης τὰ γράμματα τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπέδωκεν. οἱ δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ὑπὰ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν ἀνάγκην ἔχοντες ἐτίμησάν τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ χρείαν συνήργησαν.

139 (3) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβουλεύσατο «Εσδρας, προεχώρησε δ' αὐτῷ κρίναντος αὐτὸν ἄξιον, οἶμαι, τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν βουληθέντων διὰ

140 χρηστότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην. χρόνω δὲ ὕστερον προσελθόντων αὐτῷ τινων καὶ κατηγορούντων ὥς τινες τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτῶν παραβεβήκασι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ λελύκασι τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἠγμένοι γυναῖκας καὶ

141 τὸ ἱερατικὸν γένος συγκεχύκασιν, δεομένων τε¹ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς νόμοις, μὴ κοινὴν ἐπὶ πάντας ὀργὴν λαβὼν² πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰς συμφορὰς ἐμβάλη, δι- έρρηξε μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ λύπης τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐσπάρασσε τὰ γένεια ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην

142 λαβεῖν τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ λαοῦ. λογιζόμενος δὲ ὅτι ἐὰν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν προστάξῃ τέκνα, οὐκ ἀκουσθήσεται, δι-

1 δè FLVW.
2 λαβῶν ὁ θεὸς Hudson.

^a 1 Esdras and Ezra 96. ^b So 1 Esdras (most MSS.); Ezra 77.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 136-142

and all the Israelites remaining in Babylon. And when he had given these over to the priests, Ezra rendered to God the sacrifices of whole burntofferings customarily made, twelve bullocks on behalf of the well-being of the whole people, ninety a rams, seventy-two blambs, and twelve kids as an atonement for sins.c And to the stewards of the king and the eparchs of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia he delivered the letter of the king. Whereupon, being compelled to carry out his commands, they honoured the Jewish

nation and assisted it in all necessary ways.

(3) These things, then, were what Ezra himself Ezra learns had planned, but that they turned out well for him marriages at was, I think, due to God, who judged him worthy Jerusalem. of obtaining his desires because of his goodness and righteousness. But some time afterwards there 1 Esdras viii. 68; came to him certain men who accused some of the Ezra iz. 1. common people as well as Levites and priests of having violated the constitution and broken the laws of the country by marrying foreign wives and mixing the strain of priestly families, and they besought him to come to the aid of the laws lest God conceive anger at all of them alike and again bring misfortune upon them.d No sooner did he hear this than he rent his clothes for grief, tore the hair from his head, disordered his beard and threw himself upon the ground because the chief men among the people were guilty of this charge. And as he reasoned that, if he commanded them to put away their wives and the children born to them, he would not be listened

^c So Ezra; 1 Esdras "twelve goats for a peace-offering" (ὑπὲρ σωτηρίου; σωτήριον in lxx=Heb. šelem "peaceoffering ").

d The appeal to Ezra to enforce the law is a detail added

by Josephus.

έμενεν έπὶ τῆς γῆς κείμενος. συνέτρεχον οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ μέτριοι πάντες, κλαίοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ της ἐπὶ τῶ γεγενημένω λύπης συμμεταλαμβάνοντες.

143 αναστάς δε από της γης ό "Εσδρας καὶ τὰς χείρας ανατείνας είς τον ουρανόν, αισχύνεσθαι μεν έλεγεν είς αὐτὸν ἀναβλέψαι διὰ τὰ ἡμαρτημένα τῶ λαῶ. ος της μνήμης εξέβαλε τὰ τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν διὰ

144 την ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν συμπεσόντα, παρεκάλει δὲ τὸν θεὸν σπέρμα τι καὶ λείψανον ἐκ τῆς τότε συμφορᾶς αὐτῶν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας περισώσαντα καὶ πάλιν είς Ίεροσόλυμα καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν γῆν ἀποκαταστήσαντα καὶ τοὺς Περσών βασιλέας ἀναγκάσαντα² λαβεῖν οἶκτον αὐτῶν, συγγνωμονῆσαι καί τοῖς νῦν ήμαρτημένοις, άξια μεν θανάτου πεποιηκόσιν. ον δὲ ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητι καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους άφειναι της κολάσεως.

(4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπαύσατο τῶν εὐχῶν θρηνούντων δὲ πάντων ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις συνηλθον, 'Αχόνιός⁵ τις ονόματι πρώτος των 'Ιεροσολυμιτών προσελθών αὐτοὺς μὲν ἁμαρτείν έλεγεν άλλοεθνείς ενοικισαμένους γυναίκας, ἔπειθε δ' αὐτὸν ἐξορκίσαι πάντας ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὰς καὶ τὰ έξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένα, κολασθήσεσθαι δὲ 146 τούς ούχ ύπακούσαντας τῷ νόμῳ. πεισθείς οὖν

1 δè AWE Exc.

² καὶ τοὺς . . . ἀναγκάσαντα om. PFV.

τούς τοιούτους Exc. Lat.: τούτους codd. ⁵ 'Αχώνιος PVE: Achanonius Lat.

6 γεγεννημένα L2AVWE.

³ συγγνωμονήσαι καὶ Bekker: καὶ συγγνωμ. συγγνωμ. A Lat. Exc.

^a This added detail is perhaps due to a misunderstanding of 1 Esdras viii. 90 = Ezra ix. 15 (Heb. 16) in which Ezra 382

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to, he remained lying on the ground. And so there ran to him all the honest citizens who were themselves also weeping and sharing his grief over what had happened. Then Ezra arose from the ground and, stretching his hands toward heaven, said that, although he was ashamed to look up at it because of the sins committed by the people, who had put out of their minds all the things that had befallen our fathers because of their impiety, yet he besought God, who had preserved a seed and remnant out of their recent misfortune and captivity and had once more restored them to Jerusalem and their own country and had compelled the kings of Persia to take pity on them, to forgive also the sins which they had now committed, for though they had done things deserving of death, it was in keeping with the kindness of God to exempt even such sinners from punishment.

(4) With this he ceased praying, whereupon, amid Ezra perthe lamentations of all those who had gathered to Jews to him with their wives and children, a man named divorce Achonios, the head of the people of Jerusalem, wives. came up to him and said that they had sinned by viii. 91: taking foreign women as wives, but he tried to per- Ezra x. 1. suade Ezra to adjure them all to put them away with the children born of them and to have those men punished who would not obey the law. So Ezra

concludes his prayer to God (alluded to by Josephus below) with the phrase "for we cannot stand any longer before Thee because of these things."

b The variant omits this last phrase.

1 Esdras 'Ιεχονίας, Luc. Σεχενίας, Ezra Shechaniah (S'kanyāh).

d In 1 Esdras he is called "son of Jeelos, of the sons of Israel," in Ezra " son of Jehiel of the sons of Elam."

τούτοις ό "Εσδρας ἐποίησεν ὀμόσαι τοὺς φυλάρχους τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀποπέμψασθαι τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα κατὰ

- 147 τὴν ᾿Αχονίου συμβουλίαν. λαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς τὸ παστοφόριον τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἐλιασίβου καὶ μηδενὸς ὅλως διὰ τὴν λύπην γευσάμενος ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν¹ δι-
- 148 ήγαγεν αὐτόθι. γενομένου δὲ κηρύγματος ὧστε πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας συνελθεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὡς τῶν ἐν δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν ἡμέραις οὐκ ἀπαντησάντων ἀπαλλοτριωθησομένων τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων κρίσιν ἀφιερωθησομένης, συνῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις εἰκάδι τοῦ ἐνάτου μηνός, δς κατὰ μὲν Ἑβραίους Χασλεύς,² κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας ᾿Απελλαῖος καλεῖται.
- 149 καθισάντων δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῷ³ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, παρόντων ἄμα καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους ἀηδῶς διακειμένων, ἀναστὰς "Εσδρας ἢτιᾶτο ἐκείνους, λέγων παρανομῆσαι γήμαντας οὐκ ἐξ ὁμοφύλων νῦν μέντοι γε ποιήσειν αὐτοὺς τῷ μὲν θεῷ κεχαρισμένα συμφέροντα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπο-

³ W (Exc.): ὑπερώω rell. Lat.

 $^{^1}$ V : ἐκείνη τῆ ἡμέρα rell. 2 conj. Hudson (Τεβέθος ex ed. pr. in ed.): Ξένιος PFL^1AVE : Ξέλιος L^2 : Τεβέθ W: Sileos Lat.

a Or simply "from the temple" (ἰερόν in Josephus can mean either); 1 Esdras ἀπὸ τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, Ezra "from before the temple."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 146-149

followed this advice, and made the chiefs of the priests, Levites and Israelites swear to send away their wives and children in accordance with the counsel of Achonios. And, as soon as he had received their oaths, he hastened from the temple court a to the chamber of Joannes, the son of Eliasib, and there spent all of that day, not tasting a thing because of his grief. Then a proclamation went forth that all those of the captivity should gather at Jerusalem and that those who did not meet there within two or three days should be separated from the community and have their property confiscated to the temple in accordance with the decision of the elders. Accordingly, within three days those of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin gathered there, on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which is called Chasleus by the Hebrews and Apellaios by the Macedonians. And as they sat in the court f of the temple, the elders also being present, and suffered discomfort from the cold, Ezra arose and accused them of having broken the law by marrying outside their own nation; nevertheless, he said, they would now do what was pleasing to God and beneficial to themselves if they sent away their

Bibl. Eliashib ('Elyāšib).

d Neither 1 Esdras nor Ezra specifies the length of time he

spent there.

The variant "upper chamber" is certainly corrupt; 1 Esdras and Ezra "in the broad place before the temple."

Added detail.

^b 1 Esdras 'Ιωαναν (cod. Β 'Ιωνα), Ezra Johanan (Υ•hôhānān).

^e Emended form (=Heb. Kislew); Mss. Xenios, Xelios, Tebeth. Kislew corresponded roughly to December in the Julian calendar. The equation of Kislew with Apellaios is made also in Ant. xii. 248 and 319 ff.

150 πεμψαμένους τὰς γυναῖκας. οἱ δὲ ποιήσειν μὲν τοῦτο πάντες έξεβόησαν, τὸ δὲ πληθος είναι πολύ, καὶ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους χειμέριον, καὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐ μιᾶς οὐδὲ δευτέρας ὑπάρχειν ἡμέρας. "ἀλλ' οί τε ήγεμόνες καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οί συνοικοθντες ταῖς ἀλλοφύλοις παραγενέσθωσαν λαβόντες γρόνον καὶ πρεσβυτέρους έξ οῦ αν θελήσωσι τόπου3 τούς συνεπισκεψομένους τὸ τῶν γεγαμηκότων

151 πλήθος." καὶ τοῦτο δόξαν αὐτοῖς, ἀρξάμενοι τη νουμηνία του δεκάτου μηνός αναζητείν τους συνοικοῦντας ταῖς ἀλλοεθνέσιν εὖρον ἔως τῆς τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ έχομένου νουμηνίας ποιησάμενοι την έρευναν, πολλούς έκ τε των Ίησοῦ ἐκγόνων τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν

152 καὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, οἱ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ έξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένα της τῶν νόμων φυλακης η τῶν πρὸς αὐτὰ φίλτρων ποιούμενοι πλείονα λόγον, εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλον, καὶ θυσίας ἐξευμενίζοντες τὸν θεον επήνεγκαν, κριούς καταθύσαντες αὐτῶ. τὰ δε ονόματα αὐτῶν λέγειν οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ἀναν-

153 καίον είναι. τὸ μὲν οὖν άμάρτημα τὸ περὶ τοὺς νάμους των προειρημένων ούτως έπανορθώσας "Εσδρας έκαθάρισε την περί ταῦτα συνήθειαν, ώστ' αὐτὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ μόνιμον⁵ είναι.

154 (5) Τῶ δ' έβδόμω μηνὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν έορτά-

1 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις conj.: τούτοις καὶ codd. E: et alii Lat. 2 Wy Dindorf.

³ λαβόντες . . . τόπου] tempus acciperent dilationis et seniores cohabitantes cum alienigenis Lat.

⁴ γεγεννημένα FAWE. 5 vóuluov PW Exc.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 150-154

wives. Thereupon they all cried out that they would do this, but said that their number was great and it was the wintry season of the year and it was a work of not merely one or two days. "But let the leaders and, in addition, a those who are married to foreign wives come here at a fixed time and bring elders from whatever place they wish, to examine with them the number of those so married." When they had resolved on this, they began, on the new moon of the tenth month, to search out those who were married to foreign wives and, continuing the inquiry until the new moon of the following month, they found many of the descendants of the high priest Jesus and of the priests, Levites and Israelites who, having more regard for the observance of the laws than for the objects of their affection, at once put away their wives and the children born of them, and brought sacrifices to propitiate God, the victims being rams. We have not, however, thought it necessary to give their names. So then, having rectified the wrongdoing of the forementioned men in marrying, Ezra purified the practice relating to this matter so that it remained fixed for the future.

(5) In the seventh month they celebrated the

b According to 1 Esdras and Ezra the inquiry was terminated on the new moon of the first month (of the

following year).

^a Emended text. Reinach, following 1 Esdras, which reads στήτωσαν δὲ οἱ προηγούμενοι τοῦ λαοῦ, suggests ἀλλ' οἱ γε ἡγεμόνες μενόντων "let the chiefs remain." But both 1 Esdras and Ezra state further on in the verse that the elders and judges are to come to Jerusalem together with those married to foreign women. I assume that by ἡγεμόνες Josephus means these judges.

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ζοντες καὶ σχεδὸν ἄπαντος τοῦ λαοῦ συνεληλυθότος έπ' αὐτήν, ἀνελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἀνειμένον τοῦ ναοῦ προς την πύλην την έπὶ την άνατολην άποβλέπουσαν, έδεήθησαν τοῦ "Εσδρα τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς 155 αναγνώναι τους Μωυσέος. ό δε μέσος του πλήθους σταθείς ἀνέγνω, καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἀπ' άρχομένης ήμέρας έως μεσημβρίας οί δε άκούσαντες άναγινωσκομένων των νόμων δίκαιοι μέν πρός τὸ παρὸν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐδιδάσκοντο είναι, περί δὲ τῶν παρωχημένων ἐδυσφόρουν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δακρύειν προήχθησαν ενθυμούμενοι πρός αύτους ότι μηδέν αν των πεπειραμένων κακών έπαθον, 156 εἰ τὸν νόμον διεφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ "Εσδρας οὕτως δρών αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι² πρὸς αύτους και μή δακρύειν είναι γάρ έορτην και μή δεῖν ἐν αὐτῆ κλαίειν οὐ γὰρ ἐξεῖναι προετρέπετο δέ μαλλον πρός εὐωχίαν όρμήσαντας ποιείν τὰ πρόσφορα τη έορτη καὶ κεχαρισμένα, καὶ την μετάνοιαν καὶ λύπην τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐξημαρτημένοις ἀσφάλειάν τε έξειν καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ

> ¹ ἀναγνωσθῆναι PFLVE. ² ed. pr. Lat.: ἀπεῖναι codd. E.

^a In 1 Esdras and Ezra the people gather for the reading of the law on the 1st day of the 7th month, and on the 2nd day, according to Neh. (1 Esdras ends here), they read in the laws of Moses that the festival of Tabernacles is to be observed in the 7th month; only after this—on what day is not specified—do they celebrate the festival. The natural 388

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festival of Tabernacles a and, when almost all the Ezra reads people had gathered for it, they went up to the open the Law at the festival court of the temple near the gate which faced the of Tabereast, b and asked Ezra to read to them the laws of nacles. Moses. So he stood up in the midst of the multitude 38; Neh. and read them, taking from early morning until noon. And, as they listened to the laws being read, they learned how to be righteous for the present and the future, but they were troubled about the past and were moved to tears as they bethought themselves that they would not have suffered any of the evils which they had experienced if they had observed the law. But, when Ezra saw them so affected, he bade them return to their homes and shed no tears, for, he said, it was a festival, on which it was not right to weep nor was it lawful. He exhorted them rather to turn to feasting and do what was in keeping with the festival and was pleasant, for in their repentance and sorrow over the sins which they had formerly committed, they would have a security and safeguard

inference from this passage in Neh. is that on this occasion the festival began on the 3rd day of the 7th month, although in the laws ascribed to Moses (Lev. xxiii. 34, Num. xxix. 12, cf. Ant. iii. 244) the festival's beginning is set on the 15th of the month (on the development of the religious calendar and the date of Tabernacles cf. J. Morgenstern in Hebrew Union College Annual x., 1935, pp. 56 ff.). This apparent conflict between Neh. and the Pentateuch is probably the reason why Josephus omits to state on what day of the month Ezra began to read the law.

b Cf: 1 Esdras "in the broad place of the temple gateway toward the east"; Neh. "before the broad place (A.V. "street") that was before the water-gate." In Neh. iii. 26 the water-gate is located in the eastern part of the city. On the topographical problems involved in Neh. ch. iii. cf. M. Burrows in Annual of the American Schools of Oriental

Research xiv., 1933/34, pp. 130 ff.

157 μηδέν όμοιον συμπεσείν. οί δέ, ταῦτα "Εσδρα παραινούντος, έορτάζειν ήρξαντο και τούτο ποιούντες έφ' ήμέρας οκτώ έν ταις σκηναίς, ανεχώρησαν είς τὰ οἰκεῖα μετὰ υμνων τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τῶν περὶ τὸ πολίτευμα παρανομηθέντων

158 "Εσδρα χάριν εἰδότες. ὧ συνέβη μετὰ τὴν παρὰ τῶ λαῶί δόξαν γηραιῶ τελευτήσαι τὸν βίον καὶ ταφηναι μετά πολλης φιλοτιμίας εν Ίεροσολύμοις. ύπο δε τον αὐτον καιρον και Ίωακείμου τοῦ ἀρχ-ιερέως ἀποθανόντος παις αὐτοῦ Ἐλιάσιβος τὴν

άρχιερωσύνην διεδέξατο.

159 (6) Των δ' αιχμαλωτισθέντων τις 'Ιουδαίων, οίνοχόος τοῦ βασιλέως Ξέρξου, Νεεμίας ὄνομα περιπατών πρό της μητροπόλεως τών Περσών Σούσων, ξένων τινών ἀπό μακρᾶς όδοιπορίας εἰς την πόλιν εἰσιόντων ἐπακούσας έβραϊστὶ πρὸς άλλήλους όμιλούντων, προσελθών αὐτοῖς ἐπυν-

160 θάνετο πόθεν είεν παραγενόμενοι. ἀποκριναμένων δ' ήκειν έκ της 'Ιουδαίας, πως αὐτων ἔχει τὸ πληθος καὶ ή μητρόπολις Ἱεροσόλυμα πάλιν 161 ἤρξατο πυνθάνεσθαι. κακῶς δ' ἔχειν εἰπόντων,

1 θεω Lat.

b Josephus here omits some scriptural details and adds

^a In the preceding Josephus omits certain scriptural details and adds others. It is noteworthy that he passes over "Nehemiah the Tirshatha" who is mentioned in Neh. viii. 9 as one of the leaders associated with Ezra in expounding the law (1 Esdras omits Nehemiah's name). Most modern biblical scholars recognize that the name of Nehemiah is an intrusion in this chapter which originally formed part of the story of Ezra.

c Variant "God."

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that the like would not happen again.a Accordingly, at this reassurance from Ezra, they began to celebrate the festival and kept it in their tabernacles for eight days, after which they returned to their homes. singing hymns to God and expressing thanks to Ezra for rectifying the offences against the laws of the state. And it was his fate, after being honoured by the people, to die an old man and to be buried with great magnificence in Jerusalem.d About the same time also died the high priest Jōakeimos, whom his son Eliasib succeeded in the high priesthood.

(6) Now one of the Jewish captives, named Nehemiah Nehemiah, who was cup-bearer of King Xerxes, h at Susa gets news from was walking about before the walls of Susa, the Jerusalem. Meh. i. 1 metropolis of Persia, when he overheard some (LXX) strangers, who were entering the city after a long Esdras journey, speaking Hebrew to one another, and so he went up to them and inquired where they had come from. When they replied that they had come from Judaea, he began to inquire further how the people and the metropolis Jerusalem were getting on. They said that these were in a bad way, for the walls

d Unscriptural detail. According to rabbinic tradition Ezra died in Persia, cf. Ginzberg iv. 358, vi. 446.

· Cf. § 121 note b.

In the following section, §§ 159-183, Josephus's account of Nehemiah's history differs in so many details from Scripture that most scholars assume, with some reason. that he had before him a text differing considerably from the extant Heb. and Gr. texts.

Gr. Neemias (as in Lxx), Heb. N. hemyāh.

A Artaxerxes in Scripture, modern scholars not being agreed as to whether Artaxerxes I (464-424 B.c.) or Artaxerxes II (404-359 s.c.) is meant. Cf. Appendix B.

1 Unscriptural details; cf. Neh. i. 2 "Hanani, one of my

brethren, came, he and certain men from Judah, and I asked

them concerning the Jews," etc.

καθηρήσθαι γάρ είς έδαφος τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ πέριξ έθνη πολλὰ διατιθέναι κακὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ήμέρας μὲν κατατρεχόντων τὴν χώραν καὶ διαρπαζόντων, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κακῶς ἀπεργαζομένων, ὡς πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων αἰχμαλώτους ἀπῆχθαι καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς

162 πλήρεις εδρίσκεσθαι καθ' ἡμέραν νεκρῶν, ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ Νεεμίας ἐλεήσας τῆς συμφορᾶς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους, καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, '' ἄχρι τίνος,'' εἶπεν, '' ὧ δέσποτα, περιόψει ταῦτα πάσχον τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, οὕτως ἄρπαγμα πάντων καὶ λάφυρον γενό-

163 μενον³ ''; διατρίβοντος δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῆ πύλη καὶ ταῦτ' ἀποδυρομένου προσελθών τις ἤγγειλεν αὐτῷ μέλλειν ἤδη κατακλίνεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν μηδὲ ἀπολουσάμενος διακονήσων ἔσπευσεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ πότου διακονίαν.

164 ώς δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῦπνον ὁ βασιλεὺς διεχύθη καὶ ἡδίων αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἀπέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Νεεμίαν, κατεσκυθρωπακότα θεασάμενος, διὰ τί κατηφὴς

165 είη ἀνέκρινεν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ δεηθεὶς χάριν τινὰ καὶ πειθὼ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ λέγοντι, '' πῶς,'' φησίν, '' ὧ βασιλεῦ, δύναμαί σοι μὴ βλέπεσθαι τοιοῦτος μηδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγεῖν, ὅπου τῆς πατρίδος μου 'Ιεροσολύμων, ἐν ἢ τάφοι καὶ μνήματα προγόνων τῶν ἐμῶν εἰσιν, ἀκούω βεβλῆσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς

βεβλῆσθαι W.
 + αὐτῶν FLAVWE.
 γεγόναμεν PV Lat.
 προελθών PFVW(L¹).

^a Josephus here amplifies Scripture.

b In Scripture Nehemiah mourns and fasts for several days after hearing the sad news about Jerusalem. Josephus, moreover, greatly shortens the prayer of Nehemiah.

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had been torn down to the ground, and the surrounding nations were inflicting many injuries on the Jews, overrunning the country and plundering it by day and doing mischief by night, so that many had been carried off as captives from the country and from Jerusalem itself, and every day the roads were found full of corpses.a Then Nehemiah burst into tears out of pity for the misfortunes of his countrymen, and looking up to heaven, said, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou look away while our nation suffers these things, having thus become the prey and spoil of all?" And, as he lingered near the gate, lamenting these things, someone came up to him and informed him that the king was now about to recline at table. Thereupon, just as he was and without bathing, he at once hastened to perform the service of bringing the king his drink.c But after dinner, when the king, who was relaxed and in a more pleasant mood than usual, d looked at Nehemiah and saw his gloomy face, he asked him why he was downcast. Then, after praying to God to give his words some measure of grace and persuasiveness, Nehemiah said, "How, O King, can I appear to you otherwise and not suffer pain of spirit when I hear that the walls of my native city Jerusalem, where the graves and monuments of my forefathers are, have been thrown to the ground, and its

^e Unscriptural detail; according to Scripture Nehemiah hears the news in the month of Kislew and resumes his service in the month of Nisan (=4 months later).

d Unscriptural detail.

⁶ Bibl. "and I prayed to the God of heaven." In Scripture, moreover, this prayer comes after Nehemiah's explanation of his sadness and before his request to leave for Jerusalem, which Josephus here combines.

τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐμπεπρησμένας αὐτῆς; ἀλλὰ χάρισαί μοι πορευθέντι¹ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεγεῖραι

166 καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ λεῖπον² προσοικοδομῆσαι." ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διδόναι τε αὐτῷ τὴν δωρεὰν κατένευσε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας κομίσαι γράμματα, ὅπως τιμῆς τε αὐτὸν ἀξιώσωσι καὶ πᾶσαν παράσχωσι χορηγίαν εἰς ἄπερ βούλεται. "πέπαυσο δή," φησί, " λυπούμενος καὶ χαίρων ἡμῖν τοῦ λοιποῦ

167 διακόνει.'' ό μεν οὖν Νεεμίας προσκυνήσας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ὑποσχέσεως εὐχαριστήσας, τὸ κατηφὲς τοῦ προσώπου καὶ συγκεχυμένον ἀπεκάθηρε τῆ περὶ τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἡδονῆ. καλέσας δὲ αὐτὸν τῆ ἐπιούση δίδωσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς ᾿Αδδαῖου³ ἐπιστολὴν κομίσαι τὸν τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Σαμαρείας ἔπαρχον, ἐν ἡ περί τε τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ Νεεμίου καὶ χορηγίας τῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐπεστάλκει.

168 (7) Γενόμενος οὖν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐθελοντὶ¹ ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ παραλαβὼν ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη βασιλεύοντος Ξέρξου, καὶ δείξας τῷ θεῷ⁵ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδίδωσι τῷ ᾿Αδδαίω καὶ τοῖς

1 ἀπελθόντι ΑΨ.

² πλείστον PFA marg.: partem cadentem Lat.
 ³ Σαλέον P: Σαλ(λ)αΐον FL: Σαδαΐον V: Addeo Lat.
 ⁴ ἐθελόντων PF: ἐθελοντὰs V: sponte Lat.
 ⁵ τῶ λαῶ L: om. Lat.

b Josephus omits the scriptural detail that these letters were given to Nehemiah at his own request.

^c Unscriptural details.

^a Variant "complete the greatest part of the temple." The temple is not mentioned in Scripture.

^d Scripture (Neh. vi. 7-8) mentions letters "to the governors (LXX "eparchs") beyond the river "and to "Asaph, the 304

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gates burnt? Do but graciously permit me to go there and raise up the wall and complete the building that remains to be done on the temple." a There- Xerxes upon the king indicated that he granted him this (bibl. Artafavour and would let him carry letters to the satraps gives Nehthat they should pay him due honour and furnish to go to him whatever supplies he wished for.^b "Cease Jerusslem. Neh. ii. 6 grieving, therefore," he said, "and be cheerful (LXX) hereafter in serving us." And so Nehemiah, after zii. 6). worshipping God and giving thanks to the king for his promise, cleared his face of its downcast and troubled expression in his joy at the things offered him.c And on the following day c the king called him and gave him a letter to carry to Addaios,d the eparch of Syria, Phoenicia and Samaria, in which he had given orders concerning the honour to be paid Nehemiah and the supplies for the building.

(7) And so, after going to Babylon and taking Nehemiah along many of his countrymen who followed him arrives at Jerusalem voluntarily, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty-and fifth e year of the reign of Xerxes; and, when he had the people. showed the letters to God, he delivered them to Neh. ii. 11 keeper of the king's forest." The name Addaios is appar- 2 Esdras ently a corruption of Asaph, while his title of eparch must be xii. 11). due to carelessness on Josephus's part (if we assume that he

had before him a text like ours).

• The 20th year (of Artaxerxes) according to Scripture; moreover, by substituting Xerxes for Artaxerxes Josephus has involved himself in a chronological difficulty, inasmuch

as Xerxes reigned only 20 years (485-465 B.c.).

Variant "to the people." Chamonard freely translates δείξας τῶ θεῶ as "returned thanks to God," but the more literal translation given above is, as noted long ago in Hudson-Havercamp, supported by the parallel in Ant. x. 16 (on 2 Kings xix. 14) where Josephus says that Hezekiah placed the letters of the Assyrian general "within the temple" (bibl. "before the Lord").

άλλοις ἐπάρχοις, καὶ συγκαλέσας πάντα τὸν λαὸν

εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα στὰς ἐν μέσω τῷ ἱερῷ τοιούτους 169 ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς λόγους '' ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι, τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἴστε μνήμη τῶν πατέρων ᾿Αβράμου² καὶ Ἰσάκου³ καὶ Ἰακώβου παραμένοντα καὶ διὰ της εκείνων δικαιοσύνης οὐκ εγκαταλείποντα την ύπὲρ ἡμῶν⁴ πρόνοιαν ἀμέλει συνήργησέ μοι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λαβεῖν έξουσίαν ὅπως ὑμῶν τὸ τεῖχος άναστήσω καὶ τὸ λείψανον τοῦ ίεροῦ τελειώσω.

170 βούλομαι δ' ύμᾶς την των γειτονευόντων ημίν έθνων δυσμένειαν σαφώς είδότας, και ότι πρός την οἰκοδομίαν, εἰ μάθοιεν περὶ ταύτην ἡμᾶς φιλοτιμου-μένους, ἐνστήσονται καὶ πολλὰ πραγματεύσονται

171 πρός αὐτὴν ἡμιν ἐμπόδια, θαρρείν μὲν τῶ θεῶ 171 προς αυτην ημιν εμπουία, υαρρείν μεν τω υέω πρώτον ώς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπέχθειαν στησομένους, μήτε δ' ἡμέρας μήτε νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνιέναι τῆς οἰκοδομίας, ἀλλὰ πάση σπουδῆ χρωμένους συνέχειν τὸ ἔργον, ὥς γε' καιρὸς τούτου⁸
172 ἴδιός ἐστιν.'' ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς τοὺς

ἄρχοντας μετρησαι τὸ τεῖχος καὶ διανεῖμαι τὴν έργασίαν αὐτοῦ τῷ λαῷ κατὰ κώμας τε καὶ πόλεις, κατὰ τὸ έκάστοις δυνατόν, ὑποσχόμενος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν συλλήψεσθαι πρὸς τὴν

173 οἰκοδομίαν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρός τὸ ἔργον παρεσκευάζοντο. ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ

Dindorf: ἐππάρχαις (-οις Ε) codd. Ε Lat.
 Hudson: ᾿Αβραὰμ Ρ: ᾿Αβραάμου vel ʿΑβραάμου rell.
 Hudson: Ἰσαὰκ Ρ: Ἰσαάκου FAVW: Ἱσαάκου L.

⁴ ύμῶν ΑΥ. * στησομένω V Lat.: στησομένου A¹W. 6 εως ex Lat. Niese.

⁷ ἔτι LAWE. 8 τούτου om. P.

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Addaios and the other eparchs. Then he summoned all the people to Jerusalem and, standing in the middle of the temple court, and addressed them in the following words. "Fellow Jews, you know that God cherishes the memory of our fathers Abraham. Isaac and Jacob, and because of their righteousness does not give up His providential care for us. What is more. He has helped me to obtain authority from the king to put up your wall and complete what remains to be done on the temple. And so, although you plainly know the ill-will borne us by the neighbouring nations and that they will oppose the building if they learn of our eager efforts on behalf of it, and will put many obstacles to it in our way, it is my wish first that you have confidence that with God's help you will withstand their hostility, and then that you do not relax in building either by day or night but show all zeal in continuing b the work since the time is favourable thereto." With these words he told the officers to measure the wall at once and assign work on it to the people by villages and cities, according to the ability of each; and, after promising that he himself would help in the building together with his servants, he dismissed the assembly.d And the Jews prepared for the work. This name, by

Scripture (Neh. ii. 17) does not tell us in what part of the city Nehemiah addressed the people. Josephus, on the other hand, omits the preceding section, vss. 12-16, describing Nehemiah's secret inspection of the walls by night.

b On the various meanings of συνέχειν cf. § 79 note b.

Josephus amplifies Nehemiah's speech.
 In these few words Josephus summarizes the contents of

^{*} Jūdaioi in Gr. This detail is, of course, an addition to Scripture.

όνομα έξ ής ήμέρας ἀνέβησαν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀπὸ¹ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, ῆς πρώτης ἐλθούσης εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους αὐτοί τε καὶ ἡ χώρα τὴν προσηγορίαν

αὐτῆς² μετέλαβον.

174 (8) 'Ακούσαντες δε την των τειχων οἰκοδομην σπευδομένην 'Αμμανῖται καὶ Μωαβῖται καὶ Σαμαρεῖται³ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῆ κοίλη⁴ Συρία νεμόμενοι χαλεπως ἔφερον καὶ διετέλουν ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτοῖς συντιθέντες, την προαίρεσιν αὐτων ἐμποδίζοντες, πολλούς τε των 'Ιουδαίων ἀπέκτειναν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐζήτουν τὸν Νεεμίαν διαφθεῖραι, μισθούμενοί τινας

175 τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, ἵν' αὐτὸν ἀνέλωσιν. εἰς φόβον δὲ καὶ ταραχὴν αὐτοὺς ἐνέβαλλον καὶ φήμας αὐτοῖς διέστελλον ὡς πολλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς μελλόντων ἐθνῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐκταρασσόμενοι μικροῦ

176 τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἀπέστησαν. τὸν δὲ Νεεμίαν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐξέστησε τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ στῖφός τι φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τοῦ σώματος περιβαλλόμενος ἀτρύτως ὑπέμενεν, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπιθυμίας ἀναισθητῶν καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας. οὕτως δὲ καὶ συντεταμένως καὶ προνοητικῶς αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας εἶχεν οὐχὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θάνατον, ἀλλὰ πεπεισμένος ὅτι μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν οὐκ ἔσται ἀὐτοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀναστῆσαι8

¹ ek PFLV.

ed. pr.: αὐτοῖς codd.
 καὶ Σαμαρεῖται om. PF.
 κοίλη om. PF, secl. Niese.

⁵ δὲ καὶ] τε PFLV.

⁶ Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.

⁷ οὐκ ἔσται conj.: οὐκέτ' vel οὐκ ἔτι codd.; οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις conj. Niese.

⁸ conj.: ἀναστήσεται vel ἀναστήσονται codd.

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which they have been called from the time when they went up from Babylon, is derived from the tribe of Judah: as this tribe was the first to come to those parts, both the people themselves and the country have taken their name from it.

(8) When the Ammanites, Moabites, a Samaritans Nehemiah and all those living in Coele-Syria heard that the Jerusalem. building of the walls was being pressed, they were Neh. iv. 7 angry and continually contrived plots against the LXX Jews to hinder their purpose; they killed many of the 2 Esdras Jews b and sought to make an end of Nehemiah himself by hiring some foreigners to do away with him.c They also instilled fear and alarm into them and spread rumours among them that many nations were about to attack them, by which the Jews were so alarmed that they very nearly gave up building. None of these things, however, deterred Nehemiah from being zealous in the work, but, surrounding himself with a company of men to guard his person, he held out unwearyingly and in his eagerness about the work was insensible of the hardship. This intentness and forethought for his own safety he showed, not because he feared death, but because he was convinced that after his death it would not be possible for his fellow-citizens to put up the walls.d

^a The Moabites are not mentioned in Scripture, which, on the other hand, includes the Arabians and the Ashdodites, and names the three leaders, Sanballat, Tobiah and Geshem.

b According to Scripture (Neh. iv. 11=Heb. iv. 5) the

enemies of the Jews threatened to kill them, but the threat was not carried out.

^e Cf. Neh. vi. 1, 10 ff.

^d Emended text. This unscriptural detail about Nehemiah's motive seems to be based on a misunderstanding of Neh. iv. 14 (Heb. 8) end, "fight for your brethren, your sons and your daughters, your wives and your houses."

177 τὰ τείχη. ἐκέλευσε δὲ έξῆς τοὺς οἰκοδομοῦντας ὅπλα περιζωννυμένους ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰκοδόμος μάχαιραν είχε καὶ ὁ τὴν ὕλην παρακομίζων, θυρεοὺς δ᾽ ἔγγιστα αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν κεῖσθαι καὶ σαλπιγκτὰς ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων ἔστησεν ποδῶν προστάξας, αν ἐπιφανῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, τοῦτο σημῆναι τῷ λαῷ, ἵν᾽ ὡπλισμένοι¹ μάχωνται

178 καὶ μὴ γυμνοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέσωσιν. αὐτὸς δὲ νύκτωρ περιήρχετο τῆς πόλεως τὸν κύκλον, οὐδὲν κάμνων οὕτε τοῖς ἔργοις οὕτε τῆ διαίτη καὶ τοῖς ὕπνοις οὐδενὶ γὰρ τούτων πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς

179 ἀνάγκην ἐχρῆτο. καὶ ταύτην ὑπέμεινε τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας ἐν τοσούτω
γὰρ χρόνω τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνωκοδομήθη τὸ
τεῖχος, ὀγδόω καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῆς Ξέρξου βασιλείας

180 ἔτει μηνί ἐνάτῳ. τέλος δὲ τῶν τειχῶν λαβόντων Νεεμίας καὶ τὸ πληθος ἔθυσαν τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ της τούτων οἰκοδομίας καὶ διηγον ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὰ εὐωχούμενοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔθνη τὰ ἐν τῆ Συρία κατοικοῦντα² τῆς τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίας πέρας
181 ἔχειν ἀκουσθείσης ἐδυσφόρει. Νεεμίας δὲ τὴν

181 ἔχειν ἀκουσθείσης ἐδυσφόρει. Νεεμίας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν ὀλιγανθρωπουμένην, τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας παρεκάλεσε τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπόντας μετελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ μένειν ἐν αὐτῆ, κατασκευά-

1 όπλισάμενοι PL¹AWE: ώπλισμένοις Naber.
2 κατοικημένα P: κατωκισμένα AW.

^a The specification of the distance is an unscriptural detail. ^b According to this reckoning the work must have been begun in the 5th month of the 26th year of Xerxes (=2 yrs. and 4 mos. previously), which is at variance with the statement in § 168 (in itself incorrect, cf. note ad loc.) that it was 400

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He therefore ordered that for the future the builders should be equipped with arms when they worked, and so the masons had swords, as also those who carried the materials; and he ordered shields to be placed very near them, and stationed trumpeters at intervals of five hundred feet a with the command to give the signal to the people if the enemy appeared, in order that they might be armed when they fought and not let the enemy fall on them unprepared. He himself made the rounds of the city by night, never tiring either through work or lack of food and sleep, neither of which he took for pleasure but as a necessity. And these hardships he endured for two years and four months, for this was the length of time in which the wall of Jerusalem was built, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month. And, when the walls were finally ready, Nehemiah and the people sacrificed to God in token of their being built and continued feasting for eight days.c Now when the nations settled in Syria heard that the building Nehemiah of the walls was finished, they were angry. But increases the popula-Nehemiah, seeing that the city had a small population, tion of urged the priests and Levites to leave the country- Neb. vii. 4 side and move to the city and remain there, for he had (LXX

begun in the 25th year of Xerxes. Moreover, according to xvii. 4). Scripture, the work took only 52 days, being finished on the 25th day of Ellul (the 6th month). This would indicate that Josephus had before him a text of the books of Nehemiah, whether Hebrew or Greek, rather different from ours (cf. § 159 note f), unless we assume with J. Bewer, JBL xliji. 1924, pp. 224 ff., that the text is corrupt.

^c Cf. Neh. viii. 18; the festival here mentioned has already been mentioned, §§ 154 ff., as part of the Ezra story (cf. § 156 note a). In what follows Josephus with the greatest possible

brevity summarizes Neh. chs. v. vii-xiii.

182 σας τὰς οἰκίας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων·
τόν τε γεωργοῦντα λαὸν τὰς δεκάτας τῶν καρπῶν
ἐκέλευσε φέρειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἴνα τρέφεσθαι
διηνεκῶς ἔχοντες οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται μὴ καταλείπωσι¹ τὴν θρησκείαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡδέως ὑπήκουσαν οἶς Νεεμίας διετάξατο, πολυανθρωποτέραν
δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν οὕτως συνέβη

183 γενέσθαι. πολλά δὲ καὶ ἄλλα καλὰ καὶ ἐπαίνων ἄξια φιλοτιμησάμενος ὁ Νεεμίας ἐτελεύτησεν εἰς γῆρας ἀφικόμενος. ἀνὴρ δὲ ἐγένετο χρηστὸς τὴν φύσιν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ περὶ τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς φιλοτιμότατος, μνημεῖον αἰώνιον αὐτῷ καταλιπὼν τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ

Ξέρξου βασιλέως έγένετο.

184 (vi. 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ξέρξου τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν ᾿Ασύηρον,² ὅν ᾿Αρταξέρξην "Ελληνες καλοῦσιν, συνέβη μεταβῆναι. τούτου τὴν Περσῶν ἔχοντος ἡγεμονίαν ἐκινδύνευσε τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἄπαν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσθαι.

έθνος ἄπαν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσθαι.

185 τὴν δ' αἰτίαν μετ' οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν· πρέπει γὰρ
τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως διηγεῖσθαι πρῶτον, ὡς³ ἔγημεν

'Ιουδαίαν γυναῖκα τοῦ γένους οὖσαν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ,

186 ην καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἔθνος ήμῶν λέγουσιν. παραλαβὼν γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ ᾿Αρταξέρξης καὶ

1 καταλίπωσι FL2AV.
2 Gutschmid: Κῦρον codd. E Lat.
3 ξπειθ' ὡς LA.

^a Unscriptural detail. Neh. ch. xi. states plainly that only a certain portion of priests and Levites settled in Jerusalem; the others remained "in the cities of Judah" (vss. 1, 3, 20). ^b This characterization of Nehemiah is an addition to Scripture.

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prepared houses for them at his own expense; a he also told the people who cultivated the land to bring tithes of their produce to Jerusalem in order that the priests and Levites, having a perpetual source of livelihood, might not abandon the temple service. And so, as they gladly obeyed Nehemiah's ordinance, the city of Jerusalem came to have a larger population in this way. Then, after performing many other splendid and praiseworthy public services, Nehemiah died at an advanced age. He was a man of kind and just nature and most anxious to serve his countrymen; and he left the walls of Jerusalem as his eternal monument. b These, then, were the things that took place in the reign of Xerxes.

(vi. 1) On the death of Xerxes the kingdom passed Artaxerxes to his son Asuēros, whom the Greeks call Arta-(bibl. Ahasuerus) xerxes. During the time when he ruled the Persian entertains empire, the entire nation of the Jews, with their his nobles. wives and children, was in danger of being destroyed. The reason for this we shall explain presently, d for it is in place first to relate the history of this king and how he married a Jewish woman of royal family, e who is also said to have saved our nation. Now, after Esther i. 1. Artaxerxes took over the royal power and appointed

^c So Gutschmid has ingeniously emended the Ms. reading "Cyrus" (Asuēros is also found in Luc., as a transliteration of Heb. 'Ahašwērōš = bibl. Ahasueros). The Heb. 'Ahašwērōš is, in reality, a rendering of the Persian Khšayarša of which the Greek form is Xerxes, but the LXX here has Artaxerxes, hence Josephus's equation of 'Ahašwērōš with Artaxerxes.

d In §§ 209 ff.

[·] According to Scripture (Est. ii. 5) Mordecai, Esther's uncle (cf. § 198 note d), was a descendant of "Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite," on the basis of which rabbinic tradition makes him a descendant of King Saul, cf. Ginzberg iv. 381 ff., vi. 458.

καταστήσας ἀπὸ Ἰνδίας ἄχρι Αἰθιοπίας τῶν σατραπειῶν έκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσιεπτὰ οὐσῶν ἄρχοντας, τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει τούς τε φίλους καὶ τὰ Περσῶν ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν ὑποδεξάμενος εἰστία πολυτελῶς, οἶον εἰκὸς παρὰ βασιλεῖ τοῦ πλούτου παρασκευαζομένω τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι, ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα.

187 ἔπειτα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς αὐτῶν ἐν Σούσοις ἐπὶ ἡμέρας κατευώχησεν ἔπτά. τὸ δὲ συμπόσιον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον γεγενημένον· σκήνωμα πηξάμενος ἐκ χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρέων κιόνων ὕφη λίνεα καὶ πορφύρεα κατ' αὐτῶν διεπέτασεν,¹ ὤστε πολλὰς μυριάδας κατα188 κλίνεσθαι. διηκονοῦντο δὲ ἐκπώμασι γρυσέοις καὶ

188 κλίνεσθαι. διηκονοῦντο δὲ ἐκπώμασι χρυσέοις καὶ τοῖς διὰ λίθου πολυτελοῦς εἰς τέρψιν ἄμα καὶ θέαν πεποιημένοις. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις μὴ βιάζεσθαι πίνειν, τὸ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς συνεχῶς προσφέροντας, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις γίνεται, ἀλλ' ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς δ βούλεται τῶν κατα-

189 κειμένων εκαστος φιλοφρονείσθαι. διαπέμψας δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν παρήγγειλεν ἀνεῖσθαι τῶν ἔργων ἀφιεμένους καὶ έορτάζειν ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας 190 αὐτοῦ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις. ὁμοίως τε τῶν γυναικῶν

190 αὐτοῦ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις. ὁμοίως τε τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ βασίλισσα "Αστη^{*} συνήγαγε συμπόσιον ἐν τοῖς

1 V: ἐπέτασεν PFLAW.

² ex seqq. in codd. PF Niese: αὐτῆ PF (hic) LA: Οὔαστη VWE et infra LA Lat.

b So Heb. and Luc.; Lxx 6.

a So Heb. and Luc.; Lxx " in the city."

^e Cf. LXX "cubes of gold and silver, on pillars of Parian marble and stone"; Heb. "rings of silver and pillars of marble"; Luc. "cubes of silver and pillars of Parian marble and with gilding."

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officers over the hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign he welcomed his friends and the Persian tribes and their governors, and entertained them lavishly, as became a king who wished to make a display of the wealth which he had acquired, for one hundred and eighty days. Then he feasted the nations and their envoys at Susa a for seven b days. Now the banquet was served in the following manner. They set up a pavilion on gold and silver pillars, over which they spread linen and purple cloth so that many myriads could recline at table.d And they were served out of bowls made of gold or precious stones of for the pleasure of those who beheld them. The king also commanded his servants not to force them to drink by bringing them wine continually, as is the custom among the Persians, but to permit each of the banqueters to use his own judgement in satisfying his desires. He also sent throughout the country and proclaimed to the people that they might give up their work and rest and celebrate for many days in honour of his reign. And Queen Aste h similarly brought together the women for a banquet in her

d Josephus here omits several scriptural details.

So Lxx and Luc.; Heb. "vessels of gold and various vessels."

I Cf. Lxx "And the drinking was not according to the established law; so the king wished, and ordered the stewards to do his wish and the men's"; Heb. "And the drinking was according to law; no one compelled (them), for so the king instructed every noble of his household, to do the wish of each man" (or "that each man do as he wished"); Luc. "And the drinking was according to law, for so the king ordered, to do the wish of the men."

Variant Ouaste (= Waste),

This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

βασιλείοις, ἣν ἐπιδεῖξαι βουλόμενος τοῖς ἑστιωμένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἥκειν, κάλλει τὰς γυναῖκας ἁπάσας 191 ὑπερβάλλουσαν. ἡ δὲ φυλακῆ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσαις

191 ὑπερβάλλουσαν. ἡ δὲ φυλακῆ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσαις νόμων, οἱ τοις ἀλλοτρίοις βλέπεσθαι τὰς γυναικας ἀπηγορεύκασιν, οὐκ ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πολλάκις τοὺς εὐνούχους ἀποστέλλοντος πρὸς αὐτήν, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐνέμεινε¹ παραιτουμένη τὴν 192 ἄφιξιν, ὡς εἰς ὀργὴν παροξυνθέντα τὸν βασιλέα

192 ἄφιξιν, ώς εἰς ὀργὴν παροξυνθέντα τὸν βασιλέα λῦσαι μὲν τὸ συμπόσιον, ἀναστάντα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπτὰ τῶν Περσῶν, οι τὴν τῶν νόμων ἐξήγησιν ἔχουσι παρ' αὐτοις, καλέσαντα κατηγορείν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ λέγειν ὡς ὑβρισθείη πρὸς αὐτης: κληθείσα γὰρ πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ συμ-

193 πόσιον ὑπήκουσεν οὐδ' ἄπαξ. προσέταξεν οὖν δηλοῦν τίνα κατ' αὐτῆς νόμον ὁρίζουσιν. ἐνὸς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν Μουχαίου² ὅνομα εἰπόντος οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνῷ ταύτην γεγονέναι τὴν ὕβριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ³ πᾶσι Πέρσαις οἷς κινδυνεύεται καταφρονουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἴσχιστα διαγεγονέναι τὸν βίον

194 ('' οὐδεμία γὰρ τοῦ συνοικοῦντος ἀνδρὸς αἰδῶ ποιήσεται, παράδειγμα τὴν τῆς βασιλίσσης ὑπερηφανίαν πρὸς σὲ τὸν κρατοῦντα ἀπάντων ἔχουσα'') παρακελευομένου δὲ⁴ τὴν οὕτως ἐνυβρίζουσαν

E: ἀνέμεινε codd.
 ² ᾿Αμουχαίου WE: Nocheus Lat.
 ³ ἀλλὰ καὶ E: ἀλλὰ codd.
 ⁴ τε VWE.

Bibl. "in the palace of King Ahasuerus."

Scripture gives no reason for Vashti's refusal. The Targum adds that she was ordered to appear naked before the king's guests. For the curious rabbinic legends about Vashti's behaviour on this occasion see Ginzberg iv. 374 ff., vi. 455.

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palace, but the king, wishing to show her to his guests, for she surpassed all women in beauty, sent and ordered her to come to his banquet. She, how- The queen ever, in observance of the laws of the Persians, which attend the forbid their women to be seen by strangers, b did not banquet. go to the king and though he repeatedly sent the eunuchs to her, none the less persisted in her refusal to come, until the king, being provoked to anger, broke up the banquet and, arising and calling the Seven Persians, who have charge of the interpretation of the laws among them, accused his wife and said that he had been insulted by her, for though she had repeatedly been called by him to the banquet, she had not once obeyed. He therefore commanded them to declare what law they would make against her. Thereupon one of them, named Muchaios, e said that this insult affected not only himself but all the Persians, for they were in danger of having to lead a shameful life because of being contemptuously treated by their wives. "No woman," he said, "will show any respect for her husband, since she will have an example in the arrogance of the queen toward you, who have power over all men." He therefore urged him to inflict severe punishment on the woman

^c So LXX; variant (in Jos.) Amūchaios; bibl. Memucan (Μ*mūkān), Luc. Μουγαΐος, v.l. Βουγαΐος. The Targum identifies him with Haman, whereas later rabbinic tradition identifies him with Daniel. In view of this identification with Haman, it is curious that the LXX in vs. 10 has 'Αμάν = Haman for the first named of the 7 eunuchs of the king, while Heb, has Mehuman. Scripture, however, distinguishes plainly between Mehuman and Memucan, the former being one of the 7 eunuchs of the king, while the latter is one of the "seven princes of Persia and Media" who act as his counsellors (so Heb.; Lxx and Luc. omit "seven" and name only 3 of these "princes").

αὐτῷ ζημιῶσαι μεγάλην ζημίαν καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα διαγγείλαι τοίς έθνεσιν τὰ περί τῆς βασιλίσσης κεκυρωμένα, έδοξε την "Αστην εκβαλείν καὶ

δοῦναι τὴν ἐκείνης τιμὴν έτέρα γυναικί.

(2) Διακείμενος δέι πρός αὐτὴν έρωτικῶς καὶ μὴ 1 195 φέρων τὴν διάζευξιν, καταλλαγῆναι μὲν αὐτῆ διὰ τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἐδύνατο, λυπούμενος δὲ ώς ἐπ'² άδυνάτοις οἷς ήθελε διετέλει. βλέποντες δ' αὐτὸν ούτως έχοντα χαλεπώς οι φίλοι συνεβούλευον την μέν της γυναικός μνήμην καὶ τὸν έρωτα μηδέν

196 ωφελούμενον εκβαλείν, ζητήσαι δε περιπέμψαντα καθ' όλην την οἰκουμένην παρθένους εὐπρεπεῖς, ών την προκριθείσαν έξειν γυναίκα σβέννυσθαι γαρ το προς την προτέραν φιλόστοργον έτέρας έπεισαγωγή, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἐκείνην εὔνουν ἀποσπώ-

197 μενον κατά μικρόν γίνεσθαι της συνούσης. πεισθείς δὲ τῆ συμβουλία ταύτη προσέταξέ τισιν ἐπιλεξαμένοις τὰς εὐδοκιμούσας ἐπ' εὐμορφία τῶν ἐν

198 τῆ βασιλεία παρθένων ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. συναχθεισων δέ πολλων εύρέθη τις έν Βαβυλωνι κόρη τῶν γονέων ἀμφοτέρων ὀρφανή, παρὰ τῷ θείῳ Μαρδοχαίῳ (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ) τρεφομένη· οὖτος δ' ἦν ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, τῶν δὲ 199 πρώτον παρά τοις 'Ιουδαίοις. πασῶν δὲ τὴν

1 + ὁ βασιλεύς V. 2 ed. pr.: ἐν codd.

^a Scripture does not tell what happened to Vashti after she was dethroned. According to rabbinic tradition she was executed, cf. Ginzberg iv. 378, vi. 456.

The preceding is an amplification of Scripture.
According to Scripture Esther was then in Susa with Mordecai. Josephus's reference to Babylon is apparently based on Est. ii. 6, which says that Mordecai was one of the Jews whom Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, had 408

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who had so grievously insulted him and, when he had done this, to announce to the nations what had been decreed against the queen; and so it was decided to send Astē away a and to give her high position

to another woman.

(2) Now, although the king was in love with her Artaxerxes decides to and could not bear the separation, he could not choose a because of the law, be reconciled to her, and so he new wife. continued to grieve at not being able to obtain his desire. But, when his friends saw him in this unhappy state, they advised him to cast out the memory of his wife and his love for her, which was doing him no good, and to send throughout the entire habitable world in search of beautiful virgins and take as his wife the one who pleased him best, for, they said, his passion for his former wife would be quelled by replacing her with another, and his affection for her would gradually be diverted to the woman living with him.b Following this advice, therefore, he commanded some of his men to select those virgins in the kingdom who were most esteemed for beauty, and bring them to him. Now, among the many who The Jew were gathered together, there was found in Babylon and his a girl who had lost both parents and was being niece Esther. brought up in the home of her uncle, d his name being Esther ii. 5 Mordecai.6 He was of the tribe of Benjamin and was one of the chief men among the Jews. And

taken captive-presumably to Babylon. According to rabbinic tradition Mordecai, after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, accompanied Cyrus to Shushan (Susa) and there

established an academy, cf. Ginzberg iv. 383.

d Scripture says that Esther was the daughter of Mordecai's uncle, i.e. his cousin, but rabbinic tradition, like

Josephus, makes her his niece.

Gr. Mardochaios, as in Lxx.

1 Cf. § 185 note e.

Ἐσθῆρα συνέβαινε (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτῇ τοὔνομα) τῷ κάλλει διαφέρειν καὶ τὴν¹ χάριν τοῦ προσώπου 200 τὰς ὄψεις τῶν θεωμένων μᾶλλον ἐπάγεσθαι. παρα-

200 τὰς ὄψεις τῶν θεωμένων μᾶλλον ἐπάγεσθαί. παραδοθεῖσα δὲ αὕτη τινι τῶν εὐνούχων εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν πάσης ἐτύγχανε προνοίας, ἀρωμάτων ἀφθονία καὶ πολυτελεία τῶν ἀλειμμάτων ὧν χρήζει τὰ σώματα καταρδομένη,² καὶ τούτων ἀπέλαυον ἐπὶ μῆνας

201 εξ τετρακόσιαι τον ἀριθμον οὖσαι. ὅτε δ' ἐνόμιζεν ἀποχρώντως τῷ προειρημένω χρόνω τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν ταῖς παρθένοις³ καὶ τοῦ βαδίζειν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ κοίτην βασιλέως ἀξίας ἤδη γεγονέναι, καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν μίαν ἔπεμπε τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεσομένην. ὁ δὲ πλησιάζων εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμπε πρὸς τὸν εὐνοῦχον.

202 ἀφικομένης δὲ τῆς Ἐσθήρας πρὸς αὐτόν, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῆ καὶ πεσών τῆς κόρης εἰς ἔρωτα νομίμως αὐτὴν ἄγεται γυναῖκα καὶ γάμους αὐτῆ ποιεῖται δωδεκάτω μηνὶ έβδόμου ἔτους τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας,

203 'Αδάρω⁴ καλουμένω. διέπεμψε δε τους άγγάρους λεγομένους εἰς πᾶν ἔθνος, εορτάζειν τους γάμους παραγγέλλων, αὐτὸς δε Πέρσας καὶ τους πρώτους τῶν ἐθνῶν εστιῷ ἐπὶ μῆνα ὅλον ὑπὲρ τῶν γάμων

1 διὰ τὴν Cocceji.

² παραδοθείσαι δέ αὐται . . . ἐτύγχανον . . . καταρδόμεναι ex Lat. Niese.

3 Niese: τὰς παρθένους codd.

4 ex Lat. Naber: 'Αδέρω LA: 'Αδέρου PFV: Δεραίου W.

5 + καὶ τοὺς Μήδους LAVW.

b Lit. "sprinkled."

^c 12, according to Scripture.

d Scripture does not specify the number of maidens.

^a Josephus does not comment on the fact that in Scripture she is also called Hadassah.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 199-203

Esther—this was her name a—surpassed all women in beauty, and the grace of her countenance greatly attracted the eyes of all who beheld her. Being, therefore, given over to one of the eunuchs to be cared for, she received every attention and was anointed b with an abundance of spices and costly unguents, such as women's bodies need. This was the treatment enjoyed for six c months by the maidens, who were four hundred in number.d Then, when he thought that the virgins had had sufficient care in the forementioned period of time and were now fit to come into the king's bed, he sent one every day to lie with the king, who, after having intercourse with her, at once sent her back to the cunuch. But, when Esther came to him, he was pleased with Artaxerxes her and then, having fallen in love with her, made as his wife. her his lawful wife and held their wedding in the Estherii. 16. twelfth month, called Adar, in the seventh year of his reign. He also sent out messengers called angaroi f to every nation, inviting them to celebrate the wedding, while he himself entertained the Persians and the chief men of the nations for a whole month in honour of his marriage; and, when

tenth month, which is the month of Tebeth (approximately January)." Strictly speaking, this was not the date of the wedding but when Esther "was taken to King Ahasuerus, into his palace." Scripture does not specify how long afterward the wedding was celebrated.

1 Unscriptural detail, cf. Herodotus iii. 126. The Gr. angaros, derived from Persian, is ultimately of Babylonian

origin.

The variant adds "and the Medes."

^h For 7 days, according to LXX; Heb. does not say how long the feast lasted. Josephus, moreover, omits the scriptural detail of the royal amnesty then proclaimed.

αὐτοῦ, εἰσελθούσης δὲ εἰς τὸ βασίλειον περιτίθησι αὐτἢ τὸ διάδημα, καὶ συνώκησεν οὕτως Ἐσθήρ, μὴ ποιήσασα φανερὸν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔθνος ἐξ οὖπερ εἴη

- 204 τυγχάνουσα. μεταβάς δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτῆς ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Σοῦσα τῆς Περσίδος αὐτόθι διῆγεν, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρίβων καὶ πυνθανόμενος περὶ τῆς κόρης τίνα διάγει τρόπον ἔστεργεν γὰρ αὐτὴν ὡς αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα.
- 205 (3) "Εθηκε δὲ καὶ νόμον ὁ βασιλεὺς ὥστε μηδένα τῶν ἰδίων¹ αὐτῷ προσιέναι μὴ κληθέντα, ὁπηνίκα ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καθέζοιτο. περιεστήκεσαν δὲ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ πελέκεις ἔχοντες ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὸ κολάζειν τοὺς προσιόντας ἀκλήτους τῷ θρόνῳ.
- 206 καθήστο μέντοι λύγον χρυσέαν έχων αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς, ἣν ὅτε² τινὰ σώζειν ἤθελε τῶν ἀκλήτως προσιόντων ἐξέτεινε πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ δὲ ἀπτόμενος αὐτῆς ἀκίνδυνος ἦν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀρκούντως ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.
- 207 (4) Χρόνω δ' ὕστερον ἐπιβουλευσάντων τῷ

¹ ἰδιωτῶν conj. Chamonard. ² Dindorf: ὅταν codd. E.

a Cf. § 198 note c.

In Est. ii. 19 Heb. has the puzzling statement, "And

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 203-207

Esther entered the palace, he placed the diadem on her head, and so she lived with him but did not reveal to him the nation from which she came. Then her uncle moved from Babylon to Susa in Persia and dwelt there; a every day he lingered about the palace, inquiring about the girl and how she fared,

for he loved her as his own daughter.b

(3) Now the king had made a law that none of his The law people c should approach him whenever he sat on approaching the throne, unless he were summoned. And round the throne, his throne stood men with axes to punish any who approached the throne without being summoned. The king himself, however, as he sat held a golden wand which he extended to anyone whom he wished to save of those who approached without being summoned; and whoever touched this was out of danger. But of these things we have now said enough.^d

(4) Some time afterward Bagathoos e and Theo-

when the virgins were gathered a second time, Mordecai sat in the king's gate," while LXX merely reads "And Mordecai was in attendance $(\partial\theta\rho\rho\pi e\nu e\nu)$ in the court." Josephus's statement above is apparently based on the LXX text of this verse, although he may have connected the Heb. here with the earlier verse, ii. 11, which says that Mordecai came to the women's palace every day to inquire about Esther—this being during the period before she was chosen queen.

^c For ιδίων "his own (people)" Chamonard suggests

ίδιωτῶν " commoners."

d The preceding is an amplification of Est. v. 2, cf. § 238. The detail about the "men with axes" is an invention of Josephus. For rabbinic traditions concerning the difficulties of approaching the king cf. Ginzberg iv. 427 ff.

⁶ Bibl. Bigthan; most LXX MSS. omit this and the following name, but cod. Sin. corr. has Bayaθάν, and the LXX in apocr.

add. A has Γαβαθά, Luc. 'Αστα(γ)ής.

413

βασιλεί Βαγαθώου καὶ Θεοδέστου, Βαρνάβαζος τῶν εὐνούχων οἰκέτης τοῦ ἐτέρου, τὸ γένος ὧν Ἰουδαῖος, συνεὶς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῷ θείω κατεμήνυσε τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ βασιλέως Μαρδοχαίω, ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς Ἐσθήρας φανεροὺς ἐποίησε τῷ βασιλεῖ

208 τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας. ταραχθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τἀληθὲς ἐξεῦρεν καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐνούχους ἀνεσταύρωσεν, τῷ δὲ Μαρδοχαίω τότε μὲν οὐδὲν παρέσχεν ώς αἰτίω τῆς σωτηρίας γεγονότι, μόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς τὰ ὑπομνήματα συγγραφομένοις ἐκέλευσε σημειώσασθαι καὶ προσμένειν αὐτὸν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ὅντα φίλον ἀναγκαιότατον τῷ βασιλεῖ.

209 (5) 'Αμάνην δέ 'Αμαδάθου³ μέν υίον το γένος δε 'Αμαληκίτην εἰσιόντα προς τον βασιλέα προσεκύνουν οι τε ξένοι και Πέρσαι, ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν

¹ Θεοδοσίτου PFV. ² Φαρνάβαζος conj. Hudson. ³ 'Αμαθάδου FLA: 'Αμαδάνου W.

b Suggested variant Pharnabazos (the Greek form of a common Iranian name). Barnabazos is an invention of Josephus (or his non-biblical source). According to Scripture Mordecai was sitting in "the gate of the king" when the eunuchs were plotting, and "the thing became known to Mordecai"; according to the Lxx apoer. add. A Mordecai himself overheard the plot. For rabbinic legends about

^a Variant Theodositës; bibl. Teresh, Lxx cod. Sin. corr. Θαράς, Lxx apocr. add. A Θάρρα, Luc. Θεδευτόs. Josephus's form, Theodestës, seems to be based on the Luc. reading in the apocr. add., which, in turn, may be a corruption of Heb. Tereš, as r and d are very much alike in Heb. script, as Reinach notes. II. Willrich (cited by C. Emmet in R. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, i. 160 n. 8) connects the names Theodestës in Josephus and Thedeutos in Luc. with the Theodotos mentioned in 3 Maccabees i. 2 as an Egyptian deserter who attempted to kill King Ptolemy IV. The suggestion is ingenious but not convincing.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 207-209

destēs a plotted against the king, but Barnabazos, Mordecal discovers a the servant of one of these eunuchs, who was a Jew plot against by race, discovered their plot and revealed it to the king. Mordecai, the uncle of the king's wife, and he in turn through Esther exposed the plotters to the king. The king, being alarmed, investigated and found out the truth and crucified the eunuchs: as for Mordecai, at the time he gave him no reward for saving his life but only ordered the keepers of the archives to note his name and let him remain in the palace as a very close friend of the king.

(5) Now whenever Haman, the son of Amada-Haman's thos, who was of Amalekite descent, went in to the hatred of Mordecai king, the foreigners and Persians g prostrated them- and the

Esther iii. 1

Mordecai's part in detecting the conspiracy cf. Ginzberg iv. 391 ff.

e This last detail about Mordecai's remaining in the palace "as a very close friend of the king" seems to be based on apocr. add. A (xii. 25) which reads, "and the king commanded that Mardochaios should be in attendance in the court, and he gave him gifts for these things," Luc. "and the king commanded concerning Mardochaios that he should be in attendance in the king's court and openly $(\epsilon m\phi a v \hat{\omega} s)$ watch every door." The Heb. text of Est. ii. 23 says nothing as to Mordecai's position after the eunuchs were executed, while LXX reads "the king ordered a memorial to be written in the royal library in praise of Mardochaios's loyalty."

d Gr. Amanes, Lxx 'Aμάν. · So LXX: bibl. Hammedatha.

' So Targum and rabbinic tradition explain the Heb. gentilic hā-'agāgī (A.V. "Agagite"; Lxx Βουγαΐος, Luc. Γωγαΐος,—in apocr. add. A Luc. has "Macedonian"), making Haman a descendant of Agag, "the king of the Amalekites" in the time of Saul (1 Sam. xv. 8). For rabbinic traditions concerning the complete genealogy of Haman ef. Ginzberg vi. 462 ff.

Heb. " all the servants of the king who were in the king's gate," Lxx "all those in the court," Luc. "all (men)."

415

JOSEPHUS

τιμὴν παρ' αὐτῶν 'Αρταξέρξου κελεύοντος γενέσθαι.
210 Μαρδοχαίου δὲ διὰ σοφίαν καὶ τὸν οἴκοθεν αὐτοῦ
νόμον οὐ προσκυνοῦντος ἄνθρωπον,¹ παραφυλάξας
ὁ 'Αμάνης ἐπυνθάνετο πόθεν εἴη. μαθὼν δ' αὐτὸν
ὄντα 'Ιουδαῖον ἠγανάκτησε καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἶπεν
ώς οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι Πέρσαι προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτόν,

211 οὖτος δὲ δοῦλος ὧν οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι θελήσας τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον, αὐτὸν μὲν αἰτήσασθαι πρὸς κόλασιν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως μικρὸν ἡγήσατο, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος αὐτοῦ διέγνω πᾶν ἀφανίσαι καὶ γὰρ φύσει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀπηχθάνετο, ὅτι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν ἸΑμαληκιτῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἦν αὐτός,

212 ύπ' αὐτῶν διέφθαρτο. προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ βασιλεῖ κατηγόρει λέγων ἔθνος εἶναί τι πονηρόν, διεσπάρθαι δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλευομένης οἰκουμένης, ἄμικτον ἀσύμφυλον οὕτε θρησκείαν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχον οὕτε νόμοις χρώμενον δμοίοις, " ἐχθρὸν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν τῷ σῷ λαῷ καὶ ἄπασιν ἀνθρώ-213 ποις. τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος, εἴ τινα θέλεις τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι, κελεύσεις πρόρριζον ἀπ-

1 τον ἄνθρωπον Bekker,

^a Scripture gives no explanation of Mordecai's refusal to bow down.

b Suggested variant "the."

^c This explanation of Haman's hatred of the Jews is an unscriptural detail, but also found in the Targum to this verse (iii. 6). Josephus here passes over the confused statement in vs. 7 of which the Heb. text reads, "In the first month, which is the month of Nisan, in the twelfth year of King Ahasuerus, he cast Pur, that is, the lot before Haman from day to day and from month to the twelfth month, which is the month of Adar." Lxx reads more intelligibly, "And

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 209-213

selves before him, for Artaxerxes had ordered that he should receive this honour from them. But Mordecai because of his wisdom and his native law a would not prostrate himself before any b man, and Haman, having observed this, inquired from what people he came. And when he learned that he was a Jew, he became indignant and remarked to himself that whereas the free-born Persians prostrated themselves before him, this man, who was a slave, did not see fit to do so. And although he wished to be avenged on Mordecai, he considered it too little to ask that he alone be punished by the king, but decided to exterminate his whole nation, for he naturally hated the Jews because his own race, the Amalekites, had been destroyed by them. Accordingly, he went to the king and brought a charge, saving that there was a certain wicked nation scattered throughout the habitable land ruled by him, which was unfriendly and unsocial and neither had the same religion nor practised the same laws as others, "but both by its customs and practices it is the enemy of your people and of all mankind. If you wish to lay up a store of good deeds d with your subjects, you will give orders to destroy this nation

he made a decree in the twelfth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, and he cast lots day by day and month by month, to destroy the race of Mardochaios in one day; and the lot fell on the fourteenth day of the month which is Adar "—meaning that the massacre was set for the 14th day of Adar (the 12th month): This is the date given in apocr. add. B (xiii. 6) which is followed by Josephus below, § 219; but according to Scripture (iii. 13 Heb. and Luc.,—Lxx omits the day) the massacre was to take place on the 13th of Adar. Josephus ignores this discrepancy in his sources.

⁴ εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι is a Thucydidean phrase, cf.

Thuc. i. 128.

ολέσθαι μηδέ τι αὐτοῦ λείψανον καταλιπεῖν μήτ' είς δουλείαν τινῶν φυλαχθέντων μήτε αἰχμαλωσίαν."

214 ΐνα μέντοι μὴ ζημιωθη τοὺς φόρους τοὺς πάρ' αὐτῶν γινομένους, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας αὐτὸς έπηγγείλατο μυριάδας δώσειν ταλάντων ἀργυρίου τέσσαρας, ὅπου ἂν κελεύση. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ χρήματα παρέχειν ήδέως έλεγεν, ίν' από τούτων είρηνευθη τῶν κακῶν ἡ βασιλεία.

215 (6) Ταῦτα τοῦ ᾿Αμάνου ἀξιώσαντος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῷ χαρίζεται καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώ-πους, ὤστε ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅ τι βούλεται. τυχὼν δε ων επεθύμει 'Αμάνης παραχρημα πέμπει διάταγμα ώς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ἄπαντα τὰ ἔθνη

216 περιέχον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: "βασιλεύς μέγας 'Αρταξέρξης τοῖς ἀπὸ 'Ινδικῆς ἔως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας έπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ έκατὸν σατραπειῶν ἄρχουσι τάδε γράφει. πολλων έθνων ἄρξας καὶ πάσης ής έβουλήθην κρατήσας οἰκουμένης καὶ μηδέν ὑπὸ τῆς εξουσίας ὑπερήφανον μηδε σκαιον εἰς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἀναγκασθεὶς ἁμαρτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῆ καὶ πρᾶον ἐμαυτὸν παρασχών καὶ προνοησάμενος εἰρήνης καὶ εὐνομίας² αὐτοῖς, ἐζήτουν πῶς εἰς 217 ἄπαντα τούτων ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῖς γένοιτο. τοῦ δὲ

διὰ σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην παρ' ἐμοὶ τὴν πρώτην μοίραν δόξης καὶ τιμής έχοντος καὶ μετ'

¹ ζημιωθη̂s PFLA.
 ² εὐνομίας ἀφορμὰς LA: εὐνομίαν W.

^a Bibl. 10. Scripture adds that the money was to be paid into the royal treasury.

^b This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

o On the 13th day of the 1st month (Nisan), according to Scripture (iii. 12). Josephus also omits the scriptural detail 418

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 213-217

root and branch and leave not a remnant of them to be kept either in slavery or in captivity." 'Lest the king, however, suffer the loss of the tribute collected from them, he offered to give out of his own property forty a thousand talents of silver whenever the king should give the order. sum of money he said he would gladly furnish in order that the kingdom might be rid of this plague

and have peace.b

(6) After Haman had made this request, the king Haman presented him with both the money and the men to the king's do as he pleased with them. And, on obtaining his edict against the Jews. desire, Haman immediately sent out an edict c in Esther iii. the king's name to all the nations, of which the con- 11. tents were as follows.d "The decree of the great Apoer. king Artaxerxes to the rulers of the one hundred xiii, 1 and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia: (Add. B 1). While I have ruled over many nations and have had dominion over all the habitable land which I could wish, I have not been compelled because of my power to wrong my subjects by any arrogant or brutal act, but have shown myself considerate and mild and have looked out for their peace and good government, seeking how they might enjoy these things for ever. But Haman, who because of his prudence and uprightness receives the first share of glory and honour from me and because of his

(vs. 10) that the king gave Haman his seal-ring (as a symbol

of authority).

d The following decree is a close paraphrase of the text given in the apocr. Esther, xiii. 1 ff. Scripture here (iii. 12-13) says briefly that the king's letter was sent to all the officers throughout the kingdom and ordered them to kill all the Jews on the 13th day of the 12th month (Adar), cf. above, note c, p. 416.

έμε δευτέρου δια πίστιν και βέβαιον εὔνοιαν Αμάνου κηδεμονικως ύποδείξαντός μοι παντά-Αμανου κηδεμονικως υποδειξαντος μοι παντάπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναμεμίχθαι δυσμενὲς ἔθνος
καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλόκοτον καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν
ἀνυπότακτον καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ
τὴν μοναρχίαν μισοῦν καὶ δύσνουν τοῖς ἡμετέροις
218 πράγμασι, κελεύω τοὺς δηλουμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ
δευτέρου μου πατρὸς ᾿Αμάνου πάντας σὺν γυναιξὶ
καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσαι μηδεμίαν φειδῶ ποιησαμένους,

μηδ' έλέω πλέον η τοις επεσταλμένοις πεισθέντας1

219 παρακοθσαι των γεγραμμένων. καὶ τοθτο γενέσθαι βούλομαι τῆ τετράδι καὶ δεκάτη τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους, ὅπως οἱ πανταχόθεν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι μιᾳ ἡμέρᾳ διαφθαρέντες τοῦ λοιποῦ μετ' εἰρήνης ήμιν τὸν βίον διάγειν παρέχωσι."

220 τούτου κομισθέντος τοῦ προστάγματος εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔτοιμοι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰου-δαίων ἀπώλειαν² εἰς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέραν ἐγίνοντο ἐσπεύδετο δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῦς Σούσοις.³

έγινοντο εσπευδείο σε πουτο και εν ποις 2000οις.
ό μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ ᾿Αμάνης πρὸς εὐωχίαις καὶ πότοις ἦσαν, ἐν ταραχῆ δ' ἦν ἡ πόλις.
(7) Ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον, περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ σάκκον ἐνδυσάμενος καὶ καταχεάμενος σποδιὰν διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐφέρετο βοῶν ὅτι μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαν ἔθνος ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ τοῦτο λέγων ἔως τῶν βασιλείων ἦλθε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἔστη· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν εἰσελθεῖν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον 222 περικειμένω σχῆμα. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ πάντες ἐποίησαν οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐν αῖς τὰ περί τούτων προετέθη γράμματα, θρηνοῦντες καὶ

ὑπαχθέντας LAW.
 + καὶ παντελῆ ἐξολόθρευσιν V.
 Hudson, cf Lat. Susis: τῆ Σούση codd.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 217-222

faithfulness and steadfast loyalty is second after myself, has solicitously shown me that there is an unfriendly nation mingled with all mankind, which has peculiar laws, is insubordinate to kings, is different in its customs, hates monarchy and is disloyal to our government, wherefore I order you to destroy all those who are pointed out by Haman, my second father, with their wives and children, without sparing anyone or disobeying my written orders by giving more heed to pity than to my instructions. It is my will that this shall take place on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of the present year, in order that our enemies everywhere may be destroyed in one day and so let us lead our lives in peace thereafter." When this decree was brought to the cities and the country districts, they all made themselves ready for the destruction of the Jews on the forementioned day. And haste was made in Susa as well. And so the king and Haman were busy with feasting and drinking, while the city was in commotion

(7) When Mordecai learned what had been done, Esther iii. he rent his clothes, put on sackcloth, sprinkled ashes 14. on his head and went about the city, crying that a nation which had done no wrong was to be destroved; a still saying this, he came as far as the palace but stopped there, for it was not lawful for him to enter it clothed in such attire. And the same was done by all the Jews in the cities in Mordecai's which the decree concerning these matters had distress. Esther iv. 1. been published, they also wailing and lamenting

The words "that a nation which had done no wrong," etc. are taken from the LXX; Heb. has merely "cried out with a loud and bitter cry."

τὰς κατηγγελμένας αὐτοῖς συμφορὰς ὀδυρόμενοι. ώς δ' ἀπήγγειλάν τινες τῆ βασιλίσση τὸν Μαρ- δοχαῖον ἐν οὕτως οἰκτρῷ σχήματι πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐστῶτα, ταραχθεῖσα πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐξέπεμπε 223 τοὺς μεταμφιάσοντας αὐτόν. οὐ πεισθέντος δὲ ἀποδύσασθαι τὸν σάκκον (οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ῷ τοῦτον ἀναγκασθείη λαβεῖν δεινῷ πεπαῦσθαι τοῦτο) προσ-

αποουσασθαί τον σακκον (ου γάρ εφ' ώ τουτον άναγκασθείη λαβειν δεινώ πεπαυσθαι τουτο) προσκαλεσαμένη τον ευνουχον 'Αχράθεον (και γάρ ἔτυχεν αυτή παρών) ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Μαρδοχαίον γνωσόμενον τίνος συμβεβηκότος αυτώ σκυθρωπου πενθεί και τὸ σχήμα τουτο περικείμενος ουδ' 224 αυτής παρακαλούσης ἀπέθετο. ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαίος

224 αυτής παρακαλουσής απέθετο. Το δε Μαροοχαίος ἐπέδειξε τῷ εὐνούχῳ τὴν αἰτίαν, τό τε γράμμα τὸ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς ἄπασαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ χώραν διαπεμφθὲν καὶ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ὑπόσχεσιν ἢ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ ἔθνους ἀνεῖτο¹

225 παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ᾿Αμάνης. δοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐν Σούσοις προτεθέντων κομίσαι τῷ ᾿Εσθῆρι, περὶ² τούτων δεηθῆναι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνετέλλετο καὶ σωτηρίας ἔνεκα τοῦ ἔθνους μὴ ἀδοξῆσαι λαβεῖν σχῆμα ταπεινόν, ῷ παραιτήσεται τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κινδυνεύοντας ἀπολέσθαι τὸν γὰρ τὴν δευτέραν ἔχοντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμὴν ᾿Αμάνην κατηγορήσαντα τῶν Ἰουδαίων 226 παρωξυγκέναι κατ' αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα. ταῦτα

226 παρωξυγκέναι κατ' αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα. ταῦτα γνοῦσα πέμπει πάλιν πρὸς Μαρδοχαῖον δηλοῦσα ὅτι μήτε κληθείη πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὁ εἰσ-

1 ωνήσατο ed. pr.: ἢτεῖτο P: comparaverat Lat.
2 E: καὶ περὶ codd.

a Mordecai's explanation is an unscriptural detail. For a rabbinic parallel cf. Ginzberg iv. 419.
 b Cf. Lxx 'Aγραθαῖος; bibl. Hatach.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 222-226

the disaster which had been announced to them. But, when certain persons reported to the queen that Mordecai was standing before the court in this miserable attire, she was troubled by what she heard and sent out men to dress him differently. As he could not, however, be persuaded to take off his sackcloth-for the danger which had compelled him to wear it, he said, was not yet over a-she called to her the eunuch Achratheos, b who happened to be nearby, and sent him to Mordecai to find out what depressing thing had happened to him that he was in mourning and clothed in that attire, which he would not take off even at her request. Thereupon Mordecai Mordecai explained the reason to the eunuch, which asks Esther to save was the decree against the Jews sent throughout the the Jews. entire country ruled by the king, and the promise of the money with which Haman had bought d from the king the destruction of their nation. Then he gave him a copy of the decree published in Susa to take to Esther, and instructed her to petition the king concerning these matters, and for the safety of her nation not to consider it beneath her dignity to put on humble attire in which to intercede for the Jews who were in danger. For, he said, Haman, who held a place of honour second to the king, had accused the Jews and provoked his anger against them. When she learned these things, she again sent to Mordecai, informing him that she had not been summoned by

Esther iv. 7

So LXX; Heb. "whom he (the king) had set before her" (A.V. " had appointed to attend upon her ").

d Variant "asked." The details about Esther's humble attire and Haman's action are based on the LXX addition to Est. iv. 8; Heb. has merely "that she should go into the king to make supplication to him and to make request before him for her people."

μή τινα σώζειν βουλόμενος προτείνειε τὸν χρυσῆν ράβδον ω γάρι τοῦτο ποιήσειεν ὁ βασιλεύς ἀκλήτω προς αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντι, οῦτος οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει 227 μόνος, άλλα συγγνώμης τυχών σώζεται. Μαρδοχαίος δε τούτους κομίσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐνούχου παρὰ τῆς Ἐσθῆρος τοὺς λόγους ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῆ μὴ τὴν ἰδίαν οὕτω σκοπεῖν σωτηρίαν, άλλὰ τὴν κοινὴν τοῦ ἔθνους εἰ νὰρ άμελήσειε τούτου νῦν, ἔσεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ βοήθειαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντως, αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ τὸν πατρῷον οξκον αὐτης ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλιγωρηθέντων διαφθαρή-

228 σεσθαι. ή δε 'Εσθήρ επέστειλε μεν τω Μαρδοχαίω, τον αὐτὸν πέμψασα διάκονον, εἰς Σοῦσα πορευθέντι τους έκει 'Ιουδαίους είς έκκλησίαν συναγαγείν και νηστεύσαι πάντων ἀποσχομένους ύπερ αὐτης επὶ τρεῖς ημέρας, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ποιήσασα μετά τῶν θεραπαινίδων τότε προσελεύσεσθαι τῶ βασιλεί παρά τὸν νόμον ὑπισχνεῖτο, κᾶν ἀποθανεῖν δέη τοῦτο ὑπομενεῖν.3

(8) Καὶ Μαρδοχαῖος μὲν κατὰ τὰς τῆς Ἐσθῆρος έντολας τόν τε λαον εποίησε νηστεύσαι, και τον θεὸν αὐτὸς ἱκέτευσε μηδὲ νῦν ὑπεριδεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔθνος ἀπολλύμενον, ἀλλ' ώς καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῦ πολλάκις προενόησε καὶ άμαρτόντι συνέγνω, καὶ νῦν αὐτὸ ῥύσασθαι τῆς κατηγγελμένης ἀπωλείας.

1 vào av FLAVW.

3 Niese: ὑπομένειν codd. Ε.

⁵ W: ἰκετεῦσαι rell. Ε Lat.

² πρός αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντι FVW Lat.: πρὸς αὐτὸν έλθόντι LA: προσελθόντι Ρ.

⁴ Ε: αὐτὸν PF: σὺν αὐτοῖς LAW: om. V.

a Chamonard and Reinach believe that this last sentence. 424

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI, 226-229

the king and that whoever went in to him without being summoned would die, unless the king, wishing to save him, extended the golden staff to him. For only one to whom the king did so, on his coming in to him without being summoned, obtained pardon and was saved from death.a Thereupon Mordecai ordered the eunuch who had brought this message to him from Esther to tell her not to look out for her own safety so much as the common safety of their nation; for if she now neglected them, they would surely receive help from God, while she and her father's house would be destroyed by those who had been neglected. Thereupon Esther sent the same attendant and instructed Mordecai to go to Susa b and gather the Jews there in assembly, adding that they should fast on her behalf and abstain from all food for three days; and she promised to do the same together with her maids, and then approach the king in spite of the law and, if she must die, to bear this bravely.

(8) c And so Mordecai in accordance with Esther's Mordecai instructions made the people fast, and himself and the supplicated God not to turn away now from His for delivernation, which was perishing, but, just as He had Apoer. often before provided for them and forgiven them Esther xiii. 8 when they sinned, so now also to deliver them from (Add. C1) the destruction with which they had been threatened.

which seems superfluous, is interpolated from § 206. Josephus is not seldom guilty of needless repetition.

b Josephus forgets that he has already indicated that Mordecai was in Susa, cf. § 221. In Scripture Esther says, "gather together all the Jews that are present in Susa."

The following section, down to § 242, is based on the apocr. additions, Est. xiii. 8-xv. 16.

Variant "with them."

230 οὐδὲ γὰρ άμαρτόν τι κινδυνεύειν ἀκλεῶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν γὰρ εἰδέναι¹ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ᾿Αμάνου ὀργῆς, " ὅτι μὴ προσεκύνησα μηδ' ἣν σοί, δέσποτα," φησίν, " τιμὴν παρεῖχον, ταύτην ἐκείνῳ παρασχεῖν ὑπέμενον, ὀργισθεὶς ταῦτα κατὰ τῶν μὴ παραβαινόντων τοὺς σοὺς νόμους ἐμηχανήσατο."

231 τάς δ' αὐτὰς ἡφίει καὶ τὸ πληθος φωνάς, παρακαλοῦν προνοήσαι τὸν θεὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἁπάση τῆ γῆ² Ἰσραηλίτας ἐξελέσθαι τῆς μελλούσης συμφορᾶς καὶ γὰρ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτὴν είχον ἤδη καὶ προσεδόκων. ἰκέτευε δὲ καὶ Ἐσθὴρ τὸν θεὸν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ, ρίψασα κατὰ

232 της γης έαυτην καί πενθικήν εσθητα περιθεμένη, και τροφη και ποτῷ και τοις ήδέσιν ἀποταξαμένη, τρισιν ήμέραις ἤτει τὸν θεὸν ἐλεηθηναι μὲν αὐτήν, δόξαι δ' ὀφθεῖσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ πιθανην μὲν τοὺς λόγους παρακαλοῦσαν, τὸ δὲ είδος εὐπρεπεστέραν

233 της τάχιον οὖσαν, ἵν' ἀμφοτέροις καὶ πρὸς την παραίτησιν ὀργης, εἴ τι παροξυνθείη πρὸς αὐτην ὁ βασιλεύς, χρήσαιτο καὶ πρὸς την συνηγορίαν τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις σαλευόντων, μῖσός τε γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῶν

τῦναι LAW.
 τῆ γῆ P: γῆ rell.
 καὶ τροφῆ . . . ἀποταξαμένη om. PFV.

a Variant "he (Mordecai) was."

b Variant "every."

The variant omits "and refusing . . . comforts"; these words are, moreover, an addition by Josephus.

d Or, punctuating differently, as other translators do, we

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For, he said, it was not for any sin that they were in peril of being ingloriously put to death, but He knew the cause of Haman's anger--" because I did not prostrate myself before him nor bring myself to give him the honour which I have given Thee, O Lord, he was angered and has devised these measures against those who would not transgress Thy laws." The same cry went up from the multitude, who besought God to provide for their safety and deliver the Israelites in all the b land from the disaster which was about to befall them; for they saw it already before their eyes and were awaiting it. And Esther Esther's too supplicated God in the manner of her country, tion. throwing herself on the ground and putting on a Apocr.

Esther mourner's dress and refusing all food and drink and xiv. 1 (Add comforts; c and for three days she begged God d to C 12). take pity on her and grant that, when she appeared before the king, her words might seem persuasive as she pleaded, and her person be more beautiful than ever before, in order that she might use both these means to turn aside the king's anger if he should be provoked by her in any way, and be an advocate for her countrymen who were tottering on the brink of disaster, and that the king might be made to feel hatred toward the enemies of the Jews and those

might render, "refusing all food . . . for three days, she begged God," etc. This rendering might seem to be supported by the earlier passage, § 228, in which Esther promises to fast for 3 days. But here Josephus is probably thinking of the apocr. verse, xv. 1, which says that Esther prayed for 3 days,—so also Josephus writes in § 234. The matter is of no great consequence, perhaps, since the fasting and praying were synchronous, but I believe that here Josephus is laving emphasis on the length of her praying.

According to apocr. Esther, she asks for boldness and

eloquence.

'Ιουδαίων καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν αὐτοῖς τὴν μέλλουσαν, ἐὰν ὀλιγωρηθῶσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, κατασκευάσοντας.¹

234 (9) Ταθθ΄ ίκετεύουσα τον θεον επί τρεις ήμερας αποδύεται μεν την εσθητα εκείνην και το σχημα μεταβάλλει, κοσμησαμένη δ΄ ώς εχρην την βασίλισσαν συν δυσίν θεραπαίναις, ών ή μεν επερειδομένην αυτήν κούφως έφερεν, ή δε επομένη το βαθυ του ενδύματος και μέχρι της γης κεχυμένον άκροις απηώρει τοις δακτύλοις, ηκει προς τον βασιλέα, μεστη μεν το πρόσωπον ερυθήματος, προσηνές δε και σεμνον επικειμένη το κάλλος.

235 εἰσήει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ δέους. ὡς δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθεζομένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου γίνεται τὸν βασιλικὸν περικειμένου κόσμον (οὖτος δ' ἦν ἐκ ποικίλης μὲν ἐσθῆτος, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ λίθου

236 πολυτελοῦς), φοβερώτερον καὶ δι' αὐτὰ μᾶλλον θεασαμένη καί τι κἀκείνου προσιδόντος αὐτὴν ἀπηνέστερον καὶ διακεκαυμένῳ² ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τῷ προσώπῳ, πάρεσις αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ δέους λαμβάνει

237 καὶ τοῖς παρὰ πλευρὸν οὖσιν ἀχανὴς ἐπέπεσεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κατὰ βούλησιν οἶμαι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν μετέβαλε καὶ δείσας περὶ τῆ γυναικί, μὴ καὶ πάθη τι τῶν χειρόνων ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου,

238 ἀνεπήδησεν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτὴν ὑπολαβὼν ἀνεκτᾶτο, κατασπαζόμενός τε καὶ προσομιλῶν ἡδέως καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακαλῶν καὶ

 $^{^{1}}$ κατασκευάσοντος Λ : κατασκευάσαντος P: κατασκευάσαντας $FL^{1}W$: κατασκευάσαντα V.

² διακεκαλυμμένω PFV.
³ ταις . . . ούσαις ex Lat. conj. Hudson.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 233-238

who would, if the Jews were treated disdainfully by him, bring about the destruction that threatened them.a

(9) When she had supplicated God in this manner Esther for three days, she took off the dress which she was beautifies herself for wearing and changed her attire, adorning herself the king. as became the queen, and with her two maids, of Apoor. whom one lightly supported her as she leaned on her, (Add. D 1). and the other, following, lifted with the tips of her fingers the train of her robe which fell in folds on the ground, she came to the king; and, although her face was covered with blushes, she was adorned with a sweet and dignified beauty. It was with fear, however, that she went in to him. For, when she came into his presence, he was sitting on the throne in his royal apparel—this consisted of a variegated robe adorned with gold and precious stones-which made him seem to her more terrible; and also because he looked at her rather forbiddingly and with a countenance burning b with anger, she suddenly became faint with fear and fell senseless at the feet of those who stood beside her. But the king, by the will of God, I believe, changed his feeling and, fearing that his wife might have suffered some very serious injury through her fear, he leaped from his throne and raised her in his arms and brought her back to consciousness, embracing her and speaking to her endearingly and urging her to take heart and

a Josephus greatly abridges Esther's prayer as given in the apocrypha.

The variant "uncovered" is obviously corrupt, cf. LXX

πεπυρωμένον "flaming."

Josephus's expression "I believe" is curious in view of the plain statement of his source (apocr. Est.) that "God changed the spirit of the king into mildness."

μηδέν ύποπτεύειν σκυθρωπόν, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄκλητος ἔλθοι τὸν γὰρ νόμον τοῦτον πρὸς τοὺς

ακλητος ελθοι τον γαρ νομον τουτον προς τους ύπηκόους κεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὁμοίως αὐτῷ βασι-239 λεύουσαν πᾶσαν ἔχειν ἄδείαν. ταῦτα λέγων τὸ σκῆπτρον αὐτῆς ἐνετίθει τῆ χειρὶ καὶ τὴν ῥάβδον ἐξέτεινεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα αὐτῆς διὰ τὸν νόμον, 240 εὐλαβείας αὐτὴν ἀπολύων. ἡ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοὐτων ἀνα-ζωπυρήσασα, '' δέσποτα,'' εἶπεν, '' οὐκ ἔχω σοι

τὸ αἰφνίδιον τοῦ συμβεβηκότος μοι ράδίως εἰπεῖν ώς γαρ είδον σε μέγαν και καλον και φοβερόν, εὐθὺς ὑπεχώρει μοι τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ κατελειπόμην

241 ύπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς.'' μόλις δ' αὐτῆς καὶ ταῦτα φθεγγομένης και μετά ἀσθενείας, αὐτόν τε ἀγωνία καὶ ταραχὴ κατελάμβανε καὶ τὴν Ἐσθῆρα εὐψυχεῖν καὶ τὰ κρείττω προσδοκαν παρεθάρρυνεν, ώς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἡμίση τῆς βασιλείας, εἰ δέοιτο

242 τούτων, παραχωρήσοντος αὐτῆ. ή δὲ Ἐσθὴρ ἐφ' έστίασιν αὐτὸν μετὰ ᾿Αμάνου τοῦ φίλου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐλθεῖν ἢξίωσεν: παρεσκευακέναι γὰρ αὐτὴν δεῖπνον έλεγεν. ώς δ' επένευσε καὶ παρῆσαν, μεταξὺ πίνων την Ἐσθηρα ἐκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τί

243 βούλεται μηδενὸς γὰρ ἀτυχήσειν, μηδ' αν τὸ μέρος τῆς βασιλείας ἐθελήση λαβεῖν. ἡ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀνεβάλετο¹ φράζειν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτῆς βούλησιν, εὶ πάλιν ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ 'Αμάνου έφ' έστίασιν.

244 (10) Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὑποσχομένου ὁ ᾿Αμάνης ἐξῆλθε περιχαρὴς ἐπὶ τῷ μόνον ἠξιῶσθαι συν-δειπνεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρὰ τῆ Ἐσθῆρι, καὶ ὅτι μηδείς τοσαύτης άλλος τυγχάνει παρά τοις βασι-

¹ Niese: ἀνεβάλλετο codd. E.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 238-244

not to apprehend a gloomy fate because she had come to him without being summoned; for this law, he said, applied to his subjects, but she, who ruled equally with himself, had complete security. So saving he placed his sceptre in her hand and held out his staff over her bowed head a in accordance with the law, and thus freed her from anxiety. Through these acts she revived and said, "My Lord, it is not easy for me to tell you what suddenly came over me, for, so soon as I saw you looking so great and handsome and terrible, my spirit failed me and I was left without life." But, as she uttered these words with difficulty and weakly, anguish and alarm seized him. and he encouraged Esther to be of good cheer and to hope for the best, for, he said, he would grant her even half of the kingdom if she desired it. There-Esther upon Esther requested him to come to her with his invites the friend Haman to be entertained, for, she said, she Haman to a had prepared a banquet. He consented, and so they Esther v. 4. came; and, while he was drinking, he asked Esther to tell him what it was that she wished, for there was nothing, he said, which she could not obtain, even if she wished to have half the kingdom. But she put off telling him her wish until the following day, if he would come to her again with his friend Haman to be entertained.

(10) When the king had promised this, Haman Haman went out rejoicing that he alone had been thought plans to crucify worthy to dine with the king at Esther's palace and Mordecai. that no one else had obtained a similar honour from

Esther v. 9.

a It is not clear why Josephus distinguishes between a sceptre and a staff, since the apoer. Est. mentions only one golden staff (or sceptre, so Luc.) which the king "laid on her neck."

λεύσι τιμής. ἰδών δ' ἐν τῆ αὐλῆ Μαρδοχαΐον ύπερηγανάκτησεν οὐδεν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ 245 θεασαμένου πρός τιμην εγένετο. καὶ παρελθών πρός αύτον την γυναίκα Ζάρασαν έκάλεσε και τους φίλους. ὧν παρόντων διηγείτο την τιμην ής ου παρά τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπολαύοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῆς βασιλίσσης καὶ γὰρ σήμερον ὡς δειπνήσειε παρ αὐτῆ μόνος σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ κληθείη

246 πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν. ἔλεγέ τε μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι Μαρδοχαῖον ὁρῶντα ἐν τῆ αὐλῆ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ζαράσας εἰπούσης κελεῦσαι ξύλον κοπῆναι πηχῶν ἐξήκοντα³ καὶ πρωὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αἰτησάμενον ἀνασταυρῶσαι τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον, ἐπαινέσας τὴν γνώμην προσέταξε τοῖς οἰκέταις ξύλον ἐτοιμασαμένους στῆσαι τοῦτο ἐν

247 τῆ αὐλῆ πρὸς τιμωρίαν Μαρδοχαίου. καὶ τοῦτο 247 Τη αυτή προς Τιμωριαν Μαρουχαίου. και τουτο μεν ήν ετοιμον ο δε θεός κατεγέλα της 'Αμάνου πονηρας ελπίδος και το συμβησόμενον είδως ετέρπετο τῷ γενησομένῳ τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως διὰ 248 νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν ὕπνον. ὁ δ' οὐ βουλόμενος ἀργῶς ἀπολέσαι τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν, ἀλλ'

είς τι τῶν τῆ βασιλεία διαφερόντων αὐτὴν ἀναλώσαι, τὸν γραμματέα κομίσαντα καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων τὰ ὑπομνήματα καὶ τῶν ἰδίων 249 πράξεων ἀναγινώσκειν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν. κομί-

σαντος δέ καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντος εύρέθη τις δι'

¹ προς αυτον Hudson: ἔσω προς αυτον LAW: προς αυτον rell.: ἔσω E.

² WE Lat.: Γάζαγαν P: Γάζασαν rell.

³ πεντήκοντα WE Lat.

^a Amplification of Scripture.

Variants Gazasa, Gazaga; bibl. Zeresh, Lxx Ζωσάρα.
 Variant 50, as in Scripture.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 244-249

any of the kings.a But, when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was highly indignant, for no honour was shown him by Mordecai when he saw him. And, when he came home, he called Zarasa, b his wife, and his friends, and in their presence told of the honour which he enjoyed not only from the king but from the queen as well, for, he said, he had that day dined at her palace alone with the king and had been invited again for the following day. He also said that he was not pleased at seeing the Jew Mordecai in the court. Then Zarasa, his wife, told him to order a tree sixty cubits high to be cut down, and in the morning ask the king for leave to crucify Mordecai; and he praised her plan and ordered his servants to make the gallows ready and set it up in the court for the punishment of Mordecai. And so it was prepared. But God mocked Haman's wicked hopes, and knowing what was to happen, rejoiced at the event.d For that night He deprived Artaxerxes the king of sleep, and, as he did not wish to waste his hears of Mordecai's wakeful hours in idleness but to use them for some-loyalty. thing of importance to his kingdom, he commanded Esther vi. his scribe to bring him both the records of the kings who were before him and those of his own deeds, g and read them to him. And so, when he had brought them and was reading them, it was found that a certain man as a reward for his bravery on one occa-

d This sentence is an addition to Scripture, probably suggested by the LXX of Est. vi. 1, cf. following note.

1 Unscriptural detail.

So LXX; Heb., not mentioning God, has "That night the king could not sleep." For rabbinic legends about the curious means used by God to keep the king awake see Ginzberg iv. 433.

⁹ Bibl. "The book of records (lit. "memorial") of the chronicles."

άριστείαν έν τινι γέρας είληφως χώραν, ής και τὸ ονομα έγέγραπτο. έτερον δὲ διὰ πίστιν τετυχηκότα δωρεᾶς μηνύων ἦλθε καὶ ἐπὶ Βαγαθῶον¹ καὶ Θεοδέστην τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας εὐνούχους τῷ βασιλεί, ών μηνυτής Μαρδοχαίος ήν γεγενημένος.

250 φράσαντος δε τοῦτο μόνον τοῦ γραμματέως καὶ μεταβαίνοντος εἰς ἐτέραν πρᾶξιν ἐπέσχεν ὁ βασι-λεὺς πυνθανόμενος εἰ μὴ ἔχει γέρας αὐτῷ δοθὲν ἀναγεγραμμένον. ὁ δ' ὡς ἔφη μηδὲν εἶναι, κελεύσας ήσυχάζειν, τίς είη της νυκτός ώρα παρά των έπὶ

251 τούτω τεταγμένων έπυνθάνετο. μαθών δ' ώς ορθρος έστιν ήδη, προσέταξε των φίλων ον αν πρό της αὐλης ευρωσιν ήδη παρόντα τοῦτον αὐτῷ δηλοῦν. ἔτυχέ τε ώστε 'Αμάνην εύρεθηναι θαττον γάρ της συνήθους ώρας έληλύθει περί τοῦ Μαρ-

252 δοχαίου θανάτου δεησόμενος αὐτοῦ. τῶν οὖν θεραπόντων εἰπόντων ὅτι ᾿Αμάνης εἴη πρὸ τῆς αὐλης, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰσκαλέσαι. εἰσελθόντος δέ, "φίλον," εἶπεν, "είδως εμαυτῷ σὲ μόνον εὔνουν συμβουλεῦσαί μοι παρακαλῶ πῶς ἂν τιμή-σαιμί τινα στεργόμενον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ σφόδρα τῆς 253 ἐμαυτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀξίως.'' ὁ δὲ 'Αμάνης λογισάμενος ἣν ἂν δῷ γνώμην ταύτην δώσειν

ύπερ αύτοῦ (φιλείσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μόνον), ην ὤετο ἀρίστην είναι ταύτην φανεράν

1 LV (cf. supra § 207): Γαβαθώον FW: Γαβαταΐον rell.: Gabatheum Lat.

a The reading of these two instances of merit is an unscriptural detail.

b Variants Gabathoos, Gabataios; bibl. Bigthana, cf. 207 note e. ^c Bibl. Teresh, cf. § 207 note a. § 207 note e.

⁴ The preceding (from "whereupon the king told him to be quiet") is an amplification of Est. vi. 4, "And the king 434

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sion had received some land, the name of which was also written. Then, in mentioning another who had received a gift for his loyalty, a he also came to Bagathoos b and Theodestes,c the eunuchs who had plotted against the king and against whom Mordecai had informed. As the scribe merely said so much and was passing on to another incident, the king stopped him and inquired whether he did not find it written down that a reward had been given to this man. The scribe said that there was nothing, whereupon the king told him to stop, and inquired of those who were charged with this duty what hour of the night it was. And, when he learned that it was already morning, he commanded them to announce to him any of his friends whom they might find already waiting before the court.d Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he had come before the usual hour e to make his request of him concerning the death of Mordecai. And so, when the servants said that Haman was before the court, he ordered them to call him in, and, when he came, said, "Knowing that you are the only friend Haman loyal to me, I beg you to advise me how in a manner advises the worthy of my magnanimity I should honour one king how to honour greatly cherished by me." Thereupon Haman, re-Mordecai. flecting that whatever opinion he gave he would be Esther vi. 6. giving in his own behalf, since, he thought, he was the only one loved by the king, expressed that opinion

said, who is in the court," probably suggested by the Luc. additions to this verse and vs. 2, which mention the king's silent reflections on his treatment of Mordecai and the fact that it was morning.

° Cf. Luc. ('Αμὰν δὲ ώρθρίκει λαλῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ); Heb. and LXX do not specify the time of day when Haman appeared.

¹ This statement is an addition to Scripture.

254 ἐποίησεν. εἶπεν γάρ, " εἰ βούλοιο τὸν ἄνθρωπον ον φὴς ἀγαπῶν δόξη περιβαλεῖν, ποίησον ἐφ' ἴππου βαδίζειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσθῆτά σοι φοροῦντα καὶ περιαυχένιον χρυσοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ προάγοντα τῶν ἀναγκαίων φίλων ἔνα κηρύσσειν δι' ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι ταύτης τυγχάνει τῆς τιμῆς ὃν ἄν ὁ 255 βασιλεὺς τιμήση." ὁ μὲν οὖν 'Αμάνης ταῦτα συνεβούλευσεν, οἰόμενος εἰς αὐτὸν ἥξειν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἡσθεὶς τῆ παραινέσει "προελθών," φησίν, "ἔχεις γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν στοεπτόν ἐπιζήτησον καὶ τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν ὅππον

καὶ τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν στρεπτόν, ἐπιζήτησον Μαρδοχαΐον τὸν Ἰουδαΐον καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ δοὺς κήρυττε προάγων αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππον, σὰ γάρ, ἐφη,

κηρυττε προαγων αυτου τον ιππον, συ γαρ, εφη, " μοι φίλος ἀναγκαῖος, ἴσθι διάκονος ὧν χρηστὸς σύμβουλος ἐγένου. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν 256 ἔσται σώσαντί μου τὴν ψυχήν.'' τούτων ἀκούσας παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα τὴν διάνοιαν συνεσχέθη² καὶ πληγεὶς ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας ἔξεισιν ἄγων τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν περιαυχένιον, και τον Μαρδοχαΐον εύρων προ της αὐλης σάκκον ενδεδυμένον εκέλευσεν ἀποθέμενον ενδύσασθαι την 257 πορφύραν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ εἰδως τὰληθές, ἀλλὰ χλευά-ζεσθαι νομίζων '' ὧ κάκιστε πάντων ἀνθρώπων,''

είπεν, " ουτως ήμων ταις συμφοραις επεγγελάς"; πεισθείς δ' ώς ὁ βασιλεύς αὐτῶ γέρας τοῦτ' εἴη

> 1 κήρυττε om. PF Lat. ² Niese: συνεχέθη W: συνεχύθη rell. ³ ἐπιγελậs FLAVE: ἐγγελậs W Zonaras.

^a The "necklace of gold" is a substitution for the "royal crown" of Scripture (Heb.; Lxx and Luc. omit), Est. vi. 8. Possibly it is a reminiscence of the gold necklace given to Daniel as a reward, cf. Ant. x. 240. For rabbinic amplifica-tions of this passage in Scripture cf. Ginzberg iv. 435.

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which he believed to be the best and said, " If you wish to cover with glory the man whom you say you love, let him ride on horseback wearing the same dress as yourself, with a necklace of gold, and let one of your close friends precede him and proclaim throughout the whole city that this is the honour shown to him whom the king honours." Such, then, was the advice that Haman gave in the belief that this reward would come to him. But the king, being pleased with his counsel, said, "Go forth, for you have the horse and the robe and the chain, and look for the Jew Mordecai and give him these things and walk before his horse, proclaiming your news, b for," he added, "since you are my close friend, you shall be the one to carry out those things about which you have given good counsel. This shall be his reward from us for having saved my life." 6 When Haman heard these words, which were contrary to all his expectations, he was oppressed d in spirit and stricken with helplessness, but went out, taking the horse and the purple robe and the necklace of gold; and, when he found Mordecai before the court clothed in sackcloth, he told him to take it off and put on the purple robe. But the other, not knowing the true state of things and thinking that he was being mocked, said, "O basest of all men, is this the way you make sport of our misfortunes?" But, when he was convinced that the king had given him this

' Josephus here amplifies somewhat.

d Variant "confused."

[•] The variant omits "proclaiming your news."

[•] So Luc.; Heb. and LXX do not describe Haman's state of mind. Rabbinic tradition naturally dwells on his disappointment at some length, cf. Ginzberg iv. 436 f.

δεδωκώς άντὶ της σωτηρίας ην αὐτῶ παρέσχε τοὺς τότε επιβουλεύσαντας εύνούχους ελέγξας, ενδύεται την πορφύραν ην ό βασιλεύς φορών αξί διετέλει,

258 καὶ περιτίθεται τὸ περιαυγένιον, καὶ ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ΐππον εν κύκλω περιήει την πόλιν 'Αμάνου προάγοντος καὶ κηρύσσοντος ὅτι τοῦτ' ἔσται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως $\tilde{\omega}^2$ ἂν στέρξη καὶ τιμῆς ἄξιον δοκι-

259 μάση. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκπεριῆλθον τὴν πόλιν, ὁ μὲν Μαρδοχαίος είσεισι πρός τον βασιλέα, 'Αμάνης δ' ύπ' αίσχύνης πρὸς αύτὸν παραγίνεται καὶ μετὰ δακρύων τη γυναικί και τοις φίλοις τα συμβεβηκότα δίηγεῖτο. οί δ' οὐκέτ' ἀμύνασθαι τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον ἔλεγον δυνήσεσθαι τὸν γὰρ θεὸν είναι σύν αὐτῶ.

260 (11) Ταῦτα δὲ τούτων ἔτι πρὸς ἀλλήλους όμιλούντων ήκον οι της Έσθήρος εὐνοῦχοι τὸν 261 'Αμάνην ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπισπεύδοντες. Σαβουγάδας δε των εὐνούχων είς ιδών τον σταυρόν εν τη 'Αμάνου οἰκία πεπηγότα, δυ ἐπὶ Μαρδοχαῖον παρεσκευάκεισαν, καὶ πυθόμενος παρά τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τίνα τοῦτον εἴησαν έτοιμασάμενοι, γνούς ώς έπὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλίσσης θεῖον (τὸν γὰρ Αμάνην μέλλειν αὐτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως 262 προς τιμωρίαν) τότε μεν ήσυχίαν ήγεν. ώς δε ό

> 1 ποτέ LAW: om. PE. ² Holwerda: ον codd.: τω ον Ε. 3 'Αβουγαδάς LV: Έρμωνάς Σαβουχάνης Ε.

a Mordecai's suspicion of Haman's intentions is a detail found in Luc. but not in Heb. or Lxx, Est. vi. 11. For rabbinic parallels to the Luc. addition cf. Ginzberg iv. 437 ff.

Bibl. "through the square (A.V." street") of the city."
 Heb. "hastened to his home, mourning and with covered head," LXX . . . λυπούμενος κατά κεφαλής "dis-438

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 257-262

reward for having saved his life by revealing the eunuchs' earlier conspiracy, a he put on the purple robe which the king always used to wear, placed the chain round his neck and, mounting the horse, went the round of the city with Haman going before him and proclaiming that this should be the reward given by the king to him whom he cherished and held worthy of honour. And, when they had gone the complete round of the city, Mordecai went in to the king, while Haman went home in disgrace, and with tears c related to his wife and friends what had happened. But they said that he would no longer be able to avenge himself on Mordecai, for God was with him.d

(11) While they were still talking together of Esther these things, the eunuchs of Esther came to hasten Haman to Haman's coming to the banquet. But Sabūchadas, the king. Esther vi. one of the eunuchs, seeing the cross that had been set 41. up at Haman's house and prepared for Mordecai, inquired of one of the servants for whom they had made this ready, and, learning that it was for the queen's uncle, for the time being held his peace. tressed in his head," Luc... ἐσκυθρωπωμένος " with downcast features."

^d So LXX and Luc.; Heb. omits the reference to God, thereby leaving Haman's predicted failure unexplained.

Heb. "eunuchs of the king," Lxx "eunuchs," Luc. "someone."

1 Variant (in § 266) Sabūzanes; bibl. Harbonah (Har bonāh), LXX Βουγαθάν, Luc. Γαβουθάς. Josephus's form is apparently a further corruption of the Luc. form. The eunuch is not mentioned at this point (vi. 14) in Scripture, but farther on in vii. 9, after Haman is denounced by Esther and the king is ready to execute him. Josephus's rearrangement necessitates the addition of the detail "for the time being held his peace," as well as that of the eunuch's inquiry of Haman's servant.

βασιλεύς μετά τοῦ 'Αμάνου εὐωχηθείς ήξίου τὴν βασίλισσαν λέγειν αὐτῷ τίνος βούλεται παρ' αὐτοῦ¹ δωρεᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν, ὡς ληψομένην οὖπερ ἄν ἐπι-θυμίαν ἔχῃ, τὸν τοῦ λαοῦ κίνδυνον ἀπωδύρετο καὶ πρός απώλειαν έλεγε μετά τοῦ έθνους εκδεδόσθαι,

263 διὸ καὶ ποιεῖσθαι περί τούτων τοὺς λόγους οὐ γάρ αν ηνωχληκέναι αὐτῷ, εἰ πρὸς δουλείαν πικράν έκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπεμποληθῆναι· μέτριον γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ κακόν παρεκάλει τε τούτων ἀπαλλαγῆναι.

264 έρωτήσαντος δέ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τίνος εἴη ταῦτα γεγενημένα, κατηγόρει τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη φανερῶς τοῦ 'Αμάνου καὶ τοῦτον ὅντα πονηρόν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς

265 κατεσκευακέναι την επιβουλήν ήλεγχεν. ταραχθέντος δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀναπηδήσαντος είς τούς κήπους έκ τοῦ συμποσίου, τῆς 'Εσθήρος δ' Αμάνης ήρξατο δείσθαι καὶ παρακαλείν συγγνωναι των ήμαρτημένων συνήκε γάρ αὐτὸς έν κακοίς ών επί τε της κλίνης αὐτοῦ πεσόντος καὶ την βασίλισσαν παρακαλοῦντος ἐπεισελθών ὁ βασιλεύς και πρός την όψιν έτι μαλλον παροξυνθείς είπεν, " ὧ κάκιστε πάντων, καὶ βιάζεσθαί μου τὴν

1 παρ' αὐτοῦ om. PFVE. 2 ἢλέγχθαι LAW. 3 πάντων ἀνθρώπων W.

a Scripture states that the king made this offer on the

2nd day of the banquet.

b This is Josephus's original interpretation of the obscure latter part of Est. vii. 4 (after "But if we had been sold for bondmen and bondwomen"), which A.V. translates, "I had held my tongue although the enemy could not countervail the king's damage "; LXX " I have disregarded it, for the adversary is not worthy of the king's court"; Luc. "I did not wish to report it that I might not grieve my lord, for it has happened that the man who wronged us 440

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 262-265

Now, when the king, as he was feasting with Haman, asked the queen to tell him what gift she wished to obtain from him, saving that she should receive whatever she had a desire for, a she began to lament the danger in which her people were placed and said that she had been marked for destruction together with her nation, and for this reason she was addressing him on these matters: for she added, she would not have troubled him if he had ordered them to be sold into bitter slavery—that would be an endurable evil 5—and she begged to be delivered from this fate. When the king asked by whom these things had been done, it only remained for her to accuse Haman openly and show that he in his wickedness had formed the plot against them. But after the king in his perturbation c at this statement had rushed from the banquet-hall into the garden, Haman began to beg and entreat Esther to pardon his offences, for he perceived that he was in serious trouble. And he fell on the queen's couch and was entreating her when the king came in upon him and, being still more incensed at this sight, exclaimed, "O basest of all men, a are you even trying to violate

has been removed (μεταπεσεῖν)"; Targ. "I would have been silent, for the oppressor is not of value and profit to the damage of the king," which seems to mean, as Ibn Ezra explains, that Esther considered the enslavement of the Jews endurable so, long as the king did not suffer thereby.

^c The king's perturbation at this point is mentioned in Heb. and Luc. but not in Lxx, which, however, uses the same word (ἐταράχθη) as does Josephus here, to describe Haman's state of mind. The Targum explains that the king rushed into the garden in a fury because he saw Haman's sons (really angels impersonating them) cutting down his trees.

. d This epithet is an unscriptural detail.

266 γυναίκα ἐπιχειρεῖς; '' 'Αμάνου δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καταπλαγέντος καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι φθέγξασθαι δυνηθέντος, καὶ Σαβουχάδας ὁ εὐνοῦχος παρελθών κατηγόρει τοῦ 'Αμάνου ὡς εὕροι σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένον ἐπὶ Μαρδοχαῖον τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ πυνθανομένω τὸν οἰκέτην εἰπεῖν, ὅτε καλέσων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτόν. εἶναι δὲ τὸν σταυρὸν ἔλεγεν ἐξήκοντα¹ πήχεων τὸ

267 ὕψος. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας οὐκ ἄλλη τιμωρία περιβάλλειν ἔκρινε τὸν ᾿Αμάνην ἢ τῆ κατὰ Μαρδοχαίου² νενοημένη, καὶ κελεύει παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἐξ³

268 ἐκείνου τοῦ σταυροῦ κρεμασθέντα ἀποθανεῖν. ὅθεν ἐπέρχεταί μοι τὸ θεῖον θαυμάζειν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνην καταμανθάνειν, μὴ μόνον τὴν ᾿Αμάνου κολάσαντος πονηρίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ ἄλλου μεμηχανημένην τιμωρίαν ταύτην ἐκείνου ποιήσαντος εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθεῖν οὕτως καὶ γνῶναι⁴ παρεσχηκότος ὡς ἃ καθ᾽ ἐτέρου τις παρεσκεύασε ταῦτα λανθάνει καθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἑτοιμασάμενος.

269 (12) 'Αμάνης μὲν οὖν ἀμετρήτως τῆ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως χρώμενος τιμῆ τοῦτον διεφθάρη τὸν τρόπον, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐχαρίσατο τῆ βασιλίσση. Μαρδοχαῖον δὲ προσκαλεσάμενος (καὶ γὰρ ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν συγγένειαν 'Εσθήρ) ὅν ἔδωκεν 'Αμάνη δακτύλιον τοῦτον Μαρδοχαίω

1 πεντήκοντα PFWVE Lat., cf. § 246.
 2 ed. pr.: Μαρδοχαΐον codd.
 3 έπ' LAWE.
 4 καὶ γνῶναι conj. Hudson: γνῶναι codd.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 266-269

my wife?" At this Haman was overcome and unable to utter any further sound. a and then came the eunuch Sabuchadas b and accused Haman, saving that he had found a cross at his house prepared for Mordecai. For this was what the servant had told him in answer to his inquiry, when he had come to Haman to summon him to the banquet. And the cross, he said, was sixty c cubits in height. When Haman's the king heard this, he decided to inflict on Haman ment. no other punishment than that which had been de-Esthervil. 9 vised against Mordecai, and ordered him at once to be hanged on that very same cross till he was dead. Wherefore I am moved to marvel at the Deity and to recognize His wisdom and justice, for not only did He punish Haman's wickedness but also caused the penalty which had been contrived against another to fall upon Haman himself, and thus He has given others an opportunity to learn and know that whatever mischief a man prepares against another, he has. without knowing it, first stored up for himself.d

(12) In this manner, then, was Haman destroyed Artaxerxes through having made unconscionable use of his Esther and position of honour with the king; as for his property, Mordecai. the king presented it to the queen. Then he sum-viii. 1. moned Mordecai-for Esther had revealed to the king her kinship to him-and gave him the ring which he had formerly given to Haman. And the

^a Heb. "And Haman's face was covered" (Targ. adds "with shame"), LXX "his face changed"; Luc. has something quite different, "let Haman be led away and

b Bibl. Harbonah, cf. § 261 note f.

c Variant 50, cf. § 246 note c. d For similar examples of Josephus's moralizing cf. Ant. vii. 37 ff., viii. 251 ff., 300 ff., 418 ff., x. 277 ff.

270 δίδωσι. δωρείται δὲ καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Μαρδοχαίφ τὴν ᾿Αμάνου κτῆσιν καὶ δεῖται τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπαλλάξαι τοῦ περὶ τῆς ζωῆς φόβου τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος, δηλοῦσα τὰ γραφέντα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ ᾿Αμάνου τοῦ ᾿Αμαδάθου τῆς γὰρ πατρίδος αὐτῆς διαφθαρείσης καὶ τῶν δμοφύλων ἀπολο-

271 μένων οὐκ ἂν ὑπομένειν τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπέσχετο μηδὲν ἄχαρι αὐτῆ μηδ' οἶς ἐσπούδακεν² ἐναντίον ἔσεσθαι, γράφειν δὲ ἃ βούλεται προσέταξε περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκείνην ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνόματος καὶ σημηναμένην αὐτοῦ τῆ σφραγίδι πέμπειν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν τοὺς γὰρ ἀναγνωσομένους τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ σημαντῆρος ἠσφαλισμένας ἐπιστολὰς οὐδὲν περὶ τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων

272 ἐναντιώσεσθαι. μεταπεμφθέντας οὖν τοὺς βασιλικοὺς γραμματεῖς ἐκέλευσε γράφειν τοῖς ἔθνεσι ὑπὲρ³ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῖς τε οἰκονόμοις καὶ ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἔως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἑκατὸν ἐἰκοσιεπτὰ σατραπειῶν ἡγουμένοις. τὰ δὲ γρα-

1 αὐτῆ LAVW.

3 περί F.

b Text slightly uncertain and emended.

² αὐτῆ μηδ' οἰς ἐσπούδακεν Naber: αὐτὴν μηδ' (μὴ δι' L) οἰς ἐσπούδακεν LAW: αὐτοῖς ἐσπουδακέναι μηδ' οἰς F: αὐτῆ ἐσπουδακέναι μηδ' οἰς βούλεται V.

^a Scripture does not say that Esther showed Haman's letter to the king.

^e Josephus omits the date of the writing of the proclamation, given in Est. viii. 9.

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queen also made a present to Mordecai of Haman's possessions, and begged the king to deliver those of the Jewish nation from fear for their lives, as she showed him the letter sent throughout the whole country by Haman, the son of Amadathos.a For, she said, if her native land were destroyed and her countrymen perished, she could not bear to live. Thereupon the king promised that nothing should be done to distress her nor any opposition be made to what she strove after, b and he commanded her to write what she pleased concerning the Jews in the king's name, mark it with his seal and send it throughout the whole kingdom. For, he said, those who read the letters secured by the royal seal would in no way oppose what was written in them. Accordingly, he sent for the royal scribes and ordered them to write on behalf d of the Jews to the nations and stewards and governors who ruled over the hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia. Now the letters read as follows. "Artaxerxes the great king to the governors and those The king's who are friendly to us, greeting. Many men, be-favour of cause of the greatness of the benefits and honour the Jews. which they have enjoyed through the exceeding Estherxvi, 1

(Add. E 1).

d One Ms. "concerning."

* Josephus's terms "stewards and governors" are based on LXX οἰκονόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν τῶν σατραπῶν rendering Heb. 'ahašdarpenim weha-pahoth we-sarê hammedinoth "satraps and governors and chiefs of provinces" (A.V. "lieutenants and deputies and rulers of the provinces").

The text of the letter following (§§ 273-283) is a close paraphrase of the apocr. Esther, addition E (xvi. 1-24), which also forms the basis of the decree given in the late Targum (there are two Targums to Esther); for a translation

of this cf. Ginzberg iv. 445 ff.

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έκαρποῦντο, οὐκ εἰς τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους μόνον 274 ἐξυβρίζουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν ὤκνησαν τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας, τὸ εὐχάριστον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀναιροῦντες, καὶ δι' ἀπειροκαλίαν τῶν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν¹ προσεδόκησαν ἀγαθῶν, κόρον εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους ἀφέντες, λήσεσθαι τὸ θεῖον ἐπὶ τούτοις νομίζουσι καὶ τὴν ἐξ

275 αὐτοῦ διαφεύξεσθαι δίκην. ἔνιοι δὲ ἐκ τούτων προστασίαν πραγμάτων ἐπιτραπέντες παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ μῖσος ἴδιον ἔχοντες πρός τινας, παραλογισάμενοι τοὺς κρατοῦντας ψευδέσιν αἰτίαις καὶ διαβολαῖς ἔπεισαν κατὰ μηδὲν ἀδικούντων ὀργὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, 276 ὑφ' ἦς ἐκινδύνευσαν ἀπολέσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐκ

276 ὑφ' ης ἐκινδύνευσαν ἀπολέσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων οὐδ' ἀκοῆ γνωρίμων ἡμῖν οὕτως ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἔχον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας ὅψεις τετολμημένων, ὡς διαβολαῖς μὲν καὶ κατηγορίαις μὴ προσέχειν ἔτι τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδ' οῖς ἔτεροι πείθειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, κρίνειν δ' ὅσα τις αὐτὸς οίδε πεπραγμένα, καὶ κολάζειν μὲν ὰν ἡ τοιαῦτα, χαρίζεσθαι δ' ὰν ἐτέρως ἔχη, τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ 277 μὴ τοῖς λέγουσι προστιθέμενον. ὡς νῦν 'Αμάνης,

1 των οὐκ έξ ων] ων οὐ Lowth: τὸν έξ ων οὐ Herwerden.

^a Text and meaning uncertain; LXX has τοῖς τῶν ἀπειραγάθων κόμποις ἐπαρθέντες "lifted up with the ostentation of men ignorant of good (A.V. renders ἀπειραγάθων by "lewd"; G. Gregg in R. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, i. 680, explains that the word here has the general meaning of "foolish"); Luc. has τοῖς τῶν 446

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kindness of those who bestow them, have not only acted outrageously toward their inferiors but have not hesitated to wrong even their benefactors, thus making an end of gratitude among men, and, in their vulgar lack of appreciation of these blessings from unexpected sources, they have turned their insolence against those responsible for them, and think that in so doing they will elude the Deity and escape punishment from Him. And some of them, who have been entrusted by their friends with the administration of the government, have, because of a private grudge against certain persons, misled their masters by false charges and slanders and persuaded them to vent their anger on people who have done no wrong, as a result of which they were in danger of perishing. That such a state of affairs exists we can see, not from ancient history or incidents known by report, but from the bold attempts made before our very eyes, so that in future we must not pay attention to slanders and accusations or to those things of which others attempt to persuade us, but must judge from what we ourselves know to have been done, and to punish when necessary or show favour when the case is otherwise, addressing ourselves to the deeds themselves and not to what people say. As a present instance, Haman, the son of Amadathos, of the Amalekite race, an alien among those of Persian blood, received hospitality from us and so far enjoyed the kindness which we show to all, that since that time he has been called my father and

ἀπειροπαθῶν κόμποις παρελθόντες "transgressing with the ostentation of those unused to suffering."

b Lxx here adds that he was a Macedonian; also in Est. ix. 24, where Heb. has "Agagite," Lxx has "Macedonian."

σθαι καὶ προσκυνούμενον διατελεῖν καὶ μεθ' ἡμᾶς τὰ δεύτερα τῆς βασιλικῆς παρὰ πάντων τιμῆς ἀποφέρεσθαι, τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν οὐδὲ σώφρονι

278 λογισμῷ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐταμίευσεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπεβούλευσέ με καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν αἴτιον αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξουσίας¹ ἀφελέσθαι, τὸν εὐεργέτην μου καὶ σωτῆρα Μαρδοχαῖον καὶ τὴν κοινωνὸν ἡμῖν τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἐσθῆρα κακούργως καὶ μετὰ ἀπάτης πρὸς ἀπώλειαν αἰτησάμενος τούτῷ γάρ με τῷ τρόπῷ τῶν εὐνοούντων ἐρημώσας ἐβού-

279 λετο τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς ἄλλους μεταβαλείν. ἐγώ δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλιτηρίου πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἐκδοθέντας Ἰουδαίους οὐ πονηροὺς κατανοήσας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄριστον πολιτευομένους τρόπον καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσανέχοντας, δς ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν τὴν βασιλείαν διεφύλαξεν, οὐ μόνον ἀπολύω τῆς ἐκ τῶν προαπεσταλμένων ὑπὸ ᾿Αμάνου γραμμάτων² τιμω-

προαπεσταλμένων υπο Αμάνου γραμματών τιμω280 ρίας, οίς ποιήσετε καλώς μη προσέχοντες, άλλα και τιμης αὐτοὺς άπάσης τυγχάνειν βούλομαι, και τὸν ταῦτα κατ' αὐτών μηχανησάμενον πρὸ τών πυλών τῶν ἐν Σούσοις ἀνεσταύρωσα μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς, τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος θεοῦ ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην ἐπι-

281 βαλόντος. κελεύω δὲ ὑμᾶς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐκθέντας εἰς ἄπασαν τὴν βασιλείαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐφεῖναι³ τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις χρωμένους ζῆν

+ ταύτης LAWE.
 ὑπὸ . . γραμμάτων om. PF.
 Niese: ἀφείναι codd. E.

^a This last phrase is added by Josephus; a similar expression to "husbanded . . . good fortune" is found in Dionysius Halicarn. i. 65 ταμιεύεσθαι τὴν τύχην.
^b LXX and Luc. "to the Macedonians."

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has continually made the people prostrate themselves before him and from all has received royal honours second to our own; he has not, however, borne his good fortune wisely nor has he husbanded the abundance of his prosperity with prudence and reason, but has plotted to take from me, the author of his power, my kingdom and my life, after treacherously and deceitfully demanding the destruction of Mordecai, my benefactor and saviour, and Esther, who shares my life and throne. For he wished to deprive me in this manner of my loval friends and to transfer the kingship to others. But, since I have observed that the Jews, who were marked for destruction by this accursed fellow, are not evil-doers but live under the most excellent kind of government and are attached to the Gode who has preserved the kingdom for me and our forefathers, not only do I release them from the penalties set forth in the letters sent by Haman,d which you will do well to disregard, but it is also my will that they be shown every honour. and I have crucified the one who devised these things against them, together with his family, before the gates of Susa, for the all-seeing g God has brought this punishment upon him. I also order you to display a copy of this letter throughout the entire kingdom and to permit the Jews to live in peace under their own laws, and to help them in

d The variant omits "sent by Haman."

' So LXX; Luc. omits "together with his family."

^e Josephus omits the epithets given God in the apocr. Esther (Lxx "the most high, most great, living"; Luc. "the only, true").

The command that the Jews "be shown every honour" is a detail added by Josephus.

⁹ Cf. Luc. (τοῦ τὰ πάντα κατοπτεύοντος); LXX "all-powerful" or "all-ruling" (τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατοῦντος).

μετ' εἰρήνης καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως τοὺς ἐν οἶς ἢτύχησαν καιροῖς ἀδικήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἀμύνωνται, τῆ τρισκαιδεκάτη τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνός, ὅς ἐστιν

282 "Αδαρ, τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα ταύτην γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἀντὶ ὀλεθρίας σωτήριον πεποίηκεν. ἔστω δ' ἀγαθὴ μὲν τοῖς εὐνοοῦσιν ἡμῖν, ὑπόμνησις δὲ τῆς τῶν

283 ἐπιβουλευσάντων κολάσεως. εἶδέναι μέντοι γε βούλομαι καὶ πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος, ἐὰν τῶν γεγραμμένων τινὸς παρακούση, ὅτι καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρω δαπανηθήσεται. τὰ μέντοι γεγραμμένα προτεθήτω καθ' ὅλης τῆς ἡμῖν ὑπηκόου χώρας, καὶ παρασκευαζέσθωσαν πάντως εἰς τὴν προγεγραμμένην

ήμέραν, ΐνα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μετέλθωσιν."

ζοντες εὐθὺς έξορμήσαντες τὴν προκειμένην όδὸν ἤνυον. ό δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος ὡς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν βασιλικὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ τὸν στρεπτὸν περιθέμενος προῆλθεν, ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οὕτως τετιμημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ ἐν Σούσοις ὄντες Ἰουδαῖοι κοινὴν ὑπέλαβον τὴν εὐπραγίαν 285 αὐτοῦ. χαρὰ δὲ καὶ σωτήριον φέγγος, ἐκτιθεμένων τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως γραμμάτων, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοὺς κατὰ χώραν ἐπεῖχεν,¹ ὡς

284 (13) Οί μεν οὖν ἱππεῖς οἱ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς διακομί-

τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοὺς κατὰ χώραν ἐπεῖχεν, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων φόβον περιτεμνόμενα τὴν αἰδῶ, τὸ ἀκίνδυνον 286 αὐτοῖς ἐκ τούτου πραγματεύσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ

1 είχει LAW: περιείχεν ex Lat. Hudson.

^a LXX and Luc. "spear." ^b Instead of "necklace" Scripture has "garment 450

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requiting those who did them wrong in the times of their misfortune, on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar-on that very day. For God has made it a day of salvation for them instead of a day of destruction. Let it be a good day for those who are well-disposed toward us, but a reminder of the punishment that overtakes those who have plotted against us. Furthermore, I wish every city and nation to know that if it disobeys any of the orders here written, it shall be laid waste with fire and sword.a This letter, moreover, shall be published throughout the whole of the country subject to us, and they shall by all means prepare themselves against the appointed day to fall upon their enemies."

(13) And so the horsemen who carried the letters The Jews set out at once and travelled the road laid out for their dethem. And Mordecai, after assuming the royal robe liverance. and putting on the crown of gold and the neck-viii, 14. lace, b came forth, and, when the Jews living in Susa saw him so greatly honoured by the king, they regarded his good fortune as common to themselves. And, when the letter of the king was published, joy and the light of salvation came upon the Jews both in the city and in the provinces, so that many of the other nations also, from fear of the Jews, had themselves circumcised c and thereby managed to avoid danger.d For the bearers of the king's letter

(LXX "diadem"!) of fine linen and purple." The Targum expands these details into an elaborate description of his

So Luc. translates Heb. mithyahadîm "became Jews"; LXX has "became circumcised in addition to ιουδάιζον "became Jews"; Targ. "were converted."

d Josephus's phrasing resembles that in Thucydides

νί. 15 τὸ δὲ ἀκίνδυνον . . . παρέγειν.

287 ἤμελλον ἐν ταύτη τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀπολέσωσιν. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τῶν σατραπειῶν καὶ οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ βασιλικοὶ² γραμματεῖς εἶχον ἐν τιμῆ τοὺς Ἰου-δαίους· ὁ γὰρ ἐκ Μαρδοχαίου φόβος ἠνάγκαζεν

288 αὐτοὺς σωφρονεῖν. τοῦ δὲ γράμματος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ διὰ πάσης τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῷ χώρας γενομένου συνέπεσεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σούσοις Ἰουδαίους

289 ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν ἐχθρῶν περὶ πεντακοσίους. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τὸν τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐν τῆ πόλει³ δηλώσαντος τὸν ἀριθμὸν Ἐσθῆρι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας τί ποτ' εἴη γεγονὸς διαποροῦντος, καὶ εἴ τι πρὸς τούτοις ἔτ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι βούλεται πυνθανομένου, πραχθήσεσθαι γάρ, παρεκάλεσεν ἐπιτραπῆναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν οὕτως χρήσασθαι τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ 200 τοὺς δέκα τοὺς ᾿Αμάνου παῖδας ἀνασταροῦσαι, καὶ χοῦς ποὺς δέκα τοὺς ᾿Αμάνου παῖδας ἀνασταροῦσαι, καὶ

290 τοὺς δέκα τοὺς 'Αμάνου παῖδας ἀνασταυρῶσαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν προσέταξε τοῖς 'Ιουδαίοις ὁ βασιλεύς, μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν 'Εσθῆρι βουλόμενος' οἱ δὲ πάλιν

1 τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη ΑΨ.

² βασιλικοί ex lxx Bekker: βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ (οἱ om. PFV) codd.

3 έν τῆ πόλει om. P.

4 δυνάμενος Ρ.

b Cf. § 107 note b.

^a Variant 14th; Scripture has 13th.

^o Text emended from LXX; MSS. "the kings and the scribes." Josephus's 3 classes of officials (as emended) agree literally with those of LXX; Heb. mentions 4—"rulers of the provinces, satraps (A.V. "lieutenants"), governors 452

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announced that on the thirteenth a day of the twelfth month, which is called Adar by the Hebrews, and Dystros by the Maccdonians, they should destroy their enemies—on the very same day, that is, on which they themselves were to have been placed in danger. Now the rulers of the satrapies and the tyrants and the royal scribes began to hold the Jews in honour, for their fear of Mordecai compelled them to act prudently. And it so happened that The Jows at the same time when the king's letter reached the take vengeance whole country ruled by him, the Jews in Susa killed on their about five hundred d of their enemies. Thereupon Esther is, 5 the king informed Esther of the number of those slain in the city, f and, when he expressed uncertainty about what had happened to those in the provinces and inquired whether she wished anything more of him, saving that it would be done, she begged him to permit the Jews on the following day also to treat in the same manner those of their enemies who remained and to crucify the ten sons of Haman.9 And so the king, being unwilling h to oppose Esther in anything, commanded the Jews to do so, and they (A.V. "deputies") and officers of the king": cf. § 272 note e.

d So Heb. and Lxx; Luc. 700.

• Scripture adds here (Est. ix. 7 ff.) that Haman's ten sons were also killed; cf. below, note g.

The variant omits "in the city"; for "city" Scripture

has "Susa, the fortress" (A.V. "palace").

*According to Scripture (Est. ix. 13) Esther requests that Haman's ten sons be crucified, although an earlier verse (cf. above, note e) states that they were killed the first day. (This might mean, of course, that their dead bodies were to be impaled, but more likely the second reference is due to an oversight.) Josephus avoids the difficulty by omitting to mention them in § 288.

* One Ms. "unable."

συστραφέντες τῆ τετράδι καὶ δεκάτη τοῦ Δύστρου μηνός ἀπέκτειναν των έναντίων ώς τριακοσίους, καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐκείνοις ὑπαρχόντων ἡψαντο κτη-

291 μάτων. ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῆ χώρα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπτακισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. και τούτους μέν απέκτειναν τη τρισκαιδεκάτη του μηνός,

292 την δε εχομένην εορτάσιμον εποίησαν. όμοίως δε καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς Σούσοις Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν τετράδα καὶ δεκάτην καὶ τὴν ἐχομένην τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς συναθροισθέντες εὐωχήθησαν. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν πάντες οί έν τη οἰκουμένη Ἰουδαῖοι τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας

293 έορτάζουσι, διαπεμπόμενοι μερίδας αλλήλοις. έγραψε δὲ Μαρδοχαίος τοίς ἐν τῆ ᾿Αρταξέρξου βασιλεία ζώσιν 'Ιουδαίοις ταύτας παραφυλάσσειν τάς ήμέρας καὶ έορτὴν ἄγειν αὐτὰς καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδοῦναι τοῦ πρὸς πάντα διαμεῖναι τὸν χρόνον την έορτην ενεκα και μη λήθη παραπολέσθαι.

294 μελλήσαντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν ταύταις διαφθείρεσθαι ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑπὸ ᾿Αμάνου, δίκαια ποιήσειν εἰ διαφυγόντες μὲν ἐν αὐταῖς τὸν κίνδυνον τοὺς δ᾽

1 τετρακοσίους ΑΨ.

a Bibl. Adar; cf. § 286.

<sup>b So Heb.; Lxx 15,000; Luc. 70,100.
c Josephus is slightly inaccurate here. According to Scripture (Est. ix. 17 ff.) the Jews of Susa attacked their</sup> enemies on the 13th and 14th of Adar, and celebrated on the 15th (not the 14th and 15th as Josephus states), while the Jews in the provinces attacked their enemies on the 13th and celebrated on the 14th-in other words, the Jews of the provinces celebrated on the 14th of Adar, and the Jews of Susa on the 15th. To be sure, farther on (ix. 20 ff.) Scripture specifies the 14th and 15th of Adar as festival days, but the rabbinic authorities of Josephus's time (cf. 454

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again banded themselves together on the fourteenth day of the month of Dystros a and killed some three hundred of their adversaries but touched none of the possessions which they had. And seventy-five thousand b of their enemies were slain by the Jews in the provinces and the other cities also. These they slew on the thirteenth of the month, and they kept the next day as a festival. Similarly did the Jews in Susa also gather together and feast on the fourteenth and the following day of the same month. Whence it is that even now all the Jews in the habitable world celebrate these days by sending portions to one another. For Mordecai wrote to all The festival the Jews living in the kingdom of Artaxerxes, telling of Purim. them to observe these days and keep them as a ix. 20. festival and hand them down to their descendants in order that the festival might remain for all time and not fall into disuse through forgetfulness. For, he said, since they had been marked for destruction on those days by Haman, but had escaped danger on them and had even avenged themselves on their

Mishnah, Megillah, i. 1), observing the distinction of date in Scripture between the celebration at Susa and that in the provinces, specify that the festival is to be observed on the 14th in smaller cities and on the 15th in larger cities. It is noteworthy, on the other hand, that the early rabbinic treatise Megillath Ta'anith, like Josephus, merely makes the general statement that the 14th and 15th of Adar are festival days. Josephus does not mention the Fast of Esther, still observed by pious Jews on the 13th of Adar, for the very good reason that it was not known until the post-Talmudic period (cf. A. Schwarz in Festskrift Simonsen, 1923, pp. 188-205, and H. Lichtenstein in Hebrew Union College Annual, vii-ix, 1931/32, p. 280). Instead of observing a fast day on the 13th of Adar, the Jews in Josephus's time celebrated the Maccabean victory over Nicanor, cf. Ant. xii. 412 (on 1 Macc. vii. 43 ff.) and Megillath Ta'anith under that date.

ἐχθροὺς τιμωρησάμενοι, παρατηρήσουσιν αὐτὰς 295 εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὰς προειρημένας ἡμέρας ἐορτάζουσιν, προσαγορεύσαντες αὐτὰς φρουραίους. ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος μέγας τε ἡν καὶ λαμπρὸς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ συνδιεῖπεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπολαύων ἄμα καὶ τῆς

296 κοινωνίας τοῦ βίου τῆ βασιλίσση. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰ πράγματα δι' αὐτοὺς² ἀμείνω πάσης ἐλπίδος. καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτοις βασιλεύοντος ᾿Αρτα-

ξέρξου συμβάντα τοῦτον είχε τὸν τρόπον.

297 (vii. 1) 'Αποθανόντος δε τοῦ ἀρχιερέως 'Ελιασίβου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην 'Ιώδας' ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο. τελευτήσαντος δε καὶ τούτου τὴν τιμὴν 'Ιωάννης υἱὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ παρέλαβεν, δι' ὃν καὶ Βαγώσης' ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἄλλου 'Αρταξέρξου τὸν ναὸν ἐμίανε καὶ φόρους ἐπέταξε τοῖς 'Ιουδαίοις,

1 φρουρέας P: φρουρέους W: φουραίους Grotius: conservatores Lat.

2 αὐτὸν Ε.

3 'Iwáxas P: 'Ioúdas V Lat.: 'Ioxás W: 'Iwádas E.

4 Baywas LA (Zonaras).

δ τοῦ ἄλλου ex Lat. (álterius) Hudson: τοῦ PAW: τοῦ λαοῦ rell.: τοῦ "Αχου Scaliger.

b Josephus here resumes the narrative of events in Pales-

tine, from § 183.

d Bibl. Joiada (Yôyādā'), Lxx Ἰω(a)δά.

^a Cf. LXX φρουραί; Heb. Pûrîm. The bibl. interpretation "lots" is doubtful; B. Motzo, Saggi di Storia e Letteratura Giudeo-Ellenistica, 1924, pp. 307 ff., derives Pûrîm from Φρουραί.

^e Bibl. Eliashib (' $Ely\bar{a}sib$), xxx ' $E\lambda(\epsilon)ισούβ$; his succession to the high priesthood is mentioned earlier in § 158.

Bibl. Johanan (Υόμοπαπ), Lxx Ἰωανάν (in Neh. xii. 11 the name appears as Jonathan (Υόπατhαπ), Lxx Ἰωναθάν). On the historicity and sources of the following section see Appendix B.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 294-297

enemies, they would do right to observe them by giving thanks to God. For this reason, therefore, the Jews celebrate the forementioned days, which they call Phrūraioi.a Now Mordecai was a great and illustrious man in the eyes of the king and shared the royal power with him, at the same time enjoying the companionship of the queen. And through them the condition of the Jews also was better than anything they had hoped for. Such, then, were the things that befell them in the reign of Artaxerxes.

(vii. 1) b On the death of the high priest Eliasib c The high his son Jodas d succeeded him in the high priesthood. Joannes And, when he also died, Jōannēs, who was his son, (Johanan) assumed this office; it was through him that Bagōsēs, cf. Neh. xii. the general of the second Artaxerxes, defiled the 10 (LXX sanctuary and imposed tribute on the Jews, so that xxii. 10).

1 Variant Bagoas (as in Diodorus Siculus); in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine this common Persian name is written Bago(h)î, in the Heb. of Ezra and Nehemiah, Bigwai. The Persian original is explained by F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, pp. 59 f., as the abbreviation of a "full-name" with Baga "God" as its first element. On the identity of

Bagoses see next note.

i.e. Artaxerxes II. Mnemon (404-359 B.c.); if, however, the word "second" (ἄλλου) is bracketed as an interpolation, as Niese and several other scholars suggest, the king meant might be Artaxerxes III. Ochus (359-338 B.c.). The reading here adopted is more likely to be correct, and Bagoses is probably to be identified with the Bagoses who was Persian governor of Judaea at the end of the reign of Darius II, and is mentioned in the Elephantine papyri of the year 408 B.C.; presumably he continued in office through the early part of the reign of Artaxerxes II. If ἄλλου is removed as spurious, Bagoses is probably to be identified with the Persian general of Artaxerxes III. mentioned in Diodorus xvi. 47. For a fuller discussion of this point see Appendix B.

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2

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πρίν η τὰς καθημερινάς ἐπιφέρειν θυσίας ὑπὲρ άρνος έκάστου τελείν αὐτούς δημοσία δραγμάς 298 πεντήκοντα. τούτου δε την αιτίαν τοιαύτην συνέβη

γενέσθαι άδελφος ην τω Ίωάννη Ἰησοῦς τούτω φίλω τυγχάνοντι ο Βαγώσης υπέσχετο την άρχ-

299 ιερωσύνην παρέξειν. ἀπὸ ταύτης οὖν τῆς πεποιθήσεως Ίησοῦς ἐν τῷ ναῷ διενεχθεὶς τῷ Ἰωάννη παρώξυνε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὤστ' αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν διὰ τὴν όργήν. τηλικοῦτο δέ² ἀσέβημα δράσαι κατὰ τάδελφοῦ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἱερώμενον δεινὸν ἦν, καὶ τὸ δεινότερον, δώς μήτε παρ' "Ελλησιν μήτε παρά βαρβάροις ώμον ούτως καὶ ἀσεβες έργον γεγονέναι.

300 τὸ μέντοι θείον οὐκ ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς διὰ ταύτην την αίτίαν έδουλώθη και ό ναὸς έμιάνθη ύπὸ Περσών. Βαγώσης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς 'Αρταξέρξου γνούς ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀρχιερεύς τῶν 'Ιουδαίων τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν 'Ιησοῦν ἐν τῷ ίερῷ έφόνευσεν, εὐθὺς ἐπιστὰς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μετὰ θυμοῦ ἤρξατο λέγειν " ἐτολμήσατε ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρω

301 ναῶ⁷ φόνον ἐργάσασθαι.'' πειρωμένου δ' αὐτοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐκώλυον αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφη· " πῶς οὐκ ἐγὼ καθαρώτερός εἰμι τοῦ ανηρημένου⁸ έν τω ναω; "καὶ τούτους ποιησάμενος τους λόγους είς τον ναον είσερχεται. ταύτη μέν οὖν χρησάμενος τῆ ἐπινοία Βαγώσης τοὺς

 $^{^1}$ διὰ FOV: καὶ διὰ rell. 2 τηλ, δὲ FOV: τηλ. rell. 3 ἰερώμενον FOV: ἐν τῷ ἰερῷ rell.: ἐν τῷ ναῷ Ε.

⁴ ώς δεινόν P. ⁵ τὸ δεινότερον] πρότερον PF. ⁶ Nicse: αὐτὴν codd. ⁷ ὑμετέρω ναῷ] ἰερῷ P 8 ανηρηκότος P2LE.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 297-301

before offering the daily sacrifices they had to pay from the public treasury fifty drachmae for every lamb. The reason for this was the following happening. Joannes had a brother named Jesus, a and Bagosēs, whose friend he was, promised to obtain the high priesthood for him. With this assurance, therefore, Jēsūs quarrelled with Jōannēs in the temple and provoked his brother so far that in his anger he killed him. That Joannes should have committed so impious a deed against his brother while serving as priest was terrible enough, but the more terrible b in that neither among Greeks nor barbarians had so savage and impious a deed ever been committed. The Deity, however, was not indifferent to it, and it was for this c reason that the people were made slaves and the temple was defiled by the Persians. Now, when Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes, learned that Joannes, the high priest of the Jews, had murdered his own brother Jesus in the temple, he at once set upon the Jews and in anger began to say, "You have dared to commit murder in your own temple." But, when he attempted to enter the temple, they sought to prevent him, whereupon he said to them, "Am I, then, not purer than he who was slain d in the temple?" and, having spoken these words, he went in to the temple. This, then, being the pretext which he

^b Text uncertain.

Emended text; Mss. "this very."

a Hellenized form of Heb. Yēšû'a.

⁴ The variant "he who slew" is preferred by some scholars, but it is obviously a *lectio facilior*, introduced by a scribe who missed the point of Bagoses' ironical remark. A dead body makes the temple unclean, according to Jewish law.

JOSEPHUS

'Ιουδαίους ἔτεσιν έπτὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς 'Ιησοῦ τελευτῆς

μετηλθεν.

302 (2) Καταστρέψαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰωάννου τὸν βίον διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ υίὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰαδδοῦς. ἡν δὲ καὶ τούτω ἀδελφὸς Μανασσῆς ὄνομα, ῷ Σαναβαλλέτης ὁ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Σαμάρειαν ὑπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως² σατράπης Χου-

303 θαίος το γένος, έξ ῶν καὶ οἱ Σαμαρεῖς εἰσιν, εἰδως λαμπρὰν οὖσαν πόλιν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς ᾿Ασσυρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρία κατοικοῦσιν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεῖς πράγματα παρασχόντας, ἀσμένως συνώκισε τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα Νικασώ καλουμένην, οἰόμενος τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν ὅμηρον αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους παντὸς εὔνοιαν.

304 (viii. 1) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Φίλιππος ό τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐν Αἰγαῖς³ ὑπὸ Παυσανίου τοῦ Κεράστου ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τῶν 'Ορεστῶν γένους 305 δολοφονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. παραλαβῶν δ' ὁ παῖς

1 'Ιωαδδοῦς LAWE.
2 τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως om. Lat.
3 Αἰγέαις P: Αἰγαίαις FLVW: Λegeis Lat.

^a Variant Jöaddūs; bibl. Jaddua (Yaddû'a), Lxx Ἰαδού.
^b Hellenized form of Heb. Menaššêh (bibl. Manasseh);
Scripture does not mention any such person in this connexion.

⁶ Bibl. Sanballat (San⁶ballat), Lxx Σαναβαλλάτ. On the relation of the Sanaballetes here mentioned to the Sanballat of the book of Nehemiah and the Sanballat of the Elephantine papyri see Appendix B. Here it may suffice to note that according to Scripture (Neh. xiii. 28) it was one of the "sons of Joiada" (i.e. a brother of Joiada's son Johanan, not a brother of Johanan's son Jaddua, as Josephus says) who married Sanballat's daughter. Ac-460

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 301-305

used, Bagoses made the Jews suffer seven years for the death of Jesus.

(2) When Joannes departed this life he was suc-Manasses, ceeded in the high priesthood by his son Jaddus. a priest's He too had a brother, named Manasses, to whom brother, and the Sanaballetes e-he had been sent to Samaria as Samaritans. satrap by Darius the last king, and was of the cf. Neh. xiii. 28 (LXX Cuthaean race from whom the Samaritans also are 2 Esdras descended-, knowing that Jerusalem was a famous city and that its kings had given much trouble to the Assyrians and the inhabitants of Coele-Syria, gladly gave him his daughter, called Nikaso, in marriage, for he believed that this alliance by marriage would be a pledge of his securing the goodwill of the entire Jewish nation.

(viii. 1) Now it was just about this time that Alexander the Great Philip, king of Macedon, died at Aegae, being subdnes treacherously slain by Pausanias, the son of Ke-Asia Minor rastes, of the family of the Orestae. And his son

cording to Heb. usage, however, "one of the sons" might mean "a grandson" or "descendant" generally, in which case Josephus would agree with Scripture in making Sanballat's son-in-law a brother of Jaddua.

d Darius III. Codomannus (338-331 B.c.). Scripture (Neh. xii. 22) agrees with Josephus to the extent of making Jaddua a contemporary of Darius III., whom it calls "Darius

the Persian."

In his note ad loc. T. Reinach remarks that Josephus has given the Persian governor of Samaria a daughter with a Greek name "contre toute vraisemblance." The name Nikasō, however, may not be Greek at all, but the hellenized form of a Semitic name, possibly Aram, nikesa "sacrifice " (?).

Josephus's sources for Greek, as well as Roman, Parthian and Hellenistic Jewish history will be treated in an appendix

to the last volume of this translation.

⁹ In Macedonia. Philip was slain in 336 B.c.

JOSEPHUS

αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν 'Ελλήσποντον, νικᾳ μὲν τοὺς Δαρείου στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ Γρανίκω συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς, ἐπελθὼν δὲ τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ τὴν 'Ιωνίαν δουλωσάμενος καὶ τὴν Καρίαν' ἐπιδραμὼν τοῖς ἐν Παμφυλία τόποις ἐπ-έβαλεν, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

306 (2) Οί δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρεσβύτεροι δεινοπαθοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἰαδδοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφὸν ἀλλοφύλω συνοικοῦντα μετέχειν τῆς ἀρ-

307 χιερωσύνης έστασίαζον πρὸς αὐτόν. ἡγοῦντο γὰρ τὸν τούτου γάμον ἐπιβάθραν τοῖς παρανομεῖν περὶ τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν συνοικήσεις βουλησομένοις γενέσθαι² καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους αὐτοῖς κοινω-

308 νίας ἀρχὴν τοῦτο ἔσεσθαι. ὑπάρξαι μέντοι καὶ τῆς προτέρας αἰχμαλωσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τὸ περὶ τοὺς γάμους πλημμελῆσαί τινας καὶ ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκας οὐκ ἐπιχωρίας. ἐκέλευον οὖν τὸν Μανασσῆν διαζεύγνυσθαι τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ μὴ προσ-

300 ιέναι τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ. τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως τῷ λαῷ συναγανακτοῦντος καὶ εἴργοντος τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βωμοῦ, παραγενόμενος ὁ Μανασσῆς πρὸς τὸν πενθερὸν Σαναβαλλέτην στέργειν μὲν ἔλεγεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Νικασώ, τῆς μέντοι γε³ ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς μεγίστης οὔσης ἐν τῷ ἔθνει καὶ τῷ γένει

Syriam aut Cyriam Lat.
 ² γενήσεσθαι AW.
 ³ γε om. FLAVWE.

^a A river in Hellespontine Phrygia, emptying into the Sea of Marmora.

b "Elsewhere" may mean the brief passage about Alexander's conquest of Asia Minor in Ant. ii. 348 or, what is more likely, the works of other historians. The formula $\kappa a\theta \dot{\omega}_S \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\nu}$ ἄλλοις δεδήλωται and similar ones which give cross-

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 305-309

Alexander took over the royal power and, after erossing the Hellespont, defeated the generals of Darius in a battle at the Granicus a: he then invaded Lydia, and after subjugating Ionia and overrunning Caria, fell upon the region of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

(2) Now the elders of Jerusalem, resenting the fact Manasses that the brother of the high priest Jaddūs was shar- to the ing the high priesthood c while married to a foreigner, Samaritana rose up against him, for they considered this marriage to be a stepping-stone for those who might wish to transgress the laws about taking wives and that this would be the beginning of intercourse with foreigners. They believed, moreover, that their former captivity and misfortunes had been eaused by some who had erred in marrying and taking wives who were not of their own country. They therefore told Manasses either to divorce his wife or not to approach the altar. And, as the high priest shared the indignation of the people and kept his brother from the altar, Manasses went to his father-in-law

highest in the nation and had always belonged to his references not readily identifiable in Josephus's extant writings will be discussed in an appendix to the last volume.

Sanaballetes and said that while he loved his daughter Nikasō, nevertheless the priestly office was the

c It is not clear in what way Manasses was "sharing the high priesthood," except in the general sense that he was a member of the high priest's family, as was the case with the "high priests" mentioned in the Gospels. Possibly, however, Josephus means that Manasses occupied the position of sagan (Aram. segan); although this term appears to denote a member of the aristocracy of Jerusalem in the Persian period (as in Ezra ix. 2), in later rabbinic usage it means an assistant of the high priest, cf. Mishnah, Yoma vi. and Bab. Talmud. Yoma 39a.

JOSEPHUS

παραμενούσης οὐ βούλεσθαι δι' αὐτὴν στέρεσθαι. 310 τοῦ δὲ Σαναβαλλέτου μὴ μόνον τηρήσειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν παρέξειν δύναμιν καὶ τιμὴν ὑπισχνουμένου, καὶ πάντων ἀποδείξειν ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπῆρχε τόπων ἡγεμόνα βουλόμενον συνοικεῖν αὐτοῦ¹ τῆ θυγατρί, καὶ λέγοντος οἰκοδομήσειν ναὸν ὅμοιον ὄντα τῷ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαριζεὶν² ὅρους, ὅ τῶν κατὰ τὴν

311 Σαμάρειαν όρων έστιν ύψηλότατον, καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου μετὰ τῆς Δαρείου γνώμης τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπαρθεὶς ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ὁ Μανασσῆς παρέμενε³ τῷ Σαναβαλλέτη, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην οἰόμενος ἔξειν Δαρείου δόντος καὶ γὰρ συνέβαινε τὸν Σαναβαλλέτην ἤδη πρεσβύτερον εἶναι.

312 πολλών δὲ ἱερέων καὶ Ἰσραηλιτών τοιούτοις γάμοις ἐπιπεπλεγμένων κατεῖχεν οὐ μικρὰ ταραχὴ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἀφίσταντο γὰρ ἄπαντες πρὸς τὸν Μανασσῆν τοῦ Σαναβαλλέτου χορηγοῦντος αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήματα καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ κατοίκησιν ἀπομερίζοντος καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ τῷ γαμβρῷ συμφιλοκαλοῦντος.

313 ΄(3) Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Δαρεῖος ἀκούσας ὅτι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διαβὰς ᾿Αλέξανδρος καὶ τοὺς σατράπας αὐτοῦ τῆ κατὰ Γράνικον μάχη κρατήσας προσωτέρω χωρεῖ, στρατιὰν ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικὴν

1 αὐτὸν PFLAW Lat.
2 Γαριζὶν FVE Syncellus.
3 κατέμενε παρὰ AWE.

^a Of the Samaritans, of course, cf. § 324. According to M. Gaster, *The Samaritans*, 1925, pp. 30 f., "No trace of such a fact can be found in the Samaritan chronicles, nor 464

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 309-313

family, and that therefore he did not wish to be deprived of it on her account. But Sanaballetes promised not only to preserve the priesthood for him but also to procure for him the power and office of high priest a and to appoint him governor of all the places over which he ruled, if he were willing to live with his daughter; and he said that he would build a temple similar to that in Jerusalem on Mount Garizein—this is the highest of the mountains near Samaria-, and undertook to do these things with the consent of King Darius. Elated by these promises. Manasses staved with Sanaballetes, believing that he would obtain the high priesthood as the gift of Darius, for Sanaballetes, as it happened. was now an old man. But, as many priests and Israelites were involved in such marriages, great was the confusion which seized the people of Jerusalem. For all these deserted to Manasses, and Sanaballetes supplied them with money and with land for cultivation and assigned them places wherein to dwell, in every way seeking to win favour for b his son-in-law.

(3) Now about this time Darius heard that The Alexander had crossed the Hellespont and defeated Samaritans expect his satraps in the battle at the Granicus and was Darius advancing further, and so he collected an army of Alexander.

is the intermarriage mentioned between the house of the high priest of Jerusalem and any of their governors or rulers.; in one chronicle, however, Sanballat is mentioned as 'Cohen Levi,' 'the Priest, the Levite,' and in another as 'Levite' only, but he is never identified in any way with the High Priest."

Or "enthusiastically supporting," as Dr. Thackeray

translates συμφιλοκαλείν in Ant. i. 9.

• Cf. § 304 note f.

συνήθροιζεν, ἀπαντήσαι διαγνοὺς¹ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν πρὶν ἢ πᾶσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας καταστρέψασθαι τὴν 814 'Ασίαν, περαμυσάμενος οὖν τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν

314 'Ασίαν. περαιωσάμενος οὖν τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ Κιλίκιον ὄρος ὑπερελθὼν ἐν 'Ίσσῷ² τῆς Κιλικίας τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς ἐκεῖ 315 μαχησόμενος αὐτοῖς, ἐξεδέχετο. ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῆ Δα-

315 μαχησόμενος αὐτοῖς, ἐξεδέχετο. ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῆ Δαρείου καταβάσει ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης εὐθὺς ἔλεγε τῷ Μανασσῆ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις τελέσειν, ὡς³ ἂν Δαρεῖος κρατήσας τῶν πολεμίων ὑποστρέψη: πέπειστο γὰροὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασίᾳ μηδ᾽ εἰς χεῖρας τοῖς Πέρσαις ἥξειν τοὺς Μακεδόνας

316 διά τὸ πλήθος. ἀπέβη δ' οὐχ ὡς προσεδόκων συμβαλὼν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἡττήθη καὶ πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπολέσας, ληφθέντων αἰχμαλώτων αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ

317 τῶν τέκνων, ἔφυγεν εἰς Πέρσας. ᾿Αλέξανδρος δ΄ εἰς Συρίαν⁴ παραγενόμενος Δαμασκὸν αἰρεῖ καὶ Σιδῶνος κρατήσας ἐπολιόρκει Τύρον, ἠξίου τε ἀποστείλας γράμματα πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα συμμαχίαν τε αὐτῷ πέμπειν καὶ ἀγορὰν τῷ στρατεύματι παρασχεῖν καὶ ὅσα Δαρείω πρότερον ἐτέ-

¹ διεγνωκώς LAWE.

² ἐν Ἰσσῷ Ε: εἴσω PFLOVA²: ἐν Ἰσ(σ)ῳ πόλει A¹W: ipso Cilicio Lat.

 ³ έως conj. Niese.
 ⁴ Πέρσας PFOVE.

^a More accurately, Mount Amanus by the Amanic Gates (Arrian ii. 7. 1), where the coast of North Syria bends into that of Cilicia.

^b The same statement is made by Diodorus, xvii. 32. 4 (cf. Arrian ii. 6. 4 f.). Arrian, ii. 8. 8, estimates Darius's army as 600,000 men; Diodorus, xvii. 31. 2, as 500,000; Justinus, xi. 9, and Curtius, iii. 2. 4, as 400,000.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 313-317

horsemen and foot-soldiers, being determined to meet the Macedonians before they should invade and conquer all Asia. Accordingly, he crossed the Euphrates river, passed over Taurus, a the mountain in Cilicia, and awaited the enemy at Issus in Cilicia, intending to give battle there. Then Sanaballetes, who was glad that Darius had come down, told Manasses that he would fulfil his promises as soon as Darius should return from conquering the enemy. For not only he himself but all those in Asia were convinced that the Macedonians would not even come to grips with the Persians because of their great number. b But the event proved other than they expected, for the king did engage the Macedonians and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army, his mother and wife and children being taken captive, while he fled to Persia.c And Alexander, coming to Syria, took Damascus, became master of Sidon and besieged Tyre ; from there he dispatched a letter to the high priest of the Jews,f requesting him to send him assistance and supply his army with provisions and give him the gifts which they had formerly sent as tribute to Darius, thus

' The battle took place in October 333 B.c.

^d The capture of Damascus and Sidon took place shortly after the battle of Issus, cf. B. Niese, Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten, i. 81 n. 2.

From January to July, 332 B.c., cf. § 325 note c.

On the historicity and sources of Josephus's (legendary) account of Alexander's relations with the Jews and Samaritans see Appendix C. Here it may suffice to note that none of the extant non-Jewish sources mentions the Jews in connexion with Alexander; on the other hand, rabbinic tradition preserves a similar story (Bab. Talmud, Yoma 69a and Scholion, Megillath Ta'anith ix, "The Day of Mount Garizim"), which is given in the Appendix.

λουν δώρα ταθτ' αὐτῷ¹ διδόναι τὴν Μακεδόνων φιλίαν έλομένους· οὐ γὰρ μετανοήσειν ἐπὶ τούτοις.

318 τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως ἀποκριναμένου τοῖς γραμματοφόροις ὡς ὅρκους εἴη Δαρείω δεδωκὼς μὴ βαστάζειν ὅπλα κατ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τούτους ἔως ἂν ἢ Δαρεῖος ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν μὴ παραβήσεσθαι φήσαντος, ἀκούσας

319 'Αλέξανδρος παρωξύνθη, καὶ τὴν μὲν Τύρον οὐκ ἔκρινε καταλιπεῖν ὅσον οὐδέπω² μέλλουσαν αἱρεῖσθαι, παραστησάμενος δὲ ταύτην ἢπείλει στρατεύσειν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν 'Ιουδαίων ἀρχιερέα καὶ διδάξειν πάντας δι' αὐτοῦ³ πρὸς τίνας δὴ αὐτοῖς φυλακτέον

320 τοὺς ὅρκους· ὅθεν πονικώτερον χρησάμενος τῆ πολιορκία λαμβάνει τὴν Τύρον. καταστησάμενος δὲ τὰ ἐν αὐτῆ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Γαζαίων πόλιν ἦλθε καὶ τήν τε Γάζαν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῆ φρούραρχον ὄνομα

Βαβημήσιν ἐπολιόρκει.

321 (4) Νομίσας δὲ καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔχειν ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, Δαρείου μὲν ἀπέγνω, λαβὼν δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους τῶν ἀρχομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς ᾿Αλέξανδρον ῆκε καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀρχόμενον τῆς Τύρου πολιορκίας, ὧν τε αὐτὸς ἄρχει

1 ταῦτ' αὐτῷ Niese: τούτῳ codd.: αὐτῷ ex Lat. Cocceji.
2 οὕτω LAWE.
3 δι' αὐτοῦ om. PV.

5 ἐπιβουλη̂ς LW.

a The variant omits "through him."

⁴ Βαβιμίσιν F: Βαβημάσιν P: Βαβίσιν A marg.: Βαβιμίσην Ο: Babymasin Lat.: Bátis Arrian.: Betis Qu. Curtius.

⁶ λαβών δέ] καὶ λαβών δὶς PFO(V).

b In the summer of 332 B.c., cf. § 325 note d.
c Variants Babēmasis, etc. The name appears as Batis arranged ii. 25. 4, as Betis (v.l. Batis) in Curtius iv. 6. 7.
F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, pp. 65 f. connects Batis with Iranian Vata (so also Prof. Louis H. Gray of Columbia,

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choosing the friendship of the Macedonians, for, he said, they would not regret this course. But the The high high priest replied to the bearers of the letter that priest he had given his oath to Darius not to take up arms (Jaddua) against him, and said that he would never violate loyal to this oath so long as Darius remained alive. Alexander heard this, he was roused to anger, and while deciding not to leave Tyre, which was on the point of being taken, threatened that when he had brought it to terms he would march against the high priest of the Jews and through him a teach all men what people it was to whom they must keep their oaths, and for this reason continuing the siege with greater effort, he took Tyre. After he had settled affairs there, he advanced against the city of Gaza and besieged it b together with the commander of its garrison, named Babēmēsis.c

(4) Now Sanaballetes, believing that he had a The favourable opportunity for his design, abandoned the court the cause of Darius and came, along with eight d thousand victorious of the people under his rule, to Alexander, whom he found beginning the siege of Tyre, and said that he

in a private communication), while he considers Babemēsis a Semitic form. It seems to me that the similarity to one another of the variants in Josephus points to the survival of a genuine Iranian form. I suggest that the second element in the name, $m\bar{e}sis$, is the same as that found in the Iranian name Waumisa (a general of Darius II., cf. F. Weissbach, Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden, 1911, pp. 34 ff.), this, in turn, being a dialectal development of the name Mithra (cf. Justi s.v.). The first element, babē-may be a corruption of Iranian Baga "God" (this word being usually hellenized as Mega, cf. Megaphernes and similar names). To summarize, I suggest that the original name of the (presumably Persian) commander of Gaza was Bagamisa "Mithra is God."

d Variant 16 (lit. "twice eight").

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τόπων ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ παραδιδόναι τούτους, καὶ δεσπότην αὐτὸν ἡδέως ἔχειν ἀντὶ Δαρείου τοῦ βασι322 λέως. ἀσμένως δ' αὐτὸν προσδεξαμένου θαρρῶν
ἤδη περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης αὐτῷ λόγους προσέφερε, δηλῶν ὡς γαμβρὸν μὲν ἔχοι Μανασσῆν τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέως Ἰαδδοῦ ἀδελφόν, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αὐτῷ συμπαρόντας τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν θἔλειν ἱερὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνω

323 τόποις ήδη κατασκευάσαι. τοῦτο δ' είναι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ συμφέρον, εἰς δύο διηρῆσθαι τὴν Ἰουδαίων δύναμιν, ἴνα μὴ ὁμογνωμονοῦν τὸ ἔθνος μηδὲ συνεστός, εἰ νεωτερίσειέ ποτε, χαλεπὸν ἢ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον τοῖς ἸΑσσυρίων

324 ἄρξασιν ἐγένετο. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου, πᾶσαν εἰσενεγκάμενος σπουδὴν ὠκοδόμησεν ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἱερέα τὸν Μανασσῆν κατέστησεν, μέγιστον γέρας ἡγησάμενος τοῖς ἐκ 325 τῆς θυγατρὸς γενησομένοις τοῦτ᾽ ἔσεσθαι. μηνῶν

325 της θυγατρός γενησομένοις τοῦτ ἔσεσθαι. μηνών δ' έπτὰ τη Τύρου πολιορκία διεληλυθότων καὶ δύο τη Γάζης ό μεν Σαναβαλλέτης ἀπέθανεν, ό δε 'Αλέξανδρος έξελων την Γάζαν ἐπὶ τὴν των Ἱερο-

Αλεξανορος εξελών την 1 αξαν επί την των 1 ερο326 σολυμιτών πόλιν ἀναβαίνειν ἐσπουδάκει. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰαδδοῦς τοῦτ' ἀκούσας ἦν ἐν ἀγωνία καὶ δέει, πῶς ἀπαντήσει τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀμηχανῶν, ὀργιζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῆ πρότερον ἀπει-

¹ E ed. pr.: - άμενος FLAW: - αμένους P: - άμενοι OV.
² Cocceji: Γάζη codd. E Lat.

^b Cf. the charges made against the Jews by the Samaritans in the Persian period, §§ 97 ff.

^a One variant makes Sanaballetes the subject, and Alexander the object, of the verb "received."

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was giving up to him the places under his rule and gladly accepted him as his master in place of King Darius. As Alexander received him in friendly fashion.a Sanaballetes now felt confident about his plan and addressed him on that subject, explaining that he had a son-in-law Manasses, who was the brother of Jaddus, the high priest of the Jews, and that there were many others of his countrymen with him who now wished to build a temple in the territory subject to him. It was also an advantage to the king, he said, that the power of the Jews should be divided in two, in order that the nation might not, in the event of revolution, be of one mind and stand together and so give trouble to the kings as it Alexander had formerly given to the Assyrian rulers. When, sanctions the building therefore, Alexander gave his consent, Sanaballetes of a Samaribrought all his energy to bear and built the temple tan temple. and appointed Manasses high priest, considering this to be the greatest distinction which his daughter's descendants could have. But Sanaballetes died after seven months had been spent on the siege of Tyre c and two on that of Gaza,d and Alexander, after taking Gaza, was in haste to go up to the city of Jerusalem. When the high priest Jaddus heard this, he was in an agony of fear, not knowing how he could meet the Macedonians, whose king was angered by his former disobedience. He therefore

d Cf. § 320 note b. The two-month duration of this siege

is also mentioned in Diodorus xvii, 48, 7,

c Cf. § 317 note e. The seven-month duration of the siege is mentioned in Diodorus xvii. 46. 5, Curtius iv. 4. 19 and Plutarch, Vita Alex. xxiv.

[.] The extant non-Jewish sources state that Alexander left for Egypt almost immediately after taking Gaza, cf. Appendix C.

θεία. παραγγείλας οὖν ίκεσίαν τῷ λαῷ καὶ θυσίαν μετ' αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ προσφέρων ἐδεῖτο ὑπερασπίσαι τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῶν ἐπερχομένων κινδύνων ἀπαλ-

327 λάξαι. κατακοιμηθέντι δὲ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἐχρημάτισεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ θεὸς θαρρεῖν καὶ
στεφανοῦντας τὴν πόλιν ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας, καὶ
τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λευκαῖς ἐσθῆσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ
τῶν ἱερέων ταῖς νομίμοις στολαῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν
ὑπάντησιν, μηδὲν προσδοκῶντας πείσεσθαι δεινὸν

328 προνοουμένου τοῦ θεοῦ. διαναστὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔχαιρέν τε μεγάλως αὐτός, καὶ τὸ χρηματισθὲν αὐτῷ πᾶσι μηνύσας καὶ ποιήσας ὅσα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ παρηγγέλη, τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρ-

ουσίαν έξεδέχετο.

329 (5) Πυθόμενος δ' αὐτὸν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ὅντα πρόεισι³ μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους, ἱεροπρεπῆ καὶ διαφέρουσαν τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ποιούμενος τὴν ὑπάντησιν εἰς τόπον τινὰ Σαφεὶν³ λεγόμενον. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο μεταφερόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν σκοπὸν' σημαίνει· τά τε γὰρ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐκεῦθεν 330 συνέβαινεν ἀφορᾶσθαι. τῶν δὲ Φοινίκων καὶ τῶν

ἰκετείαν LAW: ἰκεσίας V.
 πρόσεισι (P)LAE.
 Σαφὶν FLE: Σαφὰν (-ᾶν W) A¹VW.
 σκοπὴν FL¹A¹VW: σκοπιὰν A marg.: scopulum Lat.

^a Cf. the description of the high priest's distress on a somewhat similar occasion in 2 Maccabees iii. 14 ff.

b Variants Saphin, Sapha(n). E. Schürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, i. (4th ed.) 604 n. 14, explains Saphein as the Aram. form of Heb. Sõphim "Lookout," as Josephus translates. Schürer identifies this Sõphim, mentioned in the Mishnah, with the 472

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ordered the people to make supplication, and, offering sacrifice to God together with them, besought Him to shield the nation and deliver them from the dangers that were hanging over them. a But, when God rehe had gone to sleep after the sacrifice, God spoke high priest. oracularly to him in his sleep, telling him to take courage and adorn the city with wreaths and open the gates and go out to meet them, and that the people should be in white garments, and he himself with the priests in the robes prescribed by law, and that they should not look to suffer any harm, for God was watching over them. Thereupon he rose from his sleep, greatly rejoicing to himself, and announced to all the revelation that had been made to him, and, after doing all the things that he had been told to do, awaited the coming of the king.

(5) When he learned that Alexander was not far Alexander from the city, he went out with the priests and the greets the high priest body of citizens, and, making the reception sacred reverently. in character and different from that of other nations. met him at a certain place called Saphein.^b This name, translated into the Greek tongue, means "Lookout." For, as it happened, Jerusalem and the temple could be seen from there. Now the

hill called Σκοπός mentioned in B.J. ii. 528 et al. (so also, earlier, G. Boettger, Topographisch-historisches Lexicon zu... Josephus, p. 219). It is the modern Mount Scopus, about a mile N. of Jerusalem, where the Hebrew University now stands. According to the rabbinic version (see Appendix C) the meeting between Alexander and the high priest took place at Antipatris, some 20 miles N.E. of Joppa (Jaffa); this city was called Kephar Saba in pre-Herodian times (Καφαρσαβα in Ant. xvi. 142), and Reland apud Hudson-Havercamp therefore suggests that a confusion between Saba and Sapha is responsible for the substitution of Antipatris for Saphein (or Sapha) in the rabbinic version.

ακολουθούντων Χαλδαίων οσα βασιλέως δργην είκὸς ην επιτρέψειν αὐτοῖς την τε πόλιν διαρπάσειν καὶ τον ἀρχιερέα μετ' αἰκίας ἀπολέσειν λογιζο-

331 μένων, τὰ έναντία τούτων ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Αλέξανδρος έτι πόρρωθεν ίδων το μέν πληθος έν ταις λευκαις έσθησιν, τούς δε ιερεις προεστώτας έν ταις βυσσίναις αὐτῶν, τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα ἐν τῆ ὑακινθίνω καὶ διαχρύσω στολῆ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα τὴν κίδαριν καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔλασμα, ῷ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγγέγραπτο² ὄνομα, προσελθών μόνος προσεκύνησε το όνομα καὶ τον άρχ-

332 ιερέα πρώτος ήσπάσατο. των δε Ἰουδαίων δμοῦ πάντων μιὰ φωνη τον 'Αλέξανδρον ἀσπασαμένων καὶ κυκλωσαμένων αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν τῆς Συρίας βασιλείς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ διεφθάρθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν

333 ύπελάμβανον, Παρμενίωνος δε μόνου προσελθόντος αὐτῷ καὶ πυθομένου τί δήποτε προσκυνούντων αὐτὸν ἀπάντων αὐτὸς προσκυνήσειε τὸν Ἰουδαίων άρχιερέα; "οὐ τοῦτον," εἶπεν, "προσεκύνησα,

> 1 Χουθαίων Schotanus. ² Cocceji: ἐγέγραπτο codd.: ἐπεγέγραπτο Ε.

greeted by him.

⁶ Suggested variant Cuthaeans. This might seem to find support in the rabbinic version, according to which the Cuthaeans (Samaritans) intended to destroy the temple "Chaldaeans" is correct (cf. "the kings of Syria" below in § 332) and that Josephus (or his source) is thinking of a later incident, referred to in 1 Maccabees iii. 41, when Syrian merchants accompanied the Seleucid general Lysias to Judaea in the hope of buying captured Jews as slaves.

b That is, Alexander greeted the high pricst before being

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Phoenicians and the Chaldaeans a who followed along thought to themselves that the king in his anger would naturally permit them to plunder the city and put the high priest to a shameful death, but the reverse of this happened. For when Alexander while still far off saw the multitude in white garments the priests at their head clothed in linen, and the high priest in a robe of hyacinth-blue and gold, wearing on his head the mitre with the golden plate on it on which was inscribed the name of God, he approached alone and prostrated himself before the Name and first greeted the high priest.^b Then all the Jews together greeted Alexander with one voice and surrounded him, but the kings of Syria and the others were struck with amazement at his action and supposed that the king's mind was deranged. And Parmenion alone went up to him and asked why indeed, when all men prostrated themselves before him,d he had prostrated himself before the high priest of the Jews, whereupon he replied, "It was His oracular not before him that I prostrated myself but the God dream.

The Macedonian general, second in command to Alexander, who was left in charge of Syria and Palestine when Alexander went to Egypt (although it is not clear just how long Parmenion remained in Syria after Alexander's departure, cf. 1. Spak, Der Bericht des Josephus über Alexander den Grossen, 1911, pp. 29 f. and Appendix C). Parmenion plays a somewhat similar rôle as critic of Alexander in the well-known story told by Plutarch, Vita Alex. xxix., according to which he said he would accept Darius's terms if he were Alexander, whereupon Alexander replied, "And so should I, if I were Parmenion."

d The prostration (proskynēsis) is an anachronism, as is pointed out by Niese, op. cit. i. 83 n. 3, since Alexander allowed proskynēsis to himself only after Darius's death. For a detailed discussion of the practice cf. J. Hort, Pros-

kynein, 1932 (Neutestamentliche Forschungen, 3, 2).

τὸν δὲ θεόν, οὖ τῇ ἀρχιερωσύνῃ οὖτος τετίμηται·
334 τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἶδον ἐν τῷ νῦν
σχήματι ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας τυγχάνων, καὶ
πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν διασκεπτομένῳ μοι πῶς ἂν κρατήσαιμι τῆς ᾿Ασίας, παρεκελεύετο μὴ μέλλειν¹ ἀλλὰ
θαρσοῦντα διαβαίνειν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἡγήσεσθαί² μου
τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τὴν Περσῶν παραδώσειν ἀρχήν.

335 ὅθεν ἄλλον μὲν οὐδένα θεασάμενος ἐν τοιαύτη στολῆ, τοῦτον δὲ νῦν ἰδὼν καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς ὅπνους ἀναμνησθεὶς ὄψεώς τε καὶ παρακελεύσεως, νομίζω θεία πομπῆ τὴν στρατείαν πεποιημένος Δαρεῖον νικήσειν καὶ τὴν Περσῶν καταλύσειν³ δύναμιν καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ νοῦν ἐστί μοι προχωρή-

336 σειν.' ταῦτ' εἰπων πρὸς τὸν Παρμενίωνα καὶ δεξιωσάμενος τὸν ἀρχιερέα, τῶν Ἰουδαίων' παραθεόντων, εἰς τὴν πόλιν παραγίνεται. καὶ ἀνελθων ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν θύει μὲν τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὑφήγησιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ 337 τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀξιοπρεπως ἐτίμησεν. δειχθείσης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς Δανιήλου βίβλου, ἐν ἢ τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταλύσειν τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐδήλου, νομίσας

αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ σημαινόμενος τότε μὲν ἡσθεὶς ἀπέλυσε τὸ πληθος, τῆ δ' ἐπιούση προσκαλεσάμενος ἐκέ- λευσεν αὐτοὺς αἰτεῖσθαι δωρεὰς ἃς ἂν αὐτοὶ θέ- 338 λωσιν. τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως αἰτησαμένου χρήσασθαι

1 μένειν PFLV: neglegere Lat.
2 ἡγήσασθαί PFV.
3 νικήσαι . . καταλύσαι Lat.
4 ἱερέων FAVW: reliquis sacerdotibus Lat.
5 καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς οπ. PFVE.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 333-338

of whom he has the honour to be high priest, for it was he whom I saw in my sleep dressed as he is now, when I was at Dium in Macedonia, and, as I was considering with myself how I might become master of Asia, he urged me not to hesitate a but to cross over confidently, for he himself would lead my army and give over to me the empire of the Persians. Since, therefore, I have beheld no one else in such robes, and on seeing him now I am reminded of the vision and the exhortation. I believe that I have made this expedition under divine guidance and that I shall defeat Darius and destroy the power of the Persians and succeed in carrying out all the things which I have in mind." After saving these things to Parmenion, he gave his hand to the high priest and, with the Jews b running beside him, entered the city. Then he went up to the temple, Alexander where he sacrificed to God under the direction of the sacrifices in the high priest, and showed due honour to the priests temple at and c to the high priest himself. And, when the Jerusalem. book of Daniel was shown to him, in which he had declared that one of the Greeks would destroy the empire of the Persians, d he believed himself to be the one indicated; and in his joy he dismissed the multitude for the time being, but on the following day he summoned them again and told them to ask for any gifts which they might desire. When the high priest asked that they might observe their

d Cf. Ant. x. 273 on Dan. viii. 21. The latter part of the book of Daniel (chs. vii.-xii.) is generally held by biblical scholars to have been written after 165 B.c.

[&]quot;Variant "remain." b Variant "priests." The variant omits "to the priests and "(in the Greek the words "to the high priest himself" precede "to the priests ").

τοις πατρίοις νόμοις και τὸ εβδομον έτος άνείσφορον είναι, συνεχώρησε πάντα. παρακαλεσάντων δ' αὐτὸν² ίνα καὶ τοὺς εν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Μηδία Ιουδαίους τοις ιδίοις επιτρέψη νόμοις χρησθαί,

339 ἀσμένως ὑπέσχετο³ ποιήσειν ἄπερ ἀξιοῦσιν. εἰ-πόντος δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, εἴ τινες αὐτῷ βούλονται συστρατεύειν τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐμμένοντες καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ζῶντες, ετοίμως ἔχειν έπάγεσθαι, πολλοί την σύν αὐτῶ στρατείαν

ηγάπησαν.

340 ΄ (6) ΄ Ο μεν οὖν 'Αλέξανδρος ταῦτα διοικησάμενος έν τοις Ίεροσολύμοις έξεστράτευσεν έπι τας έχομένας πόλεις. πάντων δ' αὐτὸν πρὸς οῦς ἀφίκοιτο φιλοφρόνως εκδεχομένων, Σαμαρείται μητρόπολιν τότε την Σίκιμαν έχοντες κειμένην πρός τω Γαριζειν ὄρει και κατωκημένην ύπο των αποστατων τοῦ 'Ιουδαίων έθνους, ιδόντες ότι τους 'Ιουδαίους 'Αλέξανδρος ούτω λαμπρώς τετίμηκεν, έγνωσαν αύτους

341 Ἰουδαίους όμολογεῖν. εἰσὶν γὰρ οἱ Σαμαρεῖς τοιοῦτοι τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἤδη που καὶ πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν ἐν μὲν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὄντας τοὺς 'Ιουδαίους ἀρνοῦνται συγγενεῖς ἔχειν,' ὁμολογοῦντες τότε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὅταν δέ τι περὶ αὐτοὺς λαμπρὸν ίδωσιν ἐκ τύχης, ἐξαίφνης⁵ ἐπιπηδῶσιν αὐτῶν τῆ κοινωνία, προσήκειν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν 'Ιωσήπου γενεαλογοῦντες αύτους ἐκγόνων 'Εφραί-

342 μου καὶ Μανασσοῦ. μετὰ λαμπρότητος οδν καὶ πολλὴν ἐνδεικνύμενοι τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν προθυμίαν ἀπήντησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐγγὺς

² αὐτῶν FA¹OVW. 3 ύπεδέχετο FLOV. ⁴ ἔχειν V: om. rell. ⁵ ἐξαίφνης om. PFLE.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 338-342

country's laws and in the seventh year be exempt from tribute, he granted all this. Then they begged that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media also to have their own laws, and he gladly promised to do as they asked. And, when he said to the people that if any wished to join his army while still adhering to the customs of their country, he was ready to take them, many eagerly accepted service with him.a

(6) And so, having regulated these matters at The Samari-Jerusalem, Alexander marched off against the court neighbouring cities. But all those peoples to whom Alexander. he came received him in a friendly spirit, whereupon the Samaritans, whose chief city at that time was Shechem, b which lay beside Mount Garizein and was inhabited by apostates from the Jewish nation. seeing that Alexander had so signally honoured the Jews, decided to profess themselves Jews. For such is the nature of the Samaritans, as we have already shown somewhere above.c When the Jews are in difficulties, they deny that they have any kinship with them, thereby indeed admitting the truth, but whenever they see some splendid bit of good fortune come to them, they suddenly d grasp at the connexion with them, saying that they are related to them and tracing their line back to Ephraim and Manasseh. the descendants of Joseph. So, then, with splendour and a show of great eagerness on his behalf, they met the king when he was hardly out of Jerusalem.

a Cf. Josephus's citation from Hecataeus of Abderain Ap. i. 192 ff. The genuineness of these citations from Hecataeus has been recently reaffirmed by H. Lewy in Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 31, 1932, pp. 117-132.

b Greek Sikima, cf. Ant. v. 69 note d.

[°] Cf. Ant. ix. 291 and note.

d The variant omits "suddenly."

τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων. ἐπαινέσαντος δὲ αὐτοὺς ᾿Αλεξάνδρου οι Σικιμίται προσήλθον αὐτῷ προσπαραλαβόντες και ους Σαναβαλλέτης προς αυτον στρατιώτας απέστειλε και παρεκάλουν παραγενό-

μενον εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν τιμῆσαι καὶ τὸ παρ' 343 αὐτοῖς ἱερόν. ὁ δ' ἐκεῖνο¹ μὲν αὖθις ὑποστρέφων παρέξειν² ὑπέσχετο πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀξιούντων δὲ άφειναι τον φόρον αὐτοις τοῦ έβδοματικοῦ έτους, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς σπείρειν ἐν αὐτῷ, τίνες ὅντες 344 ταῦτα παρακαλοῦσιν ἐπυνθάνετο. τῶν δ' εἰπόντων

- Έβραιοι μέν είναι, χρηματίζειν δ' οι έν Σικίμοις Σιδώνιοι, πάλιν αὐτους ἐπηρώτησεν εἰ τυγχάνουσιν 'Ιουδαΐοι. τῶν δ' οὐκ εἶναι φαμένων " ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ταῦτα,'' εἶπεν, '' Ἰουδαίοις ἔδωκα, ὑποστρέψας μέντοι γε καὶ διδαχθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀκριβέστερον ποιήσω τὰ δόξαντα.'' τοῖς μὲν οὖν Σικιμίταις 345 ουτως ἀπετάξατο. τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Σαναβαλλέτου
- στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσεν ἔπεσθαι είς Αιγυπτον ἐκεί. γαρ αὐτοῖς δώσειν κλήρους γης δ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον έποίησεν έν τη Θηβαΐδι, φρουρείν την χώραν αὐτοίς προστάξας.

1 ἐκείνοις V. 2 ήξειν FVE Lat.: έξειν W: ίδεῖν P.

3 αφιέναι FLOV.

4 χρηματίζειν . . . Σιδώνιοι] Sichimitas autem a Sidoniis nuncupari Lat.

" Or " commended."

b The variant (after "promised") "to come" is obviously

corrupt.

[°] Cf. Ant. xii. 257 ff. M. Rostovtzeff in Cambridge Ancient History, vii. 191, commenting on the colonizing activity of the Phoenician cities, writes, "at Marissa in Palestine there certainly existed [in Ptolemaic and Seleucid times a colony of Sidonians, for the most part Greeks. . . .

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 342-345

And, when Alexander encouraged a them, the Shechemites approached him, bringing along the soldiers whom Sanaballetes had sent to him, and invited him to come to their city and honour the temple there as well. Thereupon he promised to grant this request b another time when he should come back to them, but, when they asked him to remit their tribute in the seventh year, saying that they did not sow therein, he inquired who they were that they made this request. And, when they said that they were Hebrews but were called the Sidonians of Shechem, c he again asked them whether they were Jews. Then, as they said that they were not, he replied, "But I have given these privileges to the Jews. However, when I return and have more exact information from you, I shall do as I think best." With these words, then, he sent the Shechemites away. But the soldiers of Sanaballetes he ordered to accompany him to Egypt; there, he said, he would give them allotments of land, as in fact he did shortly afterwards, in the Thebaid, and this territory he ordered them to guard.d

We must bring this into relation with the well-known exchange of letters between Antiochus and the Sidonians at Shechem. . . . Such semi-Greeks from the Phoenician cities were probably scattered in groups throughout Judaea and Samaria." But Josephus must not be understood to mean that the Jews recognized Sanballat and his friends even as semi-Greeks.

d In Ptolemaic Egypt there was a village in the Fayum (about 65 miles S. of the apex of the Delta) called Samareia. There seems to be no other ancient reference to Samaritans in the Thebaid, which, in Josephus's time, could hardly have included the Fayum district, cf. Strabo, xvii. 3 (c. 787). Niese, GGMS ii. 112 n. 2, thinks this statement "ganz unzuverlässig." On the Samaritans in Alexandria cf. Ant.

xiii. 74 ff., and in Egypt generally, Ant. xii. 7 ff.

JOSEPHUS

346 (7) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ εἰς τοὺς διαδόχους¹ ἐμερίσθη,² τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαριζεὶν ὅρους ἱερὸν ἔμεινεν.³ εἰ δέ τις αἰτίαν ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις κοινοφαγίας ἢ τῆς ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις παρανομίας ἤ τινος ἄλλου τοιούτου

τοις σαββάτοις παρανομίας ή τινος άλλου τοιούτου 347 άμαρτήματος, παρὰ τους Σικιμίτας ἔφευγε, λέγων ἀδίκως ἐκβεβλησθαι. τετελευτήκει δὲ κατ' ἐκεινον ήδη τὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερευς Ἰαδδους καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην 'Ονίας ὁ παις αὐτοῦ παρειλήφει. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τους Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἐν τούτοις ἐτύγ-χανεν ὄντα.

1 διαφόρους PFV. 2 διεμερίσθη AWE.

4 έγκεκλησθαι WE: έκκεκλησθαι V: culpari Lat.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 346-347

(7) When Alexander died, his empire was par-Jewish apostates titioned among his successors (the Diadochi); as join the for the temple on Mount Garizein, it remained. Samaratins. And, whenever anyone was accused by the people of Jerusalem of eating unclean food or violating the Sabbath or committing any other such sin, he would flee to the Shechemites, saving that he had been unjustly expelled. Now by that time the high priest Jaddūs was also dead, and his son Onias c succeeded to the high priesthood. This, then, was the way things were with the people of Jerusalem at that time.

^a In June, 323 B.c.

Variant "accused."

The first of several high priests of that name in the pre-Hasmonaean period, cf. Appendix B in Vol. VII.

APPENDIX A

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

BIBAION O

α΄.¹ 'Ως στρατευσάμενος ὁ 'Αχάβου παῖς 'Ιώ-

ραμος ἐπὶ Μωαβίτας ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν.

β'. 'Ως ο ομώνυμος αὐτῷ 'Ιώραμος βασιλεύων τῶν 'Ιεροσολυμιτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν λαβὼν' τούς τε ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοὺς πατρώους φίλους ἀπέκτεινεν.

γ΄. "Ότι τῆς 'Ιδουμαίας ἀποστάσης καὶ στρατευσάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν 'Αράβων ἥ τε δύναμις αὐτοῦ πᾶσα διεφθάρη καὶ οἱ παΐδες αὐτοῦ πάρεξ ἐνὸς ὄντος ἔτι νηπίου καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αὐτὸς ἀσεβὴς γενόμενος κακῶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

δ΄. Στρατεία τοῦ Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα Ἰώραμον, καὶ πῶς πολιορκηθεὶς οῦτος ἐν Σαμαρεία παρα-

δόξως τὸν κίνδυνον διέφυγεν.

ε΄. 'Ως αὐτὸς Ἰώραμος ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Ἰηοῦ

1 numeros om. MSP.
2 πᾶσαν λαβών] παραλαβών conj. Niese.
3 IIII Lat. in quo hoc caput post quartum exhibetur.
4 στρατοπεδευσάντων MSP.

^a Several MSS. omit the section numberings in Books IX-XI.

APPENDIX A

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

BOOK IX		
	In this edition	
	SECTION	PAGE
(i) a How Achab's (Ahab's) son Jora-	100	
mos (Joram) marched against the Moa-	30	
bites and conquered them b	29	17
(ii) How Joramos, his namesake, rul-		
ing over Jerusalem, seized complete	-	
power, and killed his brothers and the	Say.	
friends of his father	95	51
(iii) How, when Idumaea (Edom) re-		
volted, and the Arabs marched against	100	
him, his entire force was destroyed, and		
how his sons, with the exception of one,		
who was still an infant, and he himself		
with them died a miserable death be-		
cause of his impiety	102	55
(iv) c The campaign of the king of		
Syria and Damascus against Joramos,		
king of the Israelites, and how, when		
he was besieged in Samaria, he miracu-		
lously escaped danger	60	33
(v) How Joramos met a violent death		

^b The table omits to mention Jehosaphat, Ahaziah and Elijah, §§ 1-28.

• This section belongs before section iii.

at the hands of Jeus (Jehu), the com-

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX

ἀναιρεθεὶς τοῦ ἱππάρχου, καὶ ἡ γενεὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς ᾿Οχοζίας.

ς'. "Οτι μετὰ τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν ὁ Ἰηοῦς ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ἐν Σαμαρεία διατρίβων, καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ γενεὰς τέσσαρας.

ζ΄. 'Ως γυνή τις 'Οθλία¹ τοὔνομα τῶν 'Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ ἔτη πέντε, καὶ ἀνελὼν αὐτὴν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς 'Ἰώδας² τὸν 'Οχοζίου παῖδα 'Ἰωάσην ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα.

η΄. 'Αζαήλου τοῦ Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Ισραηλίτας στρατεία καὶ ὡς πολλὰ κακὰ τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν διαθεὶς καὶ τὴν Σαμαρέων³ πόλιν, ὀλίγω πάλιν⁴ ὕστερον χρόνω στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Γεροσολυμίτας καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀνέζευξεν.

θ΄. 'Ως 'Αμασίας ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίους καὶ 'Αμαληκίτας

ενίκησεν.

ι΄. 'Ως αὐτὸς οὖτος πολεμῶν πρὸς τὸν 'Ισραηλιτῶν βασιλέα 'Ιώασον ἡττᾶται μέν, ληφθεὶς δὲ αἰχμάλωτος καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα δοὺς ἀπελύθη πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ ὡς ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ 'Οζίας τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη ἐχειρώσατο.

Γοθολία MSP Lat.
 Ἰωάδας RO: Ioahdas Lat.
 Σαμαρειτῶν MSP.
 ὀλίγω πάλιν om, MSP.

καὶ ώς κτλ. decimo cap. ascribit Lat., undecimo codd. 486

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
mander of his horse, together with his		
family and Ochozias (Ahaziah), the king		
of Jerusalem	114	61
(vi) How, after Joramos's death, Jeus	200	
ruled over Israel, residing at Samaria,	10	
as did his sons for four generations .	125	67
(vii) How a certain woman named	11	
Othlia (Athaliah) ruled over Jerusalem		
for five years, and how the high priest		
Jodas (Jehoiada) put her to death, and		
appointed Joases (Joash), the son of		
Ochozias, king	140	75
(viii) The campaign of Azaēlos		
(Hazael), king of Damascus, against the		
Israelites, and how, after inflicting many	11000	
injuries on their country and on the city		
of Samaria, he marched against the	24	
people of Jerusalem a little while there-		
after, and taking a great sum of money		104
from their king, marched back to	159	87
Damascus	170	91
(ix) How Amasias (Amaziah), the		
king of Jerusalem, marched against the		
Idumaeans (Edomites) and Amalekites		
and defeated them	186	99
(x) How this same king was defeated		
in his war with Joasos (Joash), the king	-	
of Israel, and was taken captive, and		
after giving him a great sum of money,		
was permitted to return to his own king-		
dom, and how his son Ozias (Uzziah)	100	
subdued the surrounding nations .	199	105

a The variant omits " a little while thereafter."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX

ια΄. Στρατεία τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως

'Ιεροβάμου' έπὶ Συρίαν καὶ νίκη.

ίβ΄. Δς ὁ τῶν ᾿Ασσυρίων βασιλεύς στρατευσάμενος έπὶ Σαμάρειαν, καὶ πολλά χρήματα παρά Φακέα τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εἰσπραξάμενος εἰς τὴν ολκείαν υπέστρεψεν.

ιγ'. "Οτι στρατευσάμενος 'Ραασσείν" ό Δαμασκοῦ βασιλεύς ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἡνάγκασεν ᾿Αχάζην τὸν βασιλέα πέμψαντα χρήματα πολλά πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα 'Ασσυρίων πεῖσαι τούτοις αὐτὸν έπὶ Δαμασκόν στρατεύσασθαι.

ιδ΄. 'Ως κατά κράτος είλεν ο τῶν 'Ασσυρίων βασιλεύς Δαμασκόν καὶ διέφθειρε μέν αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα, τους δε άνθρώπους άναστήσας είς Μηδίαν

έτερα έθνη κατώκισεν έν Δαμασκώ.

ιε΄. 'Ως Σαλμανάσαρ ὁ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων βασιλεύς στρατευσάμενος έπὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ πέντε πολιορκήσας έτεσιν έν αὐτη τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα 'Ωσην παραστησάμενος την πόλιν ἀπέκτεινεν.

ις'. Καὶ ὡς ὁ ᾿Ασσύριος τὰς δέκα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν φυλάς εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν κατοικίσας, ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος τὸ τῶν Χουθαίων ἔθνος εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων μετήγαγε γώραν, ους Ελληνες Σαμαρείς καλουσιν.

Περιέχει ή βίβλος χρόνον έτων έκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ζ΄ μηνῶν.

> 1 'Ιωράμου ΜΡ: 'Ιωράβου S. 2 vy' RO, sic et in seqq. diff. codd. 3 'Aρασίν M : 'Αρασήν P : 'Αρασής S : Rasin Lat.

From King Menahem, according to Josephus and Scripture.

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(xi) The campaign of Jeroboam, the		
king of Israel, against Syria, and his		- W.
victory	205	109
(xii) How the king of Assyria marched	- 500	
against Samaria, and after taking a great sum of money from Phakeas		
(Pekah), its king, returned to his own	75	
country .	232	123
(xiii) How Raassein (Rezin), the king	202	
of Damascus, marched against the		
people of Jerusalem, and forced Achazes	100	
(Ahaz), their king, to send a great sum		
of money to the king of Assyria in order	-	
to persuade him by this means to march	244	100
against Damascus	244	129
taking Damascus by storm, put its king		
to death, and removing its inhabitants	-	
to Media, settled other peoples in		
Damascus	252	135
(xv) How Salmanasar, the king of		
Assyria, marched against Samaria, and		
on forcing the city to surrender after a		
siege of five years, killed Oses (Hosea),		
the king of Israel, therein b.	277	147
(xvi) And how the Assyrian king settled the ten tribes of Israel in Media,		
and transported from Persia to their	-	
country the Chuthaean nation, whom the	_	
Greeks call Samarians (Samaritans) .	279	147
	1	

This book covers a period of a hundred and fifty years and seven months.

- ^b According to Josephus and Scripture Hosea was imprisoned, not killed.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X

BIBAION I

α΄.¹ Στρατεία τοῦ ᾿Ασσυρίων βασιλέως Σεναχειρίβου² ἐπὶ³ Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ πολιορκία τοῦ

βασιλέως αὐτῶν 'Εζεκίου.

β΄. 'Ως εφθάρη το των 'Ασσυρίων στράτευμα⁵ λοιμικως εν μιὰ νυκτί, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτων ἀναζεύξας οἴκαδε εξ επιβουλης των τέκνων ἀπεθανεν.

γ΄. 'Ως τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον μετ' εἰρήνης 'Εζεκίας διαγαγὼν ἐτελεύτησε, διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας

Μανασσην καταλιπών.

δ΄. "Ότι στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεῖς καὶ νικήσαντες αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον λαβόντες ἤγαγον εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ κατασχόντες αὐτόθι πολὺν χρόνον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν πάλιν ἀπέλυσαν.

ε'. 'Ως τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα Νεχαῶνα στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ Βαβυλωνίους καὶ ποιούμενον διὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὴν ὁδὸν κωλύων ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσίας ὑπαντῷ· μάχης δὲ γενομένης τραυματίας κομισθεὶς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τελευτῷ, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάζην ἀπέδειξαν οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῦται βασιλέα.

1 numeros om. MSPLV.

- ² Σεναχειρίμου Ο: Σενναχειρίβου MS(P): Σεναχηρείβου LV: Sennacherib Lat.
 ³ εἰς MSPLV.
- ⁴ αὐτῶν om. MLV Lat. fort. recte.
 ⁵ + ὅλον SPLV.
 ⁶ τὴν βασ. ex Lat. Niese: τὴν αὐτὴν βασ. codd.: τὴν αὐτοῦ βασ. ed. pr.
 ⁷ δίοδον ROSPLV.

a Variant "the entire."

b Against the Medes and Babylonians, according to Josephus; against the king of Assyria, according to Scripture



ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

воок х

	SECTION	PAGE
(i) The campaign of Senacheiribos	1	TAGE
(Sennacherib), the king of Assyria,		-
against Jerusalem, and the siege of		
its king Ezekias (Hezekiah)	1	157
(ii) How the a army of the Assyrians		131
was destroyed by a plague in one night,		
and how their king, after returning		
home, was treacherously put to death		
by his sons	21	160
(iii) How Ezekias died after passing	21	169
the rest of his life in peace, and left	-977	
Manasses (Manasseh) as his successor	-	
on the throne	24	171
(iv) How the kings of Chaldaea and	22	1/1
Babylonia marched against him and		
after defeating him and taking him		
captive, carried him off to Babylon, and		
after holding him there a long while,		
permitted him to return to his own		
kingdom	40	181
(v) How Nechaos (Necho), the king	10	101
of Egypt, marched against the Baby-		
lonians b and was making his way	17	
through Judaea when he was prevented		
by King Josias (Josiah) who came to		
meet him, and how, after a battle was		
fought, Josias was wounded and carried		
to Jerusalem, where he died, and how		
the people of Jerusalem chose his son		
Joazes (Jehoahaz) as king	74	197
	, - [-0.

The table omits to mention the discovery of the Book of the Law in the reign of Josiah.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X

ς'. 'Ως συμβαλών ὁ Νεχαώς τῷ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτεν ποταμὸν καὶ ὑποστρέφων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἰωάζην ἤγαγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάκειμον ἀπέδειξε¹ βασιλέα τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν.

ζ΄. Ναβουχοδονοσάρου τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως στρατεία εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ ὡς πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καταστρεψάμενος ἄχρι τῶν ὅρων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Ἰωάκειμον φίλον ἢνάγκασεν εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον.

η΄. 'Ως μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου πάλιν ὁ Ἰωάκειμος ἐφρόνησε τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσαρος καὶ πολιορκήσας τῆς πόλεως παραδούσης ἐαυτὴν μετὰ χρόνον, τὸν μὲν Ἰωάκειμον ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἰωάκειμον² δὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ³ κατέστησε βασιλέα· καὶ ὡς πολλὰ χρήματα λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων εὐθέως εἰς Συρίαν ὑπέστρεψεν.

θ΄. "Ότι μετανοήσας ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἰωάκειμον ποιῆσαι βασιλέα καὶ στρατεύσας, ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ Ἰωακείμου γίνεται παραδόντος αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων, ὅπως τ᾽ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, καὶ ἀναθήματα

1 ἀνέδειξε RO.

 ² Ἰωάχιμον M¹SP: Ἰωάκιμον M²: Ἰωαχημον L: Ioach Lat.
 ³ + ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ ὑπάρχοντα (τυχχάνοντα LV) SPLV.
 ⁴ ὅπως cap. X incip. codd., IX contin. Lat.

^a Necho carried off Jehoahaz to Egypt (§ 83) before his battle with Nebuchadnezzar at the Euphrates (§ 84). Possibly the author of the table confuses this campaign with Necho's earlier march to the Euphrates against the Medes and Babylonians (cf. note b_s p. 490).

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTE	NIS	
	SECTION	PAGE
(vi) How Nechaos engaged the king		
of Babylonia at the Euphrates river, and		
on his return to Egypt came to Jerusalem		
and took Joazes (Jehoahaz) to Egypt, ^a	_	
and appointed his brother Joakeimos		
(Jehoiakim) as king of Jerusalem .	84	201
(vii) The campaign of Nabucho-		
donosaros (Nebuchadnezzar), king of	-1	
Babylonia, against Syria, and how, after		
subduing the entire country as far as the		
border of Egypt, he went up to Jeru-		
salem and forced its king Joakeimos to		
be his friend and ally	84	203
(viii) How, after the withdrawal of		
the Babylonian king, Joakeimos (Je-	-11	
hoiakim) again took the side of the		
Egyptians, and how Nabuchodonosaros		
marched against him and besieged the	- 1	
city (of Jerusalem), and when after a		
time it surrendered to him, killed		
Joakeimos and made his son b king;		
and how, after taking a great sum of		
money from Jerusalem, he speedily		
returned to Syria c	88	207
(ix) How Nabuchodonosaros, repent-		
ing of having made Joakeimos (Jehoia-		
chin) king, marched against Jerusalem		
and got Joakeimos into his power after		
he had given himself up together with	-61	
his mother and his friends; and how		
the Babylonian king, after taking many		
captives and carrying off the dedicatory-		

^b The variant adds "who had the same name."

The table omits to mention the prophecies of Jeremiah.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X-XI

βαστάσας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, τὸν Ἰεχονίου θεῖον Σεδεκίαν¹ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν

βασιλέα καταστήσας.

ί. 'Ως καὶ τοῦτον ἀκούσας βούλεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους συμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ φιλίαν, στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κατὰ κράτος αἰρεῖ τῆ πολιορκία, καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐμπρήσας τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν δῆμον καὶ Σεδεκίαν μετώκισεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα.

ια΄. 'Ως Ναβουχοδονόσαρος τελευτήσας διάδοχον καταλείπει τῆς βασιλείας τὸν υίόν, καὶ ὡς καταλύεται ἡ τούτων ἀρχὴ ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ τῶν

Περσών βασιλέως.

ιβ΄. "Όσα συνέβη τοις Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τουτον

τὸν καιρὸν παρὰ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις.

Περιέχει ή βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ρπβ΄ μῆνας ς΄ ήμέρας ι΄.

BIBAION IA

α΄.² 'Ως Κῦρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς τοὺς 'Ιουδαίους ἀπολύσας ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναόν, δοὺς αὐτοῖς χρήματα.

β΄. "Ότι διεκώλυσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως

Σαχχίαν ex Lat. Niese.
 numeros hab. FV² Lat., om. rell.

b The story of Daniel is meant.

^a The table omits the story of Gedaliah's governorship and assassination.

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
offerings from the temple, returned to	-	
Babylon, making Sedekias (Zedekiah),		
the uncle of Jechonias (Jehoiachin),		
king of Jerusalem	99	211
(x) How Nabuchodonosaros, on hear-		
ing that this king also wished to make		
an alliance of friendship with the Egyp-	1717	
tians, marched against Jerusalem and		OF STREET
forcibly took it by siege, and after		
burning the temple, transported Sede-		
kias and the people of Jerusalem to		
Babylon a	108	217
(xi) How Nabuchodonosaros at his		
death left his son to succeed to his	-	
throne, and how the power of the Baby-		
lonians was destroyed by Cyrus, the	- 677	
king of Persia	229	285
(xii) What things befell the Jews in		
Babylonia during this time b	237	289

This book covers a period of a hundred and eightytwo years, six months and ten days.

BOOK XI

	SECTION	PAGE
(i) How Cyrus, the king of Persia,		
sent back the Jews from Babylon to		
their own country, and permitted them		
to build their temple, giving them		
money therefor	1	315
(ii) How the officers of the king c pre-		

[·] i.e. the Samaritans.

ήγεμόνες κατασκευάσαι τὸ ίερόν, ἐμποδών γενό-

μενοι τοις έργοις.

γ΄. 'Ως Κύρου τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσης ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐκ παντὸς ἀπηγόρευσε τοῖς 'Ιουδαίοις οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναόν.

΄δ΄. ΄Ότι Δαρείος ὁ Ὑστάσπεω¹ βασιλεύσας Περσῶν ἐτίμησεν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καὶ τὸν

ναόν αὐτῶν ἀνωκοδόμησεν.

ε΄. 'Ως μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ξέρξης

οἰκείως πρός τοὺς Ἰουδαίους διετέθη.

ς'. "Ότι βασιλεύοντος 'Αρταξέρξου 'Ιουδαίων πῶν' τὸ ἔθνος ἐκινδύνευσεν."

ζ΄. 'Ως Βαγώσης ὁ 'Αρταξέρξου τοῦ νεωτέρου στρατηγὸς πολλὰ εἰς τοὺς 'Ιουδαίους εξύβρισεν.

η΄. 'Ως' ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς 'Αλέξανδρος εὐεργέτησεν αὐτούς, κρατήσας τῆς 'Ιουδαίας.

Περιέχει ή βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν σμγ' μηνῶν ε'.

1 Υστάσπεο F: Υστάσπο, ο ex ω corr. A: Υστάσπεως V: Υστάσπεος W: Iustepius Lat.

2 'Ιουδαίων παν] μικροῦ τῶν 'Ιουδαίων παν V: μικροῦ παν ΑW.

3 + δι' 'Αμάνου δόλον FLV.

4 őoa AVW Lat.

The table omits to mention Zerubbabel.
The story of Ezra and Nehemiah is meant.
Variant "almost the entire."

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
vented them from constructing the		
sanctuary, by interfering with their		
work	19	323
(iii) How on Cyrus's death his son		
Cambyses assumed sovereign power,		
and strictly forbade the Jews to build		
their temple	26	327
(iv) How Darius, the son of Hys-		
taspes, on becoming king of Persia,	MILE.	
honoured the Jewish nation and rebuilt		
their temple a	31	329
(v) How after him his son Xerxes was		-
also kindly disposed toward the Jews b.	120	373
(vi) How during the reign of Arta-		
xerxes the entire c (Jewish) nation was		
in danger d	184	403
(vii) How Bagoses, the governor of		
Artaxerxes the Younger (II), inflicted	100	
many outrages on the Jews	297	457
(viii) How Alexander, the king of		
Macedon, took Judaea and conferred		
benefits on the Jews	304	461

This book covers a period of two hundred and forty-three years and five months.

⁴ The variant adds "through the plotting of Haman." The story of Esther is meant.

APPENDIX B

Josephus on the Samaritan Schism

(Ant. xi. 297-347)

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Book XI of the Antiquities relates the history of the Jews under Persian rule, from the first Achaemenid king, Cvrus, to the last, Darius III. The narrative, up to § 297, is based on three biblical books, 1 Esdras, the Greek version of Nehemiah (perhaps in an abbreviated form or in a recension somewhat different from the extant texts, but see below), and the Greek version of Esther. From § 297 on Josephus makes use of extra-biblical sources and relates two incidents otherwise unknown to us; the first is the conflict between the high priest Joannes (bibl. Johanan) and his brother Jesus (Jeshua) supported by the Persian governor Bagoses; the second is the conflict between the high priest Jaddus (bibl. Jaddua) and his brother Manasses (bibl. Manasseh) supported by his fatherin-law, the Samaritan leader Sanballat, who is later brought into relation with Alexander the Great.

As we have seen (§ 297 note g), the text of the passage in which Bagoses is introduced is not certain. One reading (plausibly emended) has "Bagoses, the general (or "governor") of the second Artaxerxes"; the variant has simply "Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes," not specifying which king of that name

is meant. Even if the former reading contains a gloss in the words "the second," it may quite well be a correct gloss. The context is not decisive; the preceding section deals with the story of Esther, whom Josephus places in the reign of Artaxerxes I (464-424 B.C.); if, therefore, we read "Artaxerxes" instead of "the second Artaxerxes," we should suppose that the same king is meant. On the other hand the section following introduces Johanan's immediate successor Jaddua who is said to be a contemporary of Darius III and Alexander the Great; this would indicate that Bagoses lived in the reign of Artaxerxes III Ochus (359-338 B.C.). But it is unlikely that Josephus would pass from Artaxerxes I in the Esther story to Artaxerxes III without some intimation that a different king is meant. It is therefore probable that we should accept the reading "the second Artaxerxes" and place Bagoses in the reign of Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404-359 B.c.). The fact that a Persian general of the same name is mentioned in connexion with Artaxerxes III by Diodorus Siculus, xvi. 47, is hardly of significance; the name is not uncommon and there may well have been several Persian generals or governors of that name; moreover, the Bagoses of Diodorus is not connected with Judaea.

The evidence of the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine (Aram. Yeb) in Upper Egypt makes it even more probable that Bagoses belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes II. We learn from them that the Persian governor of Judaea in 408 B.C. (near the end of the reign of Darius II, the predecessor of Artaxerxes II) was Bigwai (of which Bagoses is the hellenized form, cf. § 297 note f) and that he was a contemporary of the high priest Johanan. Now it is extremely unlikely

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that fifty years later there was another Persian governor named Bigwai contemporary with a high priest named Johanan. We may therefore safely assume that Josephus's Bagoses is the Bigwai of the papyri. Moreover, the political situation indicated by the papyri helps us understand the conflict between the Persian governor and the high priest much better than the fanciful story told by Josephus enables us to do.

The following was, in brief, the situation in Palestine in the last decade of the 5th century B.C. In 408 B.C. the leaders of the Jewish community at Elephantine in Upper Egypt wrote to Bigwai, complaining that the Egyptians, in league with the local Persian official Waidrang, had destroyed their temple, and they appealed to Bigwai to help them rebuild it and resume the offering of grain, incense and animal sacrifice or burnt-offering ('alwethā). Their letter (No. 30 ed. Cowley) also states that three years previously they had written to "Johanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem . . . and the nobles of Jerusalem," asking them for help, but had received no answer. They now appeal to Bigwai, adding," Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria." Subsequently Bigwai and Delaiah replied (No. 32) that the Jews of Elephantine might rebuild their temple and offer "the meal-offering and incense upon that altar as formerly was done." On this Cowley remarks, " Note that 'aln'tha is omitted-no doubt intentionally. It is generally supposed that the animal sacrifices had offended the Egyptians, and that this was sufficient to make Bigvai discountenance them, apart from any

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view which the priests at Jerusalem might hold and with which Bigvai might or might not sympathize. But, as Ed. Meyer points out (Papyrus fund p. 88), the Egyptians did themselves sacrifice certain animals, and he thinks that the prohibition was due to the Zoroastrian view that fire was profaned by contact with dead bodies." But the latter objection might apply equally to the animal sacrifices at Jerusalem. More plausible is the explanation offered by Mittwoch. He believes that the Jerusalem priests opposed animal sacrifices at a temple outside Jerusalem, while the Samaritans, who were opposed to the Jerusalem priesthood, probably looked with favour on such a rival temple and cult; as for Bigwai, he found himself in a difficult position between the conflicting views of the Samaritans and the priests at Jerusalem, and so effected a compromise by allowing the Jews of Elephantine to rebuild their temple and make the usual offerings with the exception of the burnt-offering. A more detailed reconstruction of the political situation is offered by Morgenstern, which seems to me to account most satisfactorily for the attitude of Bigwai as indicated both in the papyri and in Josephus. There are some points in his theory which take a great deal for granted, but what he has to say concerning our immediate problem is worth quoting at some length. "The murder of Jesus by Johanan must have been far more than a mere personal incident. Josephus states very plainly that Jesus too was an aspirant for the high-priesthood, and that in this ambition he enjoyed the support of Bagoas, the then Persian governor of Palestine. This Bagoas must have been the successor of Nehemiah in this high office, though whether the immediate successor, lack of evidence

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forbids us to determine. Josephus represents him as pursuing a policy of oppression of the Jews of Palestine, but this probably overstates the case. Josephus wrote, of course, from the standpoint of the extreme particularism of Ezra and Nehemiah which came in time, and with only comparatively slight amelioration, to dominate the spirit of Judaism for centuries, But Josephus does record that this Bagoas supported Jesus in his candidacy for the high-priesthood; and this was certainly the same Bagoas to whom in 408 B.c. the Jews of Elephantine addressed their petition for permission to rebuild their temple of Yahweh. Moreover, it is significant that not only did Bagoas grant the desired permission, but also that in so doing he associated himself with Delaiah, the son of Sanballat, the Samaritan. It seems clear, therefore, that Bagoas was not so much an enemy and oppressor of the entire Jewish community of Palestine as that he sought to play a role of partisan politics in their affairs. Obviously too his affiliations were with the native and against the pro-Babylonian Jewish party, as his association with Delaiah, the son of Sanballat, indicates." Particularly important in this connexion is the footnote which Morgenstern appends to the statement about the grant of permission to the Jews of Elephantine to rebuild their temple, which we have touched on above. "It is an additional matter of interest and perhaps also of significance that the order of Bagoas permitted the offering of grain-sacrifices and incense upon the altar of the Yahweh temple at Elephantine, but was altogether silent with regard to animal sacrifices. Undoubtedly this silence implied that the sacrifice of animals was not permitted, perhaps as Cowley suggests (op. cit.

124), following Ed. Meyer, because such sacrifices would have done violence to the religious scruples of a zealous Zoroastrian. However, whatever the motive for this prohibition may have been, it is impossible not to correlate it with the fact recorded by Josephus, that Bagoas levied upon the Jews of Palestine a tax of fifty shekels for every lamb slaughtered for the daily sacrifice in the Temple. A tax so extreme must have been almost prohibitive. This may, therefore, well have been a superficially diplomatic means by which Bagoas sought to abrogate the offering of animal sacrifices also in the Temple at Jerusalem."

We may now, as briefly as possible, consider the problem of the more or less final break between the Judaeans and the inhabitants of the region round Shechem or Samaria. We must remember that there had long been hostility between Jerusalem and the North (bibl. Ephraim)—as early as the reign of David. We should also bear in mind the possibility that even after Nehemiah's time there may have been friendly relations between at least some of the leaders of the Jerusalem community and the Samaritans. But that there was a definite separation between the Judaeans as a whole and the people of Samaria in the time of Nehemiah can hardly be questioned. The problem remains whether the schism took place in the 5th century, as Scripture seems to indicate, or at the time of Alexander the Great, as Josephus states. We must, therefore, attempt to determine the relation of the Sanballat of Josephus's narrative to Sanballat the Horonite of the book of Nehemiah.

First, a word about the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as sources for the history of the Persian period. These two books, originally one book, are now found before

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the last two books of the Hebrew Bible, the books of Chronicles; these were also one book originally, preceding Ezra-Nehemiah. The resemblances of style between the larger part of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles show that both books are part of a single work compiled by a writer with a special interest in the cult of the temple at Jerusalem and a strong prejudice against the Samaritans, whom he regards as the descendants of the eastern peoples settled in Samaria by the Assyrians and therefore as not true Israelites. This writer, now generally known among biblical scholars as the Chronicler, probably published his work c. 300 B.c., although some scholars date it a century earlier, assuming that the references to the period following Nehemiah are later additions to the Chronicler's book. The Chronicler is generally supposed to have based his history of Nehemiah's period on the memoirs of Nehemiah himself; these form the basis of Neh. i.-vii.; the following chapters, viii.-x. are out of place, as they clearly belong to the story of Ezra; chs. xi.-xiii. contain a good deal of material which dates from a period subsequent to Nehemiah's. Almost all scholars accept the Nehemiah narrative as substantially historical. There is, however, no general agreement as to the dates of Nehemiah's two visits to Palestine.

According to Neh. ii. 1 ff. Nehemiah first came to Jerusalem in the 20th year of Artaxerxes, but Scripture does not indicate which Artaxerxes is meant (the fact that one consonant in the spelling of the name is a phonetic variant of the consonant used in the name Artaxerxes mentioned in the Aramaic documents in the book of Ezra does not necessarily mean that the Chronicler or a later scribe meant to

distinguish two Persian kings of that name; and even if it did, the distinction throws no light on the chronology of Nehemiah). If the king meant is Artaxerxes I (464-424 B.c.), Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in 444 B.C.; if Artaxerxes II (404-359 B.C.) is meant, he came in 384 B.C. There are, however, historical considerations of a general nature, excellently presented by Hoonacker, which make it probable. apart from the evidence of the Elephantine papyri, that Nehemiah served under Artaxerxes I, though it is only fair to note that many biblical scholars believe that the Chronicler meant Artaxerxes II. But if we take into account the evidence of the papyri, as well as the historical background and the succession of high priests, we may fairly claim much greater probability for the view that Nchemiah came to Jerusalem in 444 B.c. Nehemiah was a contemporary of the high priest Eliashib, who was succeeded by his son Joiada, and he in turn by Johanan (read Johanan" for "Jonathan" in Neh. xii. 11, as in xi. 22). As there was only one high priest named Johanan in the Persian period, this Johanan must be identical with the Johanan of the papyri who was high priest in 411 B.C. Furthermore, according to Neh. xiii. 28 a son of Joiada, and therefore a brother of Johanan, was a son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite. It seems clear, therefore, that Nehemiah, a contemporary of Johanan's grandfather, came to Jerusalem in the reign of Artaxerxes I, and that his adversary, Sanballat the Horonite, was the same person as the Sanballat mentioned in the papyri; since the latter's son Delaiah was obviously a mature person in 411 B.C., we may assume that Sanballat himself was a mature person thirty years earlier

when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem. And if the preceding argument is correct, the Samaritan schism must have taken place in the second half of the 5th century B.c., not in the second half of the 4th century as Josephus has it. Now it has been argued, by Torrey among others (see below), that the fact that the Jews of Elephantine appealed to the Samaritan leaders as well as to Bigwai in 408 B.C. shows that there was not yet a break between the people of Jerusalem and the Samaritans. But no such inference need be drawn. On the contrary, the fact that the Jews of Elephantine appealed to the Samaritans after they had been ignored by the priests of Jerusalem, the high priest Johanan, and "the nobles of the Jews," and the fact that Bigwai, the Persian governor, was allied with the Samaritans and hostile to Johanan (according to Josephus's story), would indicate that there was a break between Judaeans and Samaritans, which the Jews of Elephantine learned about some time before 408 B.C. They may or may not have known about it when they first appealed to Johanan in 411 B.c. But it is likely that the schism had taken place soon after Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem in 432 B.C.

If, then, Nehemiah and Sanballat the Horonite belong to the 5th century B.C., the only way to vindicate the historicity of Josephus's narrative about Jaddua, Manasses and Sanballat, at least in part, is to assume with Spak that the Sanballat of Josephus was not the adversary of Nehemiah, but his grandson, Sanballat II, who, Spak further assumes, succeeded his father Delaiah as governor of Samaria and Bagoses as governor of Judaea (!). This, of course, makes it necessary, as Spak himself recognizes, to correct

Josephus's statement (§ 302) that Sanballat was sent to Samaria as "satrap" by Darius III, the last Persian king. But the best answer to Spak's argument is that made by Cowley: "The view that there were two Sanballats, each governor of Samaria and each with a daughter who married a brother of a High Priest, is a solution too desperate to be entertained." There remains the somewhat different theory proposed by Torrey, which, while accepting Josephus's story that the Samaritan schism occurred at the time of Alexander the Great's arrival in Palestine, and assuming the existence of two Sanballats, gets rid of the remarkable coincidence involved in Spak's theory by assuming that Nehemiah came to Jerusalem under Artaxerxes II in 384 B.c. when there was not yet any schism, Torrey thinks, according to the evidence of the papyri (see above. for the answer to this argument) and that the Sanballat of Nehemiah was not the Sanballat of the papyri who lived in the 5th century, but Sanballat II about whom Josephus writes. Torrey does not, however, offer a single compelling reason to make us believe that Nehemiah came to Jerusalem under Artaxerxes II. Moreover, even if we were to grant that Nehemiah came in 384 B.c., there would be a chronological difficulty in the way of Torrey's theory that it was Sanballat II who gave his daughter in marriage to the brother of the high priest; for the Sanballat who opposed Nehemiah must have been a mature person, perhaps forty years old, in 384 B.C., and must therefore have been a very old man, as indeed Josephus says he was, when Alexander arrived in 332 B.C. Now it is extremely unlikely that so old a man would have had a daughter young and attractive enough to

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hold the love of the high priest's brother (cf. § 309), for in ancient Palestine men married young and had children young. The story of Manasses and Sanballat is further weakened by the fact that it is not to be found in extant Samaritan traditions although these mention Alexander.

It seems justifiable, therefore, to conclude that Josephus is mistaken in placing the Samaritan schism c. 330 B.c. rather than c. 430 as Scripture indicates. This conclusion does not, however, apply to the date of the building of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, which may have been in the 4th century B.c. It is not unlikely that for a good many years after the serious break c. 430 B.c. the Samaritans for one reason or another refrained from building a temple of their own, possibly because they continued to hope that one day they would secure at least

partial control of the temple at Jerusalem.

The problem remains why Josephus or his immediate—as opposed to his ultimate—source brought Sanballat into connexion with Alexander the Great. If the immediate source of Josephus's Sanballat narrative is Alexander Polyhistor, as Hölscher supposes (PW art. Josephus), it is possible that the latter took over a Samaritan story which glorified the temple on Mount Gerizim by attributing its founding to the favour of Alexander the Great. Büchler, who has made an analysis of the composition of the latter part of Ant. xi., which is adopted by Tscherikower, also believes that the Manasses-Sanballat story is of Samaritan origin, while the story of Jaddua's meeting with Alexander and the references to Persian and Macedonian history are from different sources of Jewish origin, combined with the Sanballat story by

Josephus's immediate source with the purpose of countering the Samaritan claims by showing that Alexander favoured the Jews over against the Samaritans. It is true that there are certain inconsistencies in Josephus's narrative which seem to support Büchler's differentiation of Samaritan and Jewish sources; for example, as Tscherikower points out, from one passage (§§ 322 ff.) it appears that Sanballat received permission from Alexander to build the temple on Mount Gerizim, while from another (§ 342) one gathers that the Samaritan temple had been in existence for some time before Alexander's coming; again, in § 343 Alexander is represented as being in ignorance of who the Samaritans may be, while in an earlier passage, § 321, it is said that Sanballat sent soldiers to help Alexander besiege Tyre. Motzo, however, argues that all of Ant. xi. and xii. and part of xiii. are taken from a single anti-Samaritan source glorifying the temple and priesthood of Jerusalem in opposition to those of Samaria and Leontopolis, which book Motzo believes was composed between 100 and 63 B.c. I strongly doubt whether Motzo is right in holding that Josephus has made use of such a single comprehensive source in Ant. xi.-xiii. instead of consulting the biblical and apocryphal books, 1 Esdras, Nehemiah, 1 Maccabees, etc., directly; as I have tried to point out in the notes, Josephus consulted Scripture whenever he could make use of it for his historical narrative. It is puzzling, to be sure, that in § 174 he fails to mention Sanballat as one of Nehemiah's adversaries and that he almost ignores the contents of Neh. chs. v., vii.-xiii. But it may be that having a tradition about a Sanballat who lived in the time of Darius III and Alexander and played a

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part similar to that ascribed to Nehemiah's adversary, he took the simplest way out of the chronological difficulty by omitting the Sanballat story as told in the book of Nehemiah. To this procedure there is a parallel in his unobtrusive correction of the chronology of the Persian kings in Ezra-Nehemiah, to which attention has been called in the notes (§ 21 note b. § 88 note a, § 97 note d). There are also several passages where Josephus's narrative of Ezra amplifies or alters the text of 1 Esdras to get in an extra dig at the Samaritans, but in view of his earlier references to the objectionable Samaritans (cf. Ant. ix. 288 ff.), I see no reason to suppose that it was Josephus's "anti-Samaritan source" rather than Josephus himself who combined these later traditions with Scripture. The question of the source of the story of Alexander and Jaddua is further discussed in Appendix C.

APPENDIX C

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE JEWS

(Ant. xi. 317-345)

Selected literature:

Abel, Père F., "Alexandre le Grand en Syrie et en Palestine," RB xliii, 1934, pp. 528-545; xliv, 1935, pp. 42-61.

Abrahams, I., Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander

the Great (Schweich Lectures). 1927.

Büchler, A., "La Relation de Josèphe concernant Alexandre le Grand," *REJ* xxxvi, 1898, pp. 1-26.

Derenbourg, J., Essai sur l'Histoire et la Géographie de la Palestine d'après les Thalmuds, etc. Pt. I (all

published). 1867.

Lévi, I., "La Légende d'Alexandre dans le Talmud et le Midrasch," *REJ* vii, 1883, pp. 78-93. "La Dispute entre les Égyptiens et les Juifs,"

REJ lxiii, 1912, pp. 211-215. Lichtenstein, H., "Die Fastenrolle," HUCA viii-x,

1931-32, pp. 257-351.

Niese, B., GGMS vol. i, 1893, pp. 81-88.

Pfister, F., "Eine jüdische Gründungsgeschichte Alexandrias, mit einem Anhang über Alexanders Besuch in Jerusalem," Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse B. v, 1914, Abt. 11.

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Radet, G., Alexandre le Grand. 1931 (ch. xi, pp. 130-136).

Schürer, E., Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, vol. i (4th ed.), 1901, pp. 180 ff.

Spak, I., Der Bericht des Josephus über Alexander den Grossen. 1911.

Tarn, W. W., CAH vi, ch. xii.

Tscherikower, A., Jews and Greeks (in Hebrew). 1930. Willrich, H., Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung. 1895 (ch. i).

There are several passages in Josephus which deal with the civic rights supposedly conferred by Alexander the Great on the Jews in Alexandria, but these will be considered in an appendix devoted to that subject in the last volume of this translation. Here we are concerned with the historicity and sources of the story in Ant. xi. 317 ff. which tells of Alexander's meeting with the Jews of Jerusalem and of his favourable treatment of them in contrast with his negative attitude toward the Samaritans.

Before critically examining Josephus's narrative, however, we may consider the ancient parallels to this section. One of these is found in Recension C of the Greek Alexander Romance by Pseudo-Callisthenes. This work is a collection of legends inserted in a largely historical narrative drawn from literary sources. Recension C of this Romance contains a number of additions to the story of Alexander's adventures which were obviously made by Hellenistic Jewish writers, as Pfister has shown from resemblances of style to the Septuagint; the purpose of these Jewish interpolations was to support the claims of Alexandrian Jews to equality of civic rights by representing the

great Macedonian conqueror as a friend of the Jews and a worshipper of the Jewish God. These Jewish additions to Pseudo-Callisthenes are plausibly dated by Pfister in the first century A.D.; thus they are earlier than the recension edited by W. Kroll (Historia Alexandria Magni, 1926) as the recensio vetusta, if he is right in dating the latter c. A.D. 300. The passage in question reads as follows, according to the text of C. Müller (Paris, 1877), Pseudo-Callisthenes ii. 24. "Alexander conquered the country of the Jews, and these, wishing to resist him, sent out spies in the guise of envoys. But this stratagem did not deceive Alexander. He therefore commanded some of the very bravest young men of the Macedonian phalanx to hurl themselves into a nearby ravine; and they conscientiously carried out his command, for the Macedonian troops were very prompt to obey Alexander's orders. Then turning to the would-be spies, he said, 'You see, envoys of the Jewish nation, what a trifle death is considered by the Macedonian army. Return therefore and do what is best for you. For to-morrow I shall come to you and do what Providence may please.' So they returned to their rulers (ἄρχοισι) and said, 'We must submit to Alexander and so save ourselves. We have no other hope of safety, for the Macedonian army has a power more than human. While death seems terrible to us, it does not seem so at all to the Macedonians, but, on the contrary, something to be held in great contempt. We perceive that they have so great a love of death that one might say they meet it as though it were an everyday matter. The Macedonian youths amazed us by throwing themselves into the great ravine as though diving into the sea. And no sooner did Alexander

order them to do this than they carried out his order. It was not so much their daring in the face of death that astonished us as the fact that they did not expect any profit therefrom, so readily did they volunteer to die. Now if they were to hope for any profit therefrom, no one could resist them. But do what you think best before Alexander conquers us and all our plans are made ineffective and doubtful.' When their rulers heard this, they decided to submit to Alexander, and so their priests put on their priestly robes and went out to meet Alexander with all their host. When Alexander saw them, he was awed by their appearance and told them not to come any nearer to him but to remain in the city. Then he summoned one of the priests and said to him, ' How divine is your appearance! Tell me, I pray, what god you worship. For I have never seen so seemly an array of priests among those of our gods.' The priest then said, ' We serve one God who created heaven and earth and all things in them. But no man is able to tell His name (αὐτον έρμηνεῦσαι).' Thereupon Alexander said, 'As servants of the true God go in peace, go. For your God shall be my God. And I will make peace with you and will not invade your country as I have done those of other nations, because you have served a living God.' Then the Jews took an abundance of money in gold and silver and brought it to Alexander. But he refused to take it, saying, 'Let this, together with the sum set apart by me, be tribute to the Lord God. But I will not take anything from you."

The legendary character of this narrative is so obvious as to require no comment. It may be of interest, however, to quote Pfister's comments on the relation of this Jewish interpolation in Pseudo-Calli-

sthenes to another passage of similar origin which represents Alexander as becoming a worshipper of the Jewish God at the time of his founding Alexandria. " Above we saw that the Jewish κτίσις 'Αλεξανδρείας, which we have considered, was composed on the analogy of other ancient foundation-stories which are found in the Romance, and in particular that the introduction of the Yahweh-cult has its counterpart in the founding of the Serapis-cult at Alexandria by Alexander. Furthermore we saw that the Jeremiahepisode (in which Alexander brings the bones of the prophet Jeremiah to Alexandrial also corresponds to an ancient story. Now the founding of Alexandria and especially the establishment of the Serapis-cult are motivated by Alexander's visit to the temple of Ammon and the oracle of this god. According to the Jewish tradition the founding of the city is preceded by the story of the king's visit to Jerusalem and his becoming a follower of the Jewish religion. And just as the Jewish κτίσις is conceived after the pattern of the ancient [pagan] one, so the legend of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem is formed on the tradition of his journey to the oasis of Ammon."

The other parallel to Josephus's story of Alexander and the Jews of Jerusalem is found in rabbinic literature. Here it may be parenthetically remarked that there are about a dozen more Alexander-stories in the Talmuds and Midrashim (homiletic commentaries on Scripture) but they are obviously folk-legends; most of them are probably derived from accretions to the popular version of Pseudo-Callisthenes; the interested reader will find an account of them in the first of the articles by Lévi cited in the bibliography above. The rabbinic story which here concerns us is found in the

scholion to the early rabbinic work Megillath Ta'anith. which is a list of days on which fasting is forbidden, in celebration of some joyful event. The scholion (also found with slight variants in Bab. Talmud Yoma 69 a) comes under the date of the 21st day of Kislew, "the day of Gerizim," and reads as follows in Lichtenstein's text. "This is the day when the Cuthim (Samaritans) asked Alexander of Macedon (for permission to destroy) our temple, saying to him, ' Give us five kurs of land on Mount Moriah.' These he gave to them. But when they came, the inhabitants of Jerusalem went out and beat them off with sticks. They then informed Simon the Just of this. He thereupon put on his priestly garments and wrapped himself in his priestly garments (sic) and went out, accompanied by the nobles of Jerusalem and a thousand counsellors (bouleutai) dressed in white and young priests who made the sacred instruments resound. As they marched through the hills, the Macedonians saw their lighted torches, and when the king asked what this meant, the informers replied, 'These are the Jews who have rebelled against you.' When they arrived at Antipatris, the sun was shining, and when they came to the first station, the Macedonians asked them, 'Who are you?' The Jews replied, 'We are the people of Jerusalem, who have come to greet the king.' But when Alexander of Macedon saw Simon the Just, he descended from his chariot and prostrated himself before him. Thereupon his men exclaimed, 'Do you prostrate yourself before this man who is only a mortal?' And he replied, 'I see his image whenever I go to war and am victorious.' Then the king asked him, 'What do you wish?' The priest replied, 'The gentiles have deceived you concerning

the temple in which we pray for the welfare of your reign, and you have given it to them.' The king then asked, 'Who deceived me?' Simon answered, 'It was these Cuthim, who stand before you.' Thereupon Alexander said, 'They are herewith given into your hands.' The Jews then pierced the heels of the Cuthim and tied them to the tails of their horses and dragged them over thorns and briers until they came to Mount Gerizim. And when they came to Mount Gerizim, they ploughed it under and sowed it with vetch, just as the Cuthim had intended to do to our temple. And the day on which they did this was made a festival."

Several anachronistic details in this story call for brief comment. The high priest who meets Alexander is not Jaddua, as in Josephus's narrative, but Simon the Just, who held this office c. 200 B.C., more of than a century after Alexander's death (see Appendix B in Vol. VII.). Next, the name of the city where Alexander meets the Jews is Antipatris, although this name was first given to the place in question (Kephar Saba, cf. § 329 note b) by Herod the Great, Josephus gives Saphein (Mt. Scopus outside of Jerusalem) as the name of the meeting-place. Possibly, as we have noted, the author of the rabbinic version confused Saphein with Saba, and then the latter name was replaced by the Herodian name familiar to the later Jews. Or it may be that Josephus himself mistook Saba for Saphein. In any case, either site is geographically suitable, as we shall see below. The third anachronism is the reference to the ploughing under of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim which actually took place c. 110 B.c. in the last years of the reign of John Hyrcanus (cf. Ant. xiii. 281 = B.J. i. 65; this event seems to be referred to in another passage of Megillath Ta'anith under the date of the 25th day of Marheshwan). Finally we may note Spak's suggestion that the curious punishment administered by the Jews to the Samaritans has some connexion with the torture inflicted by Alexander on Batis, the Persian governor of Gaza (cf. § 320), according to Qu. Curtius iv. 6" per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa

urbem equi."

A second rabbinic story is of slight importance in this connexion but is here reproduced because it tells of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem and also mentions the Samaritans. This story appears in the scholion to Megillath Ta'anith under the date of the 25th day of Siwan when "the demosionai (tax-collectors?) were removed from Judah and Jerusalem." The Aramaic rubric itself, which probably refers to an incident in the Roman period, does not here concern us. As for the provenance of the Hebrew scholion, Lévi is probably right in supposing that it derives from the apologetic literature of the Jews in Alexandria, to which we shall return below. The first part of the scholion, omitted here, relates to the controversies between the Jews on one hand and the Canaanites, Ishmaelites and Egyptians on the other concerning the Jews' right to Palestine and to the property taken by them from the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus; Alexander the Great is represented as the judge in these disputes. In each controversy the legendary Gebiha ben Pesisa, who appears as the spokesman of the Jews, confounds his gentile opponents by cleverly applying a scriptural verse to the matter in dispute. The last part of the scholion, which is here translated,

is not found in Ms. Parma of Megillath Ta'anith or in the parallel passage, Bab, Talmud Sanhedrin 91 a: it is, however, found (with slight variants) in the Midrash, Bereshith Rabba xli. 6. The text, as edited by Lichtenstein, reads as follows. "Alexander of Macedon sought to go up to Jerusalem. But the Cuthim (Samaritans) said to him, 'The nobles of Judah will not allow you to enter their Holy of Holies because you are uncircumcised (i.e. a gentile).' What did Gebiha ben Pesisa (Bereshith Rabba: Gebi'a ben Qosem = "Hunchback, son of Sorcerer") do? He made two slippers of gold (thread) and placed on them two precious stones worth fifty thousand manehs of silver, and when Alexander came to the temple mount, Gebiha said to him, 'My lord king, take off your shoes and let me put these slippers on your feet, for the pavement is slippery.' But when Alexander came to the Holy of Holies, Gebiha said to him, ' Here it is forbidden to enter.' Then Alexander said. 'I will enter, and when I come out, I will straighten your hump (gebihah).' And Gebiha said to him, 'If you do so, you shall be called a skilled physician and receive a great reward.' And they say that they did not move from there until a serpent bit him (Alexander). And the sages said to him (Gebiha), 'Concerning you it is written (Prov. xxiii. 25), Thy father and mother shall be glad, and she who bore thee shall rejoice, and it is written (Prov. xxvii. 11), My son, be nise and make my heart glad, that I may answer him that reproacheth me."

From these Jewish legends we must turn to the accounts of Alexander's conquests in Syria and Palestine during the years 332-331 B.C. given by the Greek and Roman historians, Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, Justinus and, in fragmen-

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tary form, by later Christian writers such as Eusebius,

Jerome and Syncellus.

After his victory over Darius at the battle of Issus in Cilicia in October 333 B.c., which was followed by Darjus's flight and the capture of the women of his family, Alexander proceeded down the coast of Syria and Phoenicia to Marathus. From here he sent Parmenion to take Damascus; here too he received letters from Darius asking for the release of the royal Persian family and proposing an alliance, which Alexander refused except on his own terms. From Marathus Alexander went to Byblus and Sidon, both of which cities readily received him. A Tyrian delegation also offered to submit to the Macedonians but refused to admit Alexander to their city in order that he might sacrifice to Heracles-Melkart. Alexander therefore prepared to attack Tyre; this was in December 333 B.c. After a seven months' siege by sea, in which the Phoenician ships took a prominent part, he forced the city to surrender, in July 332 B.c. During the siege he made a brief excursion against the Arabs of the Anti-Lebanon district; it was about this time too that all of Palestine submitted to him according to Arrian ii. 25. 4 καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα της Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεχωρηκότα ηδη. Père Abel suggests that during the siege of Tyre Alexander sent his soldiers into the interior of Palestine as far as Jericho, referring to a passage in Pliny, Hist. Nat. xii. 25. 117, describing the balsam plantations of Jericho, "Alexandro Magno res ibi gerente toto die aestivo unam concham impleri iustum erat," and also into Transjordan, on the basis of references in Byzantine sources to the founding of Hellenistic cities there by Alexander. It is unlikely,

however, that the older sources would have passed these incidents over in silence if they were historical, and Willrich is probably right in dismissing these statements as unauthentic. After the fall of Tyre Alexander determined to go to Egypt and left Parmenion to govern Syria and Palestine from Damascus. How long Parmenion remained at Damascus is not clear; the references to him in Arrian are inconsistent in themselves and at variance with the statements of Curtius and Plutarch; it is not certain how long before the spring of 331 B.C. he left for Thapsacus on the Euphrates where Alexander sent him to check the Persian satrap Mazaeus. But it does seem fairly certain that during part of the time between the fall of Tyre in July 332 B.c. and Alexander's return from Egypt in the spring of 331 B.c. Parmenion left Andromachus as prefect of Coele-Syria and that after the latter's death (on which see below) Menon succeeded to this office (Curtius iv. 5, against Arrian ii. 13. 7, which says that Menon was appointed to this office before Alexander besieged Tyre). From Tyre Alexander marched along the coast of Palestine unopposed until he came to Gaza in September 332 B.C. This city, which was under the command of the Persian governor Batis (on the name cf. § 320 note), was strongly fortified, and Alexander was obliged to besiege it for two months before it surrendered. Some time after the fall of Gaza Alexander set out for Egypt and reached Pelusium in seven days (Arrian iii. 1; Plutarch, Alex. xxvi.; Diodorus xvii. 49; Curtius iv. 7). No ancient source (except Josephus of course) mentions any march elsewhere at this particular time. Alexander remained in Egypt until the spring of 331 B.C., visiting among other places the

famous oracle of Ammon in the oasis of Siwah. (Perhaps it is not altogether fanciful to see in the account of his visit to this temple given by Diodorus, xvii. 50-51, a resemblance to the story of Alexander's meeting with the Jewish priests in Josephus and Megillath Ta'anith; but the resemblance is so slight that it hardly deserves more than passing mention.) From Egypt Alexander returned to Tyre, where he appointed various officials to govern the conquered territories in Asia Minor, Syria and Phoenicia; no incident between his departure from Memphis and his arrival in Tyre is mentioned by Arrian, Diodorus or Plutarch. According to Curtius, however, it was during his absence in Egypt that the Samaritans rose against Andromachus, the prefect of Coele-Syria, and burned him alive, and on his return from Egypt Alexander punished the rebellious Samaritan leaders. To this story the late writers Eusebius, Jerome and Syncellus add that Alexander took Samaria and settled Macedonians in the city. This incident has, of course, some bearing on Josephus's account of Alexander's relations with the Jews and Samaritans, and it is worth while to quote the sources mentioned. Curtius, iv. 8. 9, writes: "Oneravit hunc dolorem nuntius mortis Andromachi quem praefecerat Syriae. Vivum Samaritae cremaverunt. Ad cuius interitum vindicandum quanta maxima celeritate potuit contendit, advenientique sunt traditi tanti sceleris auctores. Andromacho deinde Memnona substituit, affectis supplicio qui praetorem interemerant." The Armenian text of Eusebius's Chronicon, ii. 223 ed. Aucher (=ii. 114 ed. Schoene), has: "Alexander besieged Tyre and conquered Judaea, and being received with honour, he sacrificed to God and honoured

the high priest (k'ahanayapet), and as governor (lit. "overseer," tesout) of the district he appointed Andromachus, whom the inhabitants of the city of the Samaritans killed; and on his return from Egypt Alexander punished them, and having taken the city, settled (bnakecouc) Macedonians therein "; similarly Jerome, "urbem captam Macedonibus ad inhabitandum tradit," and Syncellus, p. 496 ed. Bonn, την Σαμάρειαν πόλιν έλων 'Αλέξανδρος Μακεδόνας έν αὐτη κατώκισεν. However in another passage of Eusebius's Chronicon, ii. 229 ed. Aucher (= ii. 118 ed. Schoene), we read that in Olympiad 121 (296/5 B.C.) "Demetrius Poliorcetes, king of Asia, captured all of the Samaritan city which had been settled (bnakecouceal) by Perdiccas" (here Jerome has, "urbem vastat quam Perdicca ante construxerat "). From this passage Willrich infers that it was Perdiccas and not Alexander who originally settled the Macedonians in Samaria; against him Spak argues that Alexander himself settled the Macedonians in the city, while Perdiccas later built the city into a fortress, adding in a note, "So kann nur construere übersetzt werden: constructam (Eusebius nach Petermann und Aucher), construxerat (nach Hieronymus) ist doch ganz etwas anderes als κατώκισεν (nach Syncellus) und collocavit (Eusebius nach Aucher und Petermann)." Unfortunately Spak has been misled by the modern Latin translations of Eusebius's Armenian text. In both passages the verb bnakecouçanem is used, meaning "to cause to inhabit"; it is used in the Armenian Bible to translate κατοικίζειν. There is, therefore, a contradiction between the two passages in Eusebius; in one he says that Alexander settled the Macedonians in Samaria: in the other that Perdiccas did so. The

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historicity of the former fact must therefore be judged on the basis of the statements of Curtius and Syncellus alone. Now Syncellus is not a particularly trustworthy source for this period, while Curtius merely says that Alexander appointed Menon as prefect in place of Andromachus. We cannot be certain that Alexander was in Samaria for any length of time.

But we shall return to this point again.

In the light of the information vielded by the sources cited above what opinion shall we hold of the historicity of Josephus's story of Alexander's meeting with the Jews and his favourable attitude toward them, apart from the obviously legendary details such as Alexander's dream of Jaddua at Dium and the reading of the book of Daniel? Of the scholars mentioned in the bibliography given above only Israel Abrahams argues that Josephus is correct in saving that Alexander visited Jerusalem after the fall of Gaza. He contends that the argument advanced by most scholars that there was no time for such a detour after Gaza fell is based on " a complete misreading of Arrian and the rest of the authorities. . . . But Arrian tells us no such thing. When he moved his army from Gaza to Egypt, Alexander's march was rapid, but he did not leave Gaza immediately on its fall. On the contrary there was much to be done before he left the place, and there is nothing in Arrian or Curtius to imply that time failed for such an experience as Josephus describes." Abrahams is right in denying that the sources imply that Alexander left for Egypt immediately after the surrender of Gaza; but he is hardly right in saying that " there is nothing in Arrian or Curtius to imply that time failed for such an experience as Josephus describes." It is true that

Alexander had certain things to attend to before he left for Egypt, such as the refounding of Gaza and the sending of Amyntas with triremes to Macedonia, but the sources plainly indicate that he delayed his march to Egypt only long enough to do what had to be done on the spot; he would hardly have gone out of his way to visit Jerusalem at this time; cf. Arrian iii. 1. 1 en Αίνύπτου ϊναπερ το πρώτον ώρμήθη έστελλετο, and Curtius iv. 6 "regis qui Aegyptum adire festinans Amyntam cum decem triremibus in Macedoniam misit." Incidentally, the incense which Alexander sent to Leonidas, presumably from Gaza (but possibly earlier), according to Plutarch, Alex, xxv., may very well have been found there, since Gaza was the chief centre of export of eastern luxuries to the West during the Persian period. One point made by Abrahams, however, is well taken; he insists that Josephus is not guilty of a "howler" when he says that Alexander in coming from Gaza approached Jerusalem from the north. "What was probably the normal route was to advance up the familiar coast and to turn in eastwards from the neighbourhood of Jaffa." Nevertheless, in view of the clear implications of the ancient authorities, we may safely conclude that Alexander probably did not visit Jerusalem after the fall of Gaza and before his journey to Egypt.

The question remains whether Alexander may have had personal dealings with the Jews at some other time, presumably on his return from Egypt in the spring of 331 B.c. when he learned of the Samaritan uprising. Such a theory is proposed by Spak, who reconstructs the course of events as follows. On leaving Egypt Alexander made for Samaria to crush the rebellion which was the first serious opposition

encountered in these parts by the Macedonians. On his way he heard about the Jews and went to Jerusalem from Gaza (his second visit to Gaza, not his first, as Josephus has it). His anger was directed, not against the Jews for their refusal to help him during the siege of Tyre, but against the leaders of the Samaritan rebellion; his settlement of 8000 Samaritan soldiers in Egypt had occurred earlier, and they were now forced to remain in Egypt. Spak also supposes that it was on this occasion that Alexander presented to the Jews some of the Samaritan territory, as Josephus states, not in Ant. xi., but in Ap. ii. 43, where he quotes Hecataeus to the effect that Alexander "in recognition of the consideration and lovalty shown to him by the Jews added to their territory the district of Samaria free of tribute." We do not know whether this statement actually comes from Hecataeus (fl. early 3rd century B.c.) and is therefore presumably authentic or whether it is taken from a Hellenistic Jewish writer, the so-called Pseudo-Hecataeus, who invented the story for apologetic purposes. Dr. Thackeray writes in his note ad loc.: "This statement (? of Pseudo-Hecataeus) is certainly exaggerated, and perhaps an anachronism. Three small districts of Samaria (not the whole country) were ceded to the Jews, free of tribute, by Demetrius II c. 145 B.C. (1 Macc. xi. 34; cf. x. 30, 38); but the language of 1 Macc. suggests that Demetrius may have been confirming some concession of earlier date." Büchler's suggestion (see below) that the passage in Ap. ascribes to Alexander a privilege actually conferred by Julius Caesar seems to me more convincing than Spak's plea for its authenticity. Somewhat similar to Spak's theory is that of Tscherikower, who, while he does not

believe that Alexander actually visited Jerusalem, thinks that he may have heard of the Samaritan uprising on his return from Egypt to Tyre and sent Perdiccas to suppress it (cf. the passages from Curtius and Eusebius cited above), and that the Jews may have sent a small auxiliary force to help Perdiccas subdue the Samaritans, as a result of which friendly relations were established between them and Alexander. The trouble with this theory is that Curtius states that it was Alexander himself who suppressed the Samaritan rebellion and makes it fairly clear that he did so without difficulty and without help from the natives of Palestine. However it is not impossible that Spak and Tscherikower are right in supposing that Alexander may have had some personal dealings with the Jews (somewhere in Palestine) at the time of the Samaritan rebellion.

But as for Alexander's actual visit to Jerusalem, I believe that the balance of the evidence is against it, though I should hesitate to deny it as categorically as do Niese, Willrich, Tscherikower and others. For in addition to the strong negative argument that the oldest Greek and Latin sources do not mention it (Eusebius's brief reference to the visit is of course based on Josephus), as we might reasonably expect them to do, in spite of the comparative unimportance of the Jews to the Greeks in the time of Alexander (which, by the way, is another reason for doubting that Alexander would have been interested in Jerusalem and its temple, pace Abrahams), we have the positive argument that the Hellenistic Jewish sources on which Josephus drew in this portion of his History may justly be suspected of having brought Alexander the Great into connexion with Jerusalem for apologetic purposes. We have seen that this was done by the interpolators of the Jewish stories in Pseudo-Callisthenes (cf. Pfister) and by the authors of the Alexander stories in rabbinic literature (cf. Lévi). A priori, therefore, there is reason to suspect that Josephus's story of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem and his sacrificing in the temple is a legend originating in the apologetic literature of the Jews of Alexandria.

A final consideration remains—the date of the composition of the Alexander story which Josephus (or his immediate source) has combined with the Sanballat story. Willrich supposes that it was composed after the visit of Marcus Agrippa to Jerusalem in the reign of Herod the Great, and that Agrippa's sacrificing in the temple at Jerusalem was the basis of the legend of Alexander's sacrificing in the temple, while Agrippa's favourable decisions concerning the civic rights of the Jews in Asia Minor and elsewhere were the basis of Alexander's legendary grant of privileges to the Jews of Media and Babylon. Willrich further supposes that the allusions in Josephus to Alexander's dealings with the Samaritans are based on the events of A.D. 52 (Ant. xx. 118 = B.J. ii. 232); at this time the Jews were roused to violence by the murder of some Galilaeans on their way to Jerusalem by the Samaritans, and when the leaders of the Jews failed to get satisfaction from the procurator Cumanus, they appealed to the legate of Syria, Ummidius Quadratus, as did the Samaritan leaders, at Tyre; Quadratus postponed his decision until he should have obtained more information about the affair in Judaea. At first sight Willrich's explanation seems plausible, but there are serious objections to both parts of it. So far as the Agrippa-Alexander

parallel is concerned, the resemblances between the two figures in their dealings with the Jews are rather slight, as Büchler has shown; and as for the parallel between the Samaritan-Jewish quarrel in the time of Alexander and that of A.D. 52, it is most improbable that the authentic report of an event that occurred in Josephus's lifetime and was described in his earlier work the Jewish War should have been converted into an apologetic fiction and combined with older traditions about Jaddua and Alexander before Josephus

wrote Antiquities.

More satisfying and probably correct on the whole is Büchler's theory of the composition of the Alexander story, which I believe is worth quoting at some length. In discussing the exemption from taxes during the sabbatical year allegedly granted by Alexander, and the historical parallel in Ant. xiv. 202 ff. in the time of Hyrcanus II and Julius Caesar, he writes: "Comme cette disposition ne fut renouvelée nulle part autant que nos sources permettent de le constater, on est porté à admettre que la conduite de César vis-à-vis les Juifs a inspiré l'idée des privilèges qu'aurait accordés Alexandre le Grand. Dans ce cas le grand-prêtre qui représentaît devant lui les Juifs serait Hyrcan II qui apparaît en effêt comme le représentant de tous les Juifs; sous la désignation de Juifs de la Babylonie et de la Médie seraient compris tous les Juifs du dehors que visaient les rescrits de César, ceux de l'Ionie auxquels il garantit le libre exercice de leur religion (Ant. xiv. 10, 8 et 10, 20-24), aussi bien que ceux d'Égypte dont il confirma expressement les droits civiques à Alexandrie . . . La garantie de tous les droits du pontificat et du sacerdoce, accordée par César, garantie qui suppose la liberté de pratiquer la

religion, correspondrait a l'autorization donnée par Alexandre aux Juifs de Palestine d'observer librement les lois de leurs pères. . . . Il est donc clair que César a aussi tenu compte dans son ordonnance des fêtes des Juifs et que la lettre du roi Demefrius [1 Macc. x. 36], qui se refère à ce privilège, appartient à l'époque de César. Ceci admis il en resulte une autre conséquence pour fixer l'époque de cette particularité mentionnée par Josèphe (C. Ap. ii. 4) qu'Alexandre le Grand en récompense de la vaillance et de la fidélité des Juifs exempte d'impôts le territoire de Samarie. On chercherait vainement dans toute l'histoire une occasion où se seraient révélées ces qualités des Juifs à moins d'admettre qu'ils les ont manifestées sous les yeux de ses fonctionnaires lorsqu'Andromaque, préfet de Syrie en Samarie, fut brûlé vif . . . ce qui est plus qu'invraisemblable. Or, nous avons vu qu'effectivement César accorda au territoire samaritain l'exemption des impôts et que cette mesure fut provoquée par la fidélité et la vaillance des Juifs durant la campagne d'Égypte. Il devient donc manifeste que par Alexandre il faut entendre César."

Less plausible but worthy of consideration is Büchler's explanation of how the Samaritan story came to be combined with the Alexander-Jaddua story in the Alexandrian source of Josephus's narrative: "Peut-être l'apparition des soldats du grand-prêtre [Hyrcanus II, in 47 B.C.] sur le territoire égyptien éveilla-t-elle l'intérêt de la population pour les Juifs et Jérusalem, et l'écrivain samaritain profita-t-il de ces dispositions favorables pour placer sur premier plan le temple de Sichem."

In conclusion I cannot do better perhaps than to quote Büchler's admirable summary of his findings

concerning the composition of Josephus's narrative in Ant. xi. 302 ff. "La relation de Josèphe sur le séjour d'Alexandre en Palestine et ses rapports avec les Samaritains et les Juifs est composée de trois parties différentes, qui peuvent facilement être séparées l'une de l'autre, parce qu'elles sont, en grande partie, juxtaposées. Il en est deux qui sont d'origine juive, la troisième est samaritaine. La première traitait des Samaritains, la seconde des Juifs, sans tenir compte de leurs voisins du même pays : la troisième est hostile aux Samaritains et rapporte avec une joie maligne le réfus qui fut opposé à ceux-ci par Alexandre. La première relation juive est probablement une réponse à celle des Samaritains qui pour une raison quelconque voulaient montrer aux Alexandrins, en rattachant à l'histoire de Sanballat de la Bible des détails d'ailleurs exacts sur la lutte de Darius avec Alexandre, que le temple de Garizim devait son origine à Alexandre le Grand. Le récit juif fut composé immédiatement après l'expédition de César en Égypte et attribue les nombreuses marques de bienveillance de ce prince à Alexandre; il est donc sans valeur pour l'époque plus reculée. Le récit samaritain et la seconde relation juive pourraient aussi être de cette époque. On ne peut déterminer si l'assemblage a été fait par Josèphe ou s'il existait avant lui. En tout cas l'historien a ajouté beaucoup de détails concernant les expéditions d'Alexandre et les Samaritains. Les renseignements qu'il donne nous permettent de jeter un regard sur les rapports entre les Juifs et les Samaritains en Égypte et sur le laboratoire littéraire des Judéo-hellénistes du milieu du 1er siècle avant l'ère chrétienne."

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